STUDIES IN GNOSTICISM AND HELLENISTIC RELIGIONS

ÉTUDES PRÉLIMINAIRES AUX RELIGIONS ORIENTALES DANS L'EMPIRE ROMAIN

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M.J. VERMASEREN

TOME QUATRE-VINGT ET ONZIÈME

STUDIES IN GNOSTICISM AND HELLENISTIC RELIGIONS

EDITED BY

R. VAN DEN BROEK AND M.J. VERMASEREN

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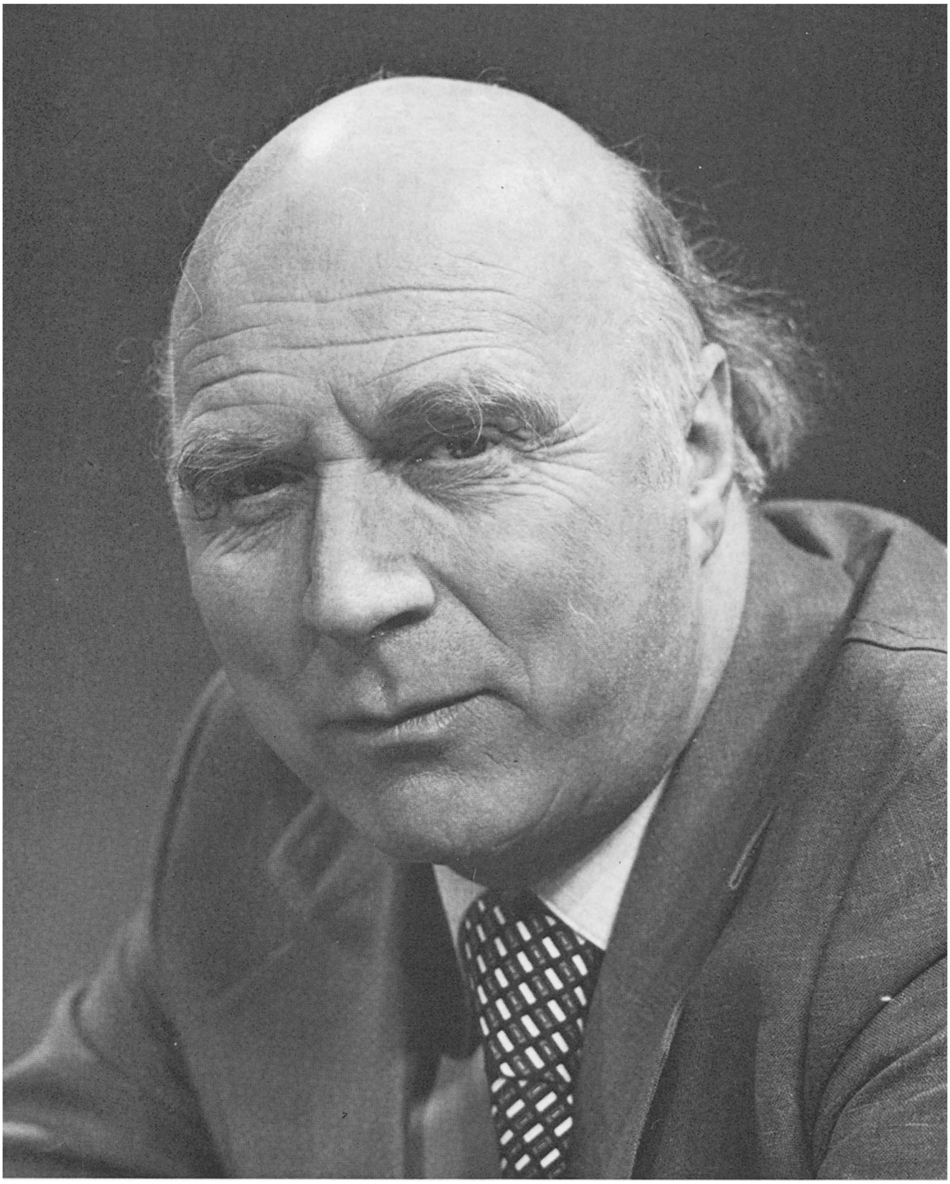

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STUDIES IN GNOSTICISM AND HELLENISTIC RELIGIONS

presented to Gilles Quispel
on the Occasion of his 65th Birthday

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PREFACE

The studies contained in this volume were written by friends — colleagues and pupils — of Professor Gilles Quispel as a present for his 65th birthday. In this way they want to honour the scholar and teacher who during the last thirty-five years not only made outstanding contributions to the study of Gnosticism himself but also stimulated many others to do the same.

Professor Quispel was born on May 30, 1916 at Rotterdam. As a boy he attended the municipal Gymnasium at Dordrecht, directed at that time and long after by the unforgettable Dr. P. Hendrix, who had written an excellent thesis on the doctrine of Basilides and was an expert in Eastern, in particular Russian Christianity. It was Hendrix who introduced young Quispel into the world of Greek mysteries, Christian gnosticism and Russian mysticism, very exceptional subjects for a Dutch Grammar School, at that time still more than nowadays.

From 1934-1941 Quispel studied classical philogy at the University of Leiden and after that became a teacher of Greek and Latin at Gymnasia in Enschede (1941-1945) and Leiden (1945-1951). During his classical studies at Leiden he also began to study Theology, which was later on continued at the University of Groningen. In 1943 he took the degree of a Doctor Classicarum Litterarum at the University of Utrecht, after submission of a thesis on the sources of Tertullian's *Adversus Marcionem* (see the review by Borleffs in *VC* 1, 1947, 192-198). During World War II Quispel made a profound study of several gnostic systems, in particular that of Valentinus, the results of which were published in the first post-war years. In those years he became a regular participant in the annual Eranos meetings at Ascona, where he met with many leading scholars, of whom Carl Gustav Jung and Gershom Scholem had the strongest influence on him. The former provided him with an analysis of the human soul which confirmed his conviction that the great gnostic thinkers were moved by a real and deep psychic experience; the latter opened his eyes for the importance of Jewish mysticism and gnosticism for the study of the gnostic movement in the ancient world. In 1948/1949 Quispel was enabled to spent a year of study in Rome as a Bollingen fellow. There he met with another scholar who was to have a lasting influence on his studies, Erik Peterson, the renowned writer of ΕΙΣ ΘΕΟΣ. It was Peterson who drew Quispel's attention to Jewish Christianity and Encratism as shaping forces in the development of early Christian life and thought.

In 1951 Quispel was appointed Professor of the History of the Early Church at the University of Utrecht, which he still is today. He was a visiting Professor at Harvard University in 1964/1965, and became in 1968 a visiting Professor of the Hellenistic Background of the New Testament at the Catholic University of Louvain, Belgium.

When he was appointed at the University of Utrecht Quispel was engaged in the acquisition of the only Coptic codex from Nag Hammadi which had left Egypt. C.G. Jung took a great interest in the new-found gnostic writings, an interest which was intensified by Quispel's lectures at the Jung Institute at Zurich, which in printed form became his famous *Gnosis als Weltreligion*. It was on behalf of the Jung Institute that in May 1952 Quispel finally bought the gnostic codex that was then called the "Jung Codex" and is now generally known as Nag Hammadi Codex I.

The discovery of the Nag Hammadi Library has strongly influenced the course of Quispel's studies. He was not only for many years engaged in the *editio princeps* of NHC I, but devoted also a great part of his scholarly activities to the study of the *Gospel of Thomas* (NHC II,2). With respect to this work he defended from the beginning a two-fold thesis: a) the *Gospel of Thomas* is essentially not a gnostic but an encratite writing, and b) it contains clear elements of an extra-canonical, Jewish-Christian Gospel tradition. The discussion of these views has not yet come to an end: each of them has its strong supporters and its fervent opponents, but this fact alone sufficiently shows how much Quispel stimulated further research on this extremely important text.

His study of the *Gospel of Thomas* led him also to Tatian's *Diatessaron*, in which he detected the same independent Gospel tradition which also formed one of the sources of the Gospel of Thomas.

The Jewish origin of Gnosticism and the Jewish-Christian impact on the early development of Christianity are the corner-stones of Quispel's approach to the Early Church's history, and much of his work is devoted to the demonstration and reinforcement of these basic principles, often with a consciously defiant one-sidedness. His primary aim has never been to establish indubitably minor historical facts but to illuminate the main lines of religious or literary developments, often by noticing relationships which no one had noted before. So it was Quispel who introduced the Old-Saxon poem the *Heliand* as an important witness of the *Diatessaron*, not only of the Western branch of the *Diatessaron* tradition but also of Tatian's original work itself. As a result the testimony of the *Heliand* will play a part in all future *Diatessaron* studies.

The same interest in the general lines of historical developments characterizes Professor Quispel's lectures, in which he shows himself an inspiring teacher. Contrary to what one might expect, he seldom lectures on Gnosticism. His favourite subjects are Athanasius, Augustine, the expansion of Christianity in the Germanic world, and Christian mysticism, in particular that of Macarius. He never hesitates to pursue the development into the later Middle Ages, and even into modern times. So his lectures on Macarius not only include a comparison of Macarius' Spirit mysticism with the Areopagite's ontological mysticism, but also Simeon the New Theologian, the Hesychasts, Gregory Palamas, Dostoyewski, and Solzshenitsyn. Quispel has always been strongly interested in individuals and movements that stressed the importance of personal religious experience. In his lectures this aspect always received great attention, even at times when the general interests of public opinion were contrary to it, for instance in the hey-days of Barthianism or the God-is-dead theology.

Quispel was once called by one of his colleagues ὁ γνωστικώτατος ἀνήρ, and he sometimes half-mockingly speaks of himself as a *homo religiosissimus*. He has much of a γνωστικός and he certainly is a *homo religiosus*, and this, together with his dislike of any kind of dogmatism, enabled him to penetrate so deeply into the gnostic mind and to make the ancient gnostic religion for many people more easily understood. This volume of studies is dedicated to him as a token of gratitude for his stimulating contributions to the development of scholarship and to the expansion of our knowledge of the world of early Christianity.

R. van den Broek

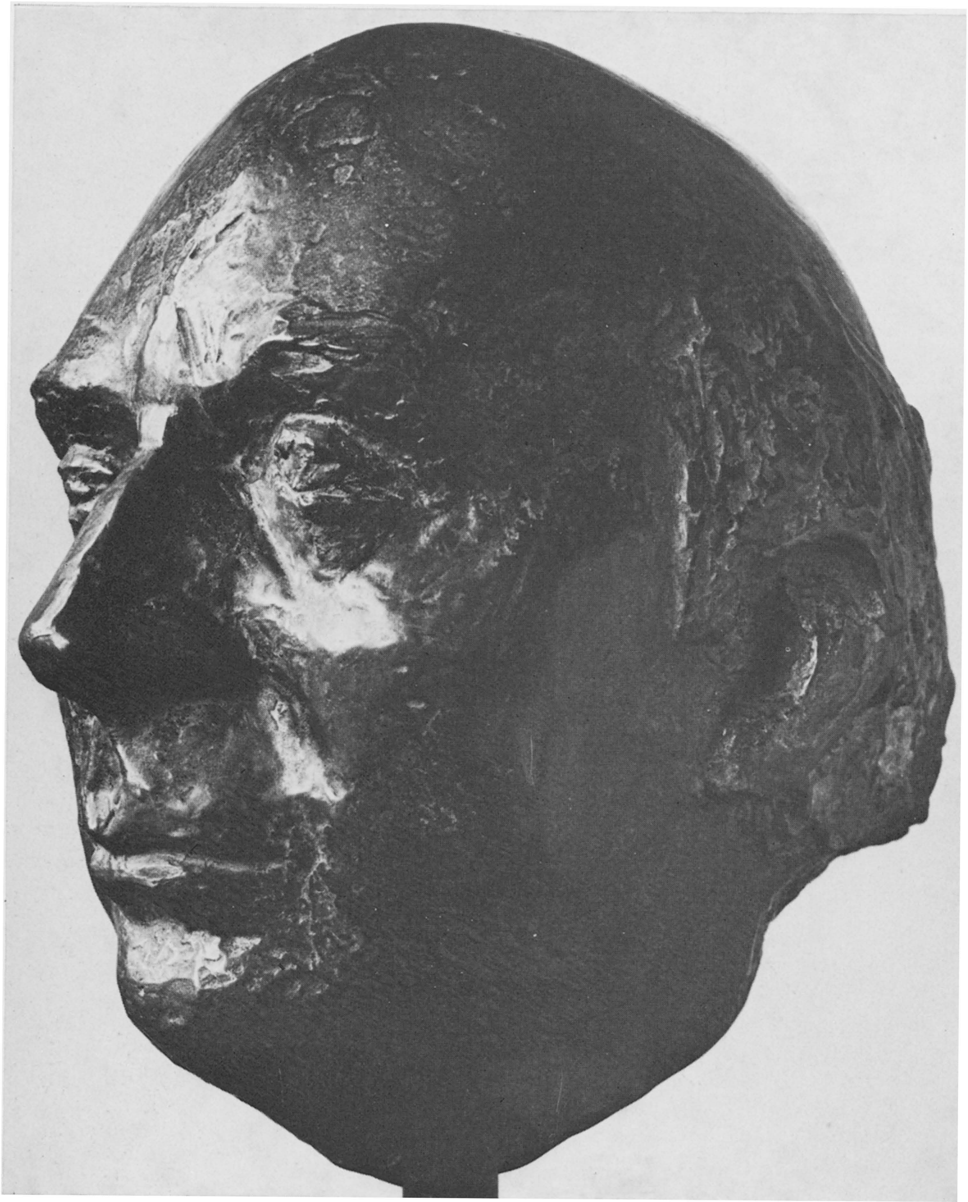
LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AAWG	Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, Philol.-Hist. Klasse
ADAIKairo	Abhandlungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts Kairo, Koptische Reihe
ADAW	Abhandlungen der Deutschen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin, Klasse für Sprachen, Literatur und Kunst
AGPh	Archiv für Geschichte der Philosophie
AIPO	Annuaire de l'Institut de Philologie et d'Histoire Orientales et Slaves
AJSLL	American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures
ANRW	Aufstieg und Niedergang der Römischen Welt
APAW	Abhandlungen der Preusischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin, Philol.-Hist. Klasse
ARW	Archiv für Religionswissenschaft
ArchDelt	Ἀρχαιολογικὸν Δελτίον
ASNPisa	Annali di Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa, Classe di Lettere e Filosofia
BCH	Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique
BCR	Bullettino della Commissione Archeologica Communale di Roma
BIBR	Bulletin de l'Institut Historique Belge de Rome
BIFAO	Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale
BiOr	Bibliotheca Orientalis
BSOAS	Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London
BAB	Académie Royale de Belgique. Bulletin de la Classe des Lettres
CCCA	Corpus Cultus Cybelae Attidisque, ed. M.J. Vermaseren
CBQ	The Catholic Biblical Quarterly
CH	Church History
CIG	Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum, ed. A. Boeckh
CIL	Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum
CJT	Canadian Journal of Theology
CQ	The Classical Quarterly
CRAI	Comptes-Rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres
CSCO	Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium
CSEL	Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum

DAWBOr	Deutsche Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin, Institut für Orientforschung
DenkschrWien	Denkschriften der (Kaiserlichen) Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien, Philol.-Hist. Klasse
EPRO	Études préliminaires aux religions orientales dans l'Empire Romain
ER	Egyptian Religion
ErJb	Eranos-Jahrbuch
EphLit	Ephemerides Liturgicae
ET	Evangelische Theologie
EPh	Les Études Philosophiques
ExTim	The Expository Times
FRLANT	Forschungen zur Religion und Literatur des Alten und Neuen Testaments
GCS	Die Griechischen Christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten Jahrhunderten
GRBS	Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies
HTR	The Harvard Theological Review
HUCA	Hebrew Union College Annual
IDBSup	The Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible. Supplementary Volume
IFAO	Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale
IG	Inscriptiones Graecae
Int	Interpretation
IstMitt	Istanbuler Mitteilungen
JA	Journal Asiatique
JAAR	Journal of the American Academy of Religion
JAC	Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum
JAOS	Journal of the American Oriental Society
JBL	Journal of Biblical Literature
JHI	Journal of the History of Ideas
JHS	Journal of Hellenic Studies
JJS	The Journal of Jewish Studies
JÖAI	Jahreshefte des Oesterreichischen Archäologischen Instituts
JR	The Journal of Religion
JRS	The Journal of Roman Studies
JS	Journal des Savants
JSJ	Journal for the Study of Judaism in the Persian, Hellenistic and Roman Periods
JSSR	Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion
JTS	The Journal of Theological Studies
JWCI	The Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes
MAI	Mémoirs présentés par divers Savants à l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres

MEFR	Mélanges d'Archéologie et d'Histoire de l'École Française de Rome
MemAcScTorino	Memorie dell'Accademia delle Scienze di Torino
MemPontAcc	Atti della Pontificia Accademia Romana di Archeologia. Memorie
NachrGött	Nachrichten der Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, Philol.-Hist. Klasse
NHC	Nag Hammadi Codex
NHS	Nag Hammadi Studies
NT	Novum Testamentum
NTS	New Testament Studies
NTT	Nederlands Theologisch Tijdschrift
OLZ	Orientalistische Literaturzeitung
OrChr	Oriens Christianus
OrChrPer	Orientalia Christiana Periodica
Origini	U. Bianchi (ed.), *Le Origini dello Gnosticismo.* Colloquio di Messina, 13-18 Aprile 1966 (SHR XII), Leiden 1967
OTS	Oudtestamentische Studien
PG	Patrologiae cursus completus, Series Graeca
PGM	Papyri Graecae Magicae, ed. K. Preisendanz, 2 verb. Aufl. von A. Henrichs (1973)
PIR	Prosopographia Imperii Romani
PTS	Patristische Texte und Studien
PWRE	A. Pauly, G. Wissowa *et al.* (ed.), Realenzyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft
QLP	Les Questions Liturgiques et Paroisséales
RA	Revue d'Assyriologie et d'Archéologie Orientale
RAC	Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum
RB	Revue Biblique
RE	Revue d'Égyptologie
REA	Revue des Études Anciennes
REAug	Revue des Études Augustiniennes
REG	Revue des Études Grecques
RendILomb	Istituto Lombardo di Scienze e Lettere. Rendiconti
RendNap	Rendiconti della (Reale) Accademia di Archeologia, Lettere e Belle Arti di Napoli
RevSR	Revue des Sciences Religieuses
RFIC	Rivista di Filologia e di Istruzione Classica
RGG	Die Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart
RHR	Revue de l'Histoire des Religions
RPh	Revue de Philologie, de Littérature et d'Histoire Anciennes
RQ	Revue de Qumrân
RSR	Recherches de Science Religieuse

SBHeidelberg	Sitzungsberichte der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philol.-Hist. Klasse
SBL	Society of Biblical Literature
SC	Sources Chrétiennes
SCH	Studia ad Corpus Hellenisticum Novi Testamenti
SHR	Studies in the History of Religions (Supplements to *Numen*)
SMSR	Studi e Materiali di Storia delle Religioni
SPAW	Sitzungsberichte der Preusischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin, Philol.-Hist. Klasse
SR	Studies in Religion
ST	Studia Theologica
SVF	Stoicorum Veterum Fragmenta
TAPA	Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association
TLZ	Theologische Literaturzeitung
TR	Theologische Rundschau
TS	Theological Studies
TU	Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur
TWNT	Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Neuen Testament
USQR	Union Seminary Quarterly Review
UUA	Uppsala Universitets Årsskrift
VC	Vigiliae Christianae
VetChr	Vetera Christianorum
WdF	Wege der Forschung
WS	Wiener Studien
WZHalle	Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift der Martin-Luther-Universität Halle-Wittenberg, Gesellschafts- und Sprachwissenschaftliche Reihe
ZAW	Zeitschrift für die Alttestamentliche Wissenschaft
ZDMG	Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft
ZKG	Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte
ZNW	Zeitschrift für die Neutestamentliche Wissenschaft und die Kunde der älteren Kirche
ZPE	Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik
ZRGG	Zeitschrift für Religions- und Geistesgeschichte
ZTK	Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche



Bronze bust of Professor Gilles Quispel by Régine Heim, sculptress, Zürich — 1979.

Photograph: J. J. V. M. Derkse

LIST OF·PROFESSOR QUISPEL'S PUBLICATIONS

1938

De naam der Etruriërs in *Philologische Studiën van de Katholieke Universiteit te Leuven* 10, 1938/1939, 35-38

1939

De Etruriërs en het Oude Testament in *Jaarbericht van het Vooraziatisch-Egyptisch Gezelschap 'Ex Oriente Lux'* 6, 1939, 170-176

1940

Gli Etruschi nel Vecchio Testamento in *Studi Etruschi* 14, 1940, 409-425 (translation of *De Etruriërs*, see 1939)

1943

De bronnen van Tertullianus' Adversus Marcionem, Thesis Utrecht, Leiden 1943

1944

Review:
L.H. Grondijs, *De iconographie van Schepping en Godsverschijningen*, Amsterdam no date [1942] in *Museum* 51, 1943/1944, 158-160

1946

De humor van Tertullianus in *Handelingen van het 19de Nederlandse Philologencongres*, Groningen-Batavia 1946, 40-43

1947

De Latijnse Oudchristelijke Letterkunde in *Eerste Nederlandse Systematisch Ingerichte Encyclopedie* II, Amsterdam 1947, 130-134
Ad Tertulliani Adversus Marcionem librum observatio in *VC* 1, 1947, 42
The Original Doctrine of Valentine in *VC* 1, 1947, 43-73 (= *Gnostic Studies* I, 27-36, without the Greek texts and the commentary)
De negationis usu quodam apud scriptores christianos in *Latomus* 6, 1947, 193-195
De mens in de Valentiniaanse Gnosis in *Christendom en Oudheid*, Eindhoven 1947, 47-74
Reviews:
P.Th. Camelot, *Foi et gnose*, Paris 1945 in *VC* 1, 1947, 75-76
S. Pètrement, *Le dualisme chez Platon, les gnostiques et les manichéens*, Paris 1947 in *VC* 1, 1947, 255-256

1948

De humor van Tertullianus in *NTT* 2, 1947-1948

La Lettre de Ptolémée à Flora in *VC* 2, 1948, 17-56 (= *Gnostic Studies* I, 70-102)

Note sur 'Basilide' in *VC* 2, 1948, 115-116

La conception de l'homme dans la gnose valentinienne in *ErJb* 15, 1947 (published 1948), 249-286 (= *Gnostic Studies* I, 37-57)

Reviews:

G.F. Diercks, *Tertullianus' De oratione*, Bussum 1947 in *Museum* 53, 1948, 148-150

S. Blankert, *Seneca (Ep. 90) over natuur en cultuur, en Posidonius als zijn bron*, Amsterdam 1940 in *Museum* 53, 1948, 38-40

H. Rahner, *Griechische Mythen in christlicher Deutung*, Zürich 1945 in *Museum* 53, 1948, 143-144

E. Rapisarda, *Arnobio*, Catania 1946 in *VC* 2, 1948, 123-124

1949

Ptolémée, Lettre à Flora. Texte, traduction et introduction (SC 24), Paris 1949, 102 pp. (see 1966)

M. Minucii Felicis Octavius, uitgegeven en van commentaar voorzien (Grieksche en Latijnsche Schrijvers met Aanteekeningen, LXI), Leiden 1949, 84 pp. (see 1973)

A Jewish Source of Minucius Felix in *VC* 3, 1949, 113-122

L'homme gnostique (La doctrine de Basilide) in *ErJb* 16, 1948 (published 1949), 89-139 (see 1968)

Die Reue des Schöpfers in *Theologische Zeitschrift* 5, 1949, 157-158

Philo und die altchristliche Häresie in *Theologische Zeitschrift* 5, 1949, 429-436

De besterde hemel in de christelijke baptisteria in *NTT* 3, 1948/1949, 355-358

1950

Anima naturaliter christiana in *ErJb* 18, 1950, 173-182

Il concetto dell' uomo nell' antichità cristiana in *Nuovo Didaskaleion* 4, 1950, 5-24

De mensbeschouwing van het oudste christendom in *Archief voor Kergeschiedenis* 37, 1950, 1-15 (translation of *Il concetto* etc.)

De Brief aan de Laodicenzen, een Marcionitische vervalsing in *NTT* 5, 1950/1951, 43-46

Review:

G. Septimi Florentis Tertulliani Adversus Praxean Liber, ed. by E. Evans, London 1948 in *Latomus* 9, 1950, 316-317

1951

Gnosis als Weltreligion, Zürich 1951, 96 pp. (see 1972)

Simon en Helena in *NTT* 5, 1950/1951, 339-345

'Anima naturaliter christiana' in *Latomus* 10, 1951, 163-169 (= *Gnostic Studies* I, 134-139)

L'inscription de Flavia Sophè in *Mélanges Joseph de Ghellinck S.J.* (Museum Lessianum, Section Historique, No. 13), Gembloux 1951, 201-214

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H. Söderberg, *La religion des Cathares. Étude sur le gnosticisme de la Basse Antiquité et du Moyen-Âge*, Uppsala 1949 in *VC* 5, 1951, 126-128
Leven en Regel van Sint Benedictus, uit het Latijn vertaald door de monniken van de Sint Paulusabdij van Oosterhout, Roermond 1946 in *VC* 5, 1951, 128
H.C. Meecham, *The Epistle of Diognetus*, Manchester 1949 in *VC* 5, 1951, 187
A. Bolhuis, *Vergilius' 4de Ecloga in de Oratio Constantini ad sanctorum coetum*, Amsterdam 1950 in *VC* 5, 1951, 188-189
J.C.M. Fruytier, *Het woord* Μυστήριον *in de Catechesen van Cyrillus van Jeruzalem*, Nijmegen 1947 in *NTT* 5, 1950/1951, 240-241

1952

Het getuigenis van de ziel bij Tertullianus, Inaugural Address (Utrecht, 24.3.1952), Leiden 1952
Tertulliani De testimonio animae, additis locis quibusdam ad naturalem Dei cognitionem pertinentibus in usum academicum (Textus Minores 18), Leiden 1952, 46 pp.
Zeit und Geschichte im antiken Christentum in *ErJb* 20, 1952, 115-140 (see 1957)
(with R.M. Grant) *Note on the Petrine Apocrypha* in *VC* 6, 1952, 31-32

Review:

M. Pellegrino, *M. Minucii Felicis Octavius*, Turin 1948 in *VC* 6, 1952, 60-61

1953

De oudste vorm van de gnostische mythe in *NTT* 8, 1953/1954, 20-25
Mensch und Energie im antiken Christentum in *ErJb* 21, 1953, 109-168
Note on an Unknown Gnostic Codex in *VC* 7, 1953, 193

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A. Benoit, *Le baptème chrétien au second siècle*, Paris 1953 in *NTT* 7, 1952/1953, 369-370
A. Sizoo, *Het oudste christendom in zijn verhouding tot de antieke cultuur*, Amsterdam 1952 in *NTT* 8, 1953/1954, 114

1954

Augustinus als denker in *Bijlage van de Analecta Augustiniana Neerlandica* 1954, 37-41, also in *Jaarboek Rijksuniversiteit Utrecht* 1954/1955, 63-67
Neue Funde zur valentinianischen Gnosis. Der Codex Jung in *ZRGG* 6, 1954, 289-305
Der gnostische Anthropos und die jüdische Tradition in *ErJb* 22, 1954, 195-234 (= *Gnostic Studies* I, 173-195)
(with H.-Ch. Puech) *Op zoek naar het Evangelie der Waarheid*, Nijkerk 1954, 64 pp.
Mandaeers en Valentinianen in *NTT* 8, 1953/1954, 144-148
(with H.-Ch. Puech) *Les écrits gnostiques du Codex Jung* in *VC* 8, 1954, 1-51
Christliche Gnosis und jüdische Heterdoxie in *ET* 14, 1954, 474-484

Review:

T. Säve-Söderberg, *Studies in the Coptic Manichaean Psalmbook*, Uppsala in *VC* 8, 1954, 252-253

1955

The Jung Codex and its Significance in *The Jung Codex*, Three Studies by H.-Ch. Puech, G. Quispel, and W.C. van Unnik, transl. and edited by F. Cross, London 1955, 35-78 (= *Gnostic Studies* I, 3-26)
(with H.-Ch. Puech) *Le quatrième écrit gnostique du Codex Jung* in *VC* 9, 1955, 65-102

1956

Evangelium Veritatis. Codex Jung. f. VIII^{v}-XVI^{v} (p. 16-32), f. XIX^{r}-XXII^{r} (p. 37-43), ed. M. Malinine, H.-Ch. Puech, G. Quispel, Zürich 1956
Nathanael und der Menschensohn (*Joh. 1, 51*) in *ZNW* 47, 1956, 281-283
An Unknown Fragment of the Acts of Andrew in *VC* 10, 129-148 (= *Gnostic Studies* II, 271-287)

Reviews:

M. Cramer, *Das altägyptische Lebenszeichen* $\overset{\circ}{T}$ *im christlichen (koptischen) Ägypten*, Wiesbaden 1955 in *TLZ* 81, 1956, 429-430
C. Schmidt, *Koptisch-gnostische Schriften* I, 2. Aufl. bearbeitet von W. Till in *TLZ* 81, 1956, 684-686
W. Jaeger, J.P. Cavarnos, V. Woods Calahan (edd.), *Gregorii Nysseni Opera Ascetica*, Leiden 1952
and
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W. Till, *Die gnostischen Schriften des koptischen Papyrus Berolinensis 8502*, Berlin 1955 in *VC* 10, 1956, 51-52
Texte zum Manichäismus, ed. A. Adam (Kleine Texte 175), Berlin 1954 in *VC* 10, 1956, 52-53
H.-J. Schoeps, *Urgemeinde, Judenchristentum, Gnosis*, Tübingen 1955 in *VC* 10, 1956, 127
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TRACES OF AN ALEXANDRIAN ORPHIC THEOGONY IN THE PSEUDO-CLEMENTINES

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In many studies Professor Quispel has pointed to the Jewish roots of several Gnostic ideas. In his opinion these Gnostic ideas in Judaism, especially in the Jewish circles of Alexandria, could not have originated without the influence of ideas of the same kind in the Hellenistic world. This line of development of Gnostic ideas he has shown in a study on the demiurge in the *Apocryphon of John*, one of the writings found at Nag Hammadi.[1] According to Quispel, this demiurge, the creator god, in heterodox Jewish circles has been identified with the Angel of the Lord in the Old Testament. But we also find in him the characteristics of a demiurgic figure, whom we encounter in the Greek Hellenistic culture, *i.e.* of the Orphic god Phanes, who in some sources appears to be the same as Eros. So an Orphic idea has influenced the image of the demiurge in the Gnostic *Apocryphon of John* which, according to Quispel, is a product of the Jewish "Gnostikoi" in Alexandria. In this study Quispel also drew attention to an Orphic theogony that is to be found in the Pseudo-Clementine romance.[2] In this article I will investigate this Orphic theogony and compare it with the other Orphic theogonies, which are known to us from other sources.

The Pseudo-Clementine novel has been preserved for us in two versions; the one are the *Homilies*, which are written in Greek, the other the *Recognitions*, of which the Greek original has been lost. This work has been preserved completely for us in the Latin translation of

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[1] G. Quispel, *The Demiurge in the Apocryphon of John*, in R. Mcl. Wilson (ed.), *Nag Hammadi and Gnosis*, Papers read at the First International Congress of Coptology (Caire December 1976), Leiden 1978, 1-33.

[2] Quispel, *The Demiurge*, 18-19; in the Pseudo-Clementines, however, there is no identification of Phanes with Eros.

Rufinus, a fourth century Latin Christian author.[3] A translation in Syriac exists of books I-III of the *Recognitions* and X-XIV of the *Homilies*.[4] In its present form this novel is of a rather late date, probably the fourth century A.D. But generally one has assumed that a "Grundschrift", that can be dated back to the beginning of the third century, is the basis of the two versions of this novel. Nor is the "Grundschrift" in itself monolithic, but it is possible to discern sources of an earlier date in it.[5]

We find the above mentioned Orphic theogony in both versions of the Pseudo-Clementines, *Hom.* VI,3, 4-10 and *Rec.* X, 17-20 and 30. An excerpt in Syriac has been made probably from the Syriac translation of the *Homilies*, which has been preserved in the works of the Nestorian Theodorus bar Chōni, who lived in the sixth century.[6] It is the common opinion of the scholars that this theogony has an Orphic origin, though it shows important differences from the Orphic theogonies, which have come down to us from the Neoplatonists, the Rhapsodic theogony and the theogony, with which the names of Hieronymus and Hellanicus are connected. So O. Gruppe[7] was of the opinion that this theogony — he only knew the theogony of the *Recognitions* — was of another type, which differed totally from the others. O. Kern,[8] however, placed the two Orphic fragments in the Pseudo-Clementines in the chapter "Hieronymi et Hellanici Theogonia" of his collection of Orphic fragments. It is clear that, according to him, this form of the theogonic myth is cognate with the form of which the Neoplatonist Damascius is our authority.[9] He ascribes this theogony *expressis verbis* to Hieronymus and Hellanicus, perhaps two Alexandrian scholars, who are nearly unknown.[10] In this short study we will try to determine, in which respects the Orphic theogony in the Ps.-Clementines accords with that theogony of Hieronymus and Hellanicus, and if it is right to see it as a form of that theogony, as Kern does.

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[3] B. Rehm, J. Irmscher, F. Paschke, *Die Pseudoklementinen I, Homilien* (GCS), Berlin ^{2}1969; B. Rehm, F. Paschke, *Die Pseudoklementinen II, Rekognitionen in Rufins Übersetzung*, Berlin 1965.

[4] W. Frankenberg, *Die Syrischen Clementinen mit Griechischem Paralleltext*, Leipzig 1937.

[5] See among others H. Waitz, *Homilien und Rekognitionen.* Eine quellenkritische Untersuchung (TU 25, 4), Leipzig 1904; G. Strecker, *Das Judenchristentum in den Pseudoklementinen* (TU 70), Berlin 1958. J. Rius-Camps has another theory about the sources of the Pseudo-Clementines; see his *Las Pseudo-clementinas. Bases filológicas para una nueva interpretación*, in *Revista Catalana de Teologia* 1/1, 1976, 79-158.

[6] T. Nöldeke, *Bar Choni über Homer, Hesiod und Orpheus*, in *ZDMG* 53, 1899, 501-507, esp. 504-507.

[7] O. Gruppe, *Die Griechischen Culte und Mythen* I, Leipzig 1887, 641.

[8] O. Kern, *Orphicorum Fragmenta*, Berlin 1922, reprint 1963, 132-33 (fragm. 55 and 56).

But in addition to the differences between the form of this myth in the Ps.-Clementines and the form of it in the writings of the Neoplatonists there also exist remarkable differences between the version of the *Homilies* and that of the *Recognitions*. The question arises then, which of these versions of the myth is more original and nearer to the original version of the "Grundschrift". W. Heintze, however, defended the thesis, that in this passage, the so called mythological passage, the *Homilies* as well as the *Recognitions* used directly a special earlier source, so that here they were independent from the "Grundschrift".[11] According to him this source was a Jewish apology, which contained a dialogue between a convert to the Jewish religion and Apion, an Alexandrian who combatted the Jews in his work.[12] This Apion could even be the same as the man against whom Josephus wrote his well-known apology. This identification can be based on the fact, that in *Hom.* V, 29, 1 this Apion is called hater of the Jews and in *Hom.* IV, 6, 2 an inhabitant of Alexandria. The context, in which we find here the Orphic myth and the whole mythological passage, is different in the two versions of the Ps.-Clementines: in the *Homilies* this passage is clearly part of a dialogue between Clement and the above mentioned Apion, in the *Recognitions*, however, it belongs to a discourse of Clement to the gentiles. If the theory of Heintze is right, then the version of the *Homilies* would be nearer to the source than the version of the *Recognitions*. Nowadays, however, G. Strecker does not take over this thesis, but he is of the opinion that the *Recognitions* and the *Homilies* also were dependent on the "Grundschrift" in this passage. According to him the version of the *Recognitions* is more original and nearer to the "Grundschrift". For in the *Homilies* the dialogue with Apion has been invented by the author of this work.[13] It is difficult to state, whether Heintze is right or Strecker. By comparing both versions with each other and with the Neoplatonic version of this myth we shall try to bring also this riddle nearer to a solution.

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[9] Damascius, *Dubitationes et Solutiones de Primis Principiis* (= *De Princ.*) 123bis; Kern, 130-131 (fragm. 54).

[10] It is possible that Hieronymus is the same as the Hieronymus who is mentioned by Josephus as having written the ancient history of Phoenicia; see W.K.G. Guthrie, *Orpheus and Greek Religion*, London 1935, 85.

[11] W. Heintze, *Der Klemensroman und seine Griechischen Quellen* (TU 40, 2), Leipzig 1914, 14-23, esp. 22.

[12] Heintze, *O.c.*, 42-51, esp. 50.

As we have seen, in the *Homilies* the Orphic theogony is a part of a passage in which the Greek mythology is expounded.[14] In this Apion is defending the Greek mythology and the immoral behaviour of the Greek gods by allegorizing these repugnant stories which are criticized by Clement. So Apion says to Clement: "But, my son, as I said, such stories have a peculiar and philosophical meaning which can be allegorically set forth in such a way that you yourself would listen with wonder" (*Hom.* VI, 2). It is apparent that Apion here makes use of a method, which was much in vogue in Alexandria about the beginning of our era. The Orphic theogony also bears the traces of this allegoric exegesis. So it is very probable, that this mode of interpretation has changed the original Orphic theogonic myth in the version of the Ps.-Clementines.

In great lines the content of this myth in *Hom.* VI, 3ff. is, as follows. After having quoted Hesiod, who held that Chaos was the very first to come into being, Apion talks about Orpheus, who compares Chaos with an egg, in which the primordial elements are a confused mixture.

> "This matter of four kinds, and endowed with life, was an entire infinite abyss, so to speak, in eternal stream (τῆς τετραγενοῦς ὕλης ἐμψύχου οὔσης καὶ ὅλου ἀπείρου τινὸς βυθοῦ ἀεὶ ῥεόντος), borne about without order, and forming every now and then countless but ineffectual combinations; ripe indeed, but not able to be bound so as to generate a living creature. And once it chanced that this infinite sea, which was thus by its own nature driven about with a natural motion, flowed in an orderly manner

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[13] Strecker, *O.c.*, 79-87, esp. 83: "Völlig evident aber wird die Vermutung, der Homilist habe die Apionsdisputation komponiert, durch eine Untersuchung der Gestalt Apions in den Homilien".

[14] *Hom.* VI,2-25 (Rehm 105, 16-116, 6), in which the Orphic myth is found in *Hom.* VI,3,3-12,2 (Rahm 107,5-111,2). As to the structure of this mythological passage see M. R. James, *A Manual of Mythology in the Clementines*, in *JTS* 33, 1932, 262-265.

> from the same to the same, like a whirlpool, mixing the substances in such a way that from each there flowed down the middle of the universe (as in the funnel of a mould) precisely that which was most useful and suitable for the generation of a living creature. This was carried down by the all-carrying whirlpool, drew to itself the surrounding spirit (καὶ τὸ περικείμενον πνεῦμα ἐπισπάσασθαι), and having been so conceived that it was very fertile, formed a separate substance".[15]

In the depth of the infinite abyss matter has become pregnant without being impregnated. Thereupon pregnant matter takes the shape of an enormous egg, which is borne upwards by the divine spirit. Driven by time (or Time) (χρόνῳ φερομένη) the whole matter produces the sphere-like all embracing heaven, which is in shape like an egg,[16]

> "which (= the egg) at first was full of productive marrow, so that it was able to produce out of itself elements and colours of all sorts, while from the one substance and the one colour it produced all kinds of forms. For as a peacock's egg seems to have only one colour, while potentially it has in it all the colours of the animal that is to be, so this living egg, conceived out of infinite matter, when set in motion by the underlying and ever-flowing matter, produces many different forms. For within the circumference a certain living creature, which is both male and female (ἀρρενόθηλυ), is formed by the skill of the indwelling divine spirit. This Orpheus calls Phanes, because when it appeared the universe shone forth from it (ὅτι αὐτοῦ φανέντος τὸ πᾶν ἐξ αὐτοῦ ἔλαμψεν), with the lustre of that most glorious of the elements, fire, perfected in moisture".[17]

When the capacious egg is broken (κραναίου σχισθέντος πολυχανδέος ᾠοῦ),[18] Phanes comes forth, and takes his seat on the summit of heaven. Thereupon the matter which was left inside the globe of the egg separates the elements of all things. Its lower part, the heaviest element, sinks downwards, and is called Pluto because of its gravity, weight, and great quantity of matter. After the separation of this heavy element in the middle part of the egg the waters flow together, which they call Poseidon. The purest and noblest element, the fire, is called Zeus, because its nature is glowing (ζέουσα). It flies right up into the air, and draws up the spirit, now called Métis, that was left in the underlying moisture. And when this spirit has reached the summit of the ether, it is devoured by Zeus, who in his turn begets the intelligence (σύνεσις), also called Pallas. And by this artistic intelligence the etherial artificer creates the whole world (ᾗ χρώμενος τὸν πάντα ἐτεχνήσατο κόσμον ὁ αἰθέριος τεχνίτης). This world is surrounded by the air, which extends from Zeus, the very hot ether, to the earth; this air is called Hera.

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[15] *Hom.* VI,4, 1-2 (Rehm 107, 10-20) in the translation of A. Roberts and B. Donaldson, *Ante-Nicene Christian Library*, 17, Edinburgh 1870.

[16] It is remarkable that the egg here is the same as the heaven. Probably this identification is caused by the fact, that the allegorical interpretation of the names of the first gods influenced the form of the Orphic myth.

[17] *Hom.* VI,5, 2-4 (Rehm 108, 7-18).

[18] These words are expressly quoted as words of Orpheus.

So far the account of this theogonic myth, which is at the same time a cosmogonic myth, in the Ps.-Clementine *Homilies*, which has been ascribed *expressis verbis* to Orpheus. In this version, however, we can observe many traits of allegorical interpretation, which we may assume to be absent in the original version of the Orphic myth. So Kronos is interpreted as the devouring time and Rhea as the streaming substance, Zeus as the boiling ether, Hera as the all enveloping air, Pallas as the palpitating intelligence, Poseidon as the liquid element, and Pluto as the heavy, solid element. But, as we shall see, the kernel of this myth is Orphic, and is to be compared with the other versions of this myth.

In the version of the *Recognitions* — or better the versions, as this myth is found in two places — we also encounter most of the elements of this myth.[19] In *Rec.* X,17-20 Chaos solidifies itself into an enormous egg, in which vivifies a certain living being. This living being appears as a certain kind of man of double sex, whom they call Phaneta. In this version there are important differences with the version of the *Homilies*. Not only we are missing every detail of the evolution of the chaotic matter to the cosmic egg, but also the creation of the world is not described as the activity of one special god. The origin of the world properly spoken is not a matter of creation, but of procreation.

> "And from this *i.e.* Phaneta), they say that there were produced (*progenitam esse*) substance, prudence, motion and coition, and from these the heavens and the earth were made (*factum*). From the heaven they say that six males were produced, whom they call Titans; and in the like manner,

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[19] *Rec.* X,17, 2-20, 1 (Rehm 336, 13-338, 3); *Rec.* X,30 (Rehm 346, 17-347, 8).

> from the earth six females, whom they call Titanides. And these are the names of the males who sprang from the heaven: Oceanus, Coeus, Crios, Hyperion, Iapetus, Chronos, who amongst us is called Saturn. In like manner, the names of the females who sprang from the earth are these: Theia, Rhea, Themis, Mnemosyne, Tethys, Hebe".[20]

When the author here mentions the origin of heaven and earth, we have the suspicion, that he rather has the first pair of gods, Ouranos and Gaia, in his mind than the two parts of the created world. After their origin follows the birth of the other gods totally according to the myth which we find in the *Theogony* of Hesiod.

The version in *Rec.* X,30 is in this respect different. Here the author is clearly speaking about the origin of the world. The androgynous being is the principle of all things (*principium omnium*). He comes of pure matter and coming forth he effects a separation of the four elements. He makes heaven of the two elements which are first, fire and air, and earth of the others, earth and water. And of these elements all things are born and produced by a mutual participation in them. The second difference is, that here a creating activity is attributed to a god, and in this respect this version is more cognate to the version of the *Homilies*. A remarkable difference, however, remains, namely that in the *Homilies* Zeus is the creator of the world, but that the author of the *Recognitions* is silent about a creating activity of Zeus. For we gain the impression in *Rec.* X,30, that Phanes is the one, who performs this work.

The theogony and the cosmogony in the above quoted passages of the Ps.-Clementines agree in many respects with the Orphic theogony, which we know from other sources, though we can also note remarkable differences. What is called the theogony of Orpheus, however, is a very complicated matter, and it is very difficult to discern between the original myth and the later additions. This is because our most important witnesses are Neoplatonists of the fifth and sixth century, who always are inclined to make Orpheus a member of their school.[21]

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[20] *Rec.* X,17,4-6 (Rehm 336,21-337,2), also in the translation of Roberts and Donaldson, *Ante-Nicene Christian Library*, 3, Edinburgh 1867.

[21] See W.K.G. Guthrie, *Orpheus and Greek Religion*, a study of the Orphic movement, London 1935, 69-147, esp. 69-74.

Damascius was one of them, who in his *Dubitationes et Solutiones de Primis Principiis* records three types of the Orphic theogony.

In the first type, with which he connected the names of Hieronymus and Hellanicus,[22] Chronos, the god of the time, does occupy a central place, although he is not the first principle. For the first, who existed, were water and earth, from which a being was born. This being had three heads, the head of a bull, the head of a lion and between them the face of a god, and upon his shoulders there were wings. The name of this being is Chronos, with the epitheton "who never grows old"; he is also called Heracles. He was accompanied by Ananké, who is also called the incorporeal Adrasteia, who stretches forth her arms over the whole earth.[23] First Chronos brought forth three beings, Aither, Chaos and Erebos (= darkness). After them he produced amidst them an egg (ὁ χρόνος ᾠὸν ἐγέννησεν). In this egg, in which a male and a female element are present, a god has been shaped, who has golden wings on his shoulders and the heads of bulls connected with his flanks, and an enormous serpent upon his head. This god is the "first-born" (Πρωτόγονος), whom they also call Zeus and Pan, because he is the god, who orders the all (πάντων διατάκτορα). It is remarkable that the god, who is born from the egg and who is the same as Phanes, has a snake upon his head. Quispel, however, remarks that in the iconography Phanes is represented in a similar way. For his body is often encircled by a snake, which corresponds with the representation of Aion, the god of the new year, in the religion of Mithras.[24]

In addition to this version of the Orphic theogony Damascius mentions another, which is, according to him, the common version.[25] This version is called the Rhapsodic theogony, because the Neoplatonists, who handed down this version, quoted some old fragments in a metric form. According to the tradition these fragments are taken from one Orphic poem.[26] Contrary to the first version, in this version Chronos is the first principle, and not water and earth. Out of him are born Aither and Chaos. Next Chaos fashions in Aither the egg, from which the male-female creator-god, here called Phanes, springs forth. In this version we don't find an elaborate description of the appearance of Chronos. Here he is represented as being abstract and is called an eternal and great being, whose counsels never fail.[27] Another difference with the version of Hieronymus and Hellanicus is the role which the god who is born from the egg plays. In the first version this god, Protogonos, is the creator of the whole world, heaven, earth and gods. In the Rhapsodic theogony, however, he only is the creator, or procreator, of the gods. For there is a second creation, namely the creation of the world, by one of the descendants of Phanes, Zeus. Phanes, who in the Orphic fragment which Proclus quotes is called Erikepaios, is devoured by him, and his force is mingled with the limbs of Zeus. By this force, which also is the force of the intelligence — for Phanes is also called Métis — Zeus is able to create the world.[28] And so he can be called "the head, the middle and the god by whom all is made".[29]

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[22] *De Princ.* 123bis (Ruelle I, 317, 15-319, 7); Kern, 130-131 (fragm. 54).

[23] Ruelle I, 318, 3-4:
"συνεῖναι δὲ αὐτῷ τὴν Ἀνάγκην, φύσιν οὖσαν τὴν αὐτὴν καὶ
Ἀδράστειαν ἀσώματον διωργυιωμένην ἐν παντὶ τῷ κόσμῳ, τῶν
περάτων αὐτοῦ ἐφαπτομένην"

[24] See G. Quispel, *The Demiurge*, 22, and *Herman Hesse and Gnosis*, in B. Aland, *Gnosis*, Festschrift für Hans Jonas, Göttingen 1978, 492-507, esp. 504-507.

[25] *De Princ.* 123 (Ruelle I, 316, 18-317, 4); Kern, 143-144 (fragm. 60).

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[26] According to Suidas these are fragments of a poem, by him called the Ἱεροὶ λόγοι ἐν ῥαψῳδίαις Κ Δ'. See A. Adler, *Suidae Lexicon*, Stuttgart^2 1967, III, 564 *s.v.* Kern remarks: "Titulum praebet Suid. test. 223d. Hoc carmine Neoplatonici usi sunt, qui maxime inde a Syriani aetate id interpretantur. Compositum est e singulis Ἱεροῖς λόγοις, quorum numerus non traditur, et dispositum in viginiti quattuor rhapsodias ad Homeri carminum exemplar" (p. 140).

[27] Proclus, *in Plat. Rempubl.* (Kroll II,138, 8); Kern, 147 (fragm. 66):

"Αἰθέρα μὲν χρόνος οὗτος ἀγήραος, ἀφθιτόμητις
γείνατο καὶ μέγα χάσμα πελώριον ἔνθα καὶ ἔνθα".

Damascius, *De Princ.* 55 (Ruelle I, 111, 17); Kern, 149 (fragm. 70):

"ἔπειτα δ᾽ ἔτευξε μέγας χρόνος Αἰθέρι δίῳ ὠεὸν ἀργύφεον".

[28] Proclus, *in Plat. Timaeum* 29a (Diehl I, 324, 29-325, 3); Kern, 199 (fragm. 167):

"ὣς τότε πρωτογόνοιο χαδὼν μένος Ἠρικεπαίου
τῶν πάντων δέμας εἶχεν ἑῇ ἐνὶ γαστέρι κοίλῃ
μεῖξε δ᾽ ἑοῖς μελέεσσι θεοῦ δύναμίν τε καὶ ἀλκήν,
τοὕνεκα σὺν τῷ πάντα Διὸς πάλιν ἐντὸς ἐτύχθη".

[29] Porphyrius, ap. Eusebius, *Praep Ev.* III,9; Kern, 201 (fragm. 168):

"Ζεὺς κεφαλή, Ζεὺς μέσσα, Διὸς δ᾽ ἐκ πάντα τέτυκται"

= Ps.-Aristotle, *De Mundo* 7 (Diehl, *Fragmente der Vorsokratiker* II, Berlin ^{4}1922, 169; cf. also the Derveni papyrus (± 350 B.C.):

"Ζεὺς κεφαλή, Ζεὺς μέσσα, Διὸς δ᾽ ἐκ πάντα τελεῖται", In addition to the above mentioned theogonies, Damascius also mentions a third, of which the Peripatetic philosopher Eudemus of Rhodes, one of the disciples of Aristotle, is the witness. The only thing that Damascius relates about this version of the myth, is the fact that Night here is the first principle.[30] In this respect Eudemus disagrees with the Rhapsodic Orphic theogony, where Night is procreated by Phanes and acts as a counselor of Zeus, when he is creating the world. Although our knowledge of this version is very small, yet it is important, because Eudemus, who lived in the fourth century B.C., knew an earlier stage of the Orphic doctrine than the Neoplatonists, who lived many centuries later. Moreover he says that, according to Aristotle, this idea is witnessed by the early poets. Thus Louis Moulinier notes: "nous avons donc là une attestation d'ancienneté à laquelle nous pouvons nous fier".[31]

When we return to the Orphic theogony in the Ps.-Clementines, especially in the *Homilies*, we shall see, that this is in some respects in accordance with the theogony of Hieronymus and Hellanicus. In other respects, however, it is cognate with the Rhapsodic version, while there also exist remarkable differences with both versions.

a) From the discourse of Apion in *Hom.* VI,3-12 one may conclude, that in this version Chronos is not the first principle. We gain the impression that matter already existed a long time, a matter which is fluid, because it is always streaming.[32] This is the reason, why it is equated with the goddess Rhea, whose name contains the root of the Greek verb ῥέω (= to stream). From this fluid matter, driven (or : carried) by the time (χρόνῳ φερομένῃ) the world-egg is fashioned. And it is also this matter, which procreates the heaven (ἡ ὕλη ἅπασα ... ἀπεκύησεν οὐρανόν).

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and Plato, *Laws* IV, 715 E:

"ὁ μὲν δὴ θεός, ὥσπερ καὶ ὁ παλαιὸς λόγος, ἀρχήν τε καὶ
τελευτὴν καὶ μέσα τῶν ὄντων ἁπάντων ἔχων, ..."

See also R. van den Broek, *The Sarapis oracle in Macrobius*, in *Hommages à Maarten J. Vermaseren* I, Leiden 1978, 123-141.

[30] Damascius, *De Princ.* 124 (Ruelle I, 319, 10-11); Kern, 97 (fragm. 28):
"ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς Νυκτὸς ἐποιήσατο τὴν ἀρχήν".

[31] L. Moulinier, *Orphée et l'Orphisme à l'Epoque Classique*, Paris 1955, 87.

[32] *Hom.* VI,4, 1 (Rehm 107, 10-11):
"τῆς τετραγενοῦς ὕλης ἐμψύχου οὔσης καὶ ὅλου ἀπείρου
τινὸς βυθοῦ ἀεὶ ῥέοντος...".

A cognate image also is transmitted by the Christian apologist Athenagoras, who is held by Kern to be a witness of the theogony of Hieronymus and Hellanicus.[33] According to him, Orpheus, who is mentioned *expressis verbis* by him, says, that, as in the Ps.-Clementines, a fluid matter, here called water, is the first principle (ἦν γὰρ ὕδωρ ἀρχὴ κατ' αὐτὸν τοῖς ὅλοις). From this primordial matter originated Chronos who, as in the testimony of Damascius, is also called Heracles, and is represented as a snake, who possesses the head of a lion and the head of a god. The egg which is procreated by this Heracles, splits, and a god appears. Thereafter the superior part of the shell becomes the heaven, the inferior part the earth.[34]

This account of the creation of heaven and earth is also found in the Ps.-Clementines. In the first place, in the *Homilies* Apion says that the whole matter procreates the heaven. As in Athenagoras it is not a god, who creates the heaven, but it originates from the matter in the egg. In the second place, it is said that after the birth of Phanes a separation of matter takes place. The heavy matter sinks down. It is true, that it does not become the earth, but the nether-world — it is indeed called Pluto — but we have good reasons to assume, that both Athenagoras and Ps.-Clement have the same idea about the creation of the earth in their minds. The only difference is, that in the version of the Ps.-Clementines the Orphic cosmogony is connected with an allegorical interpretation of the theogony of Hesiod. This is the reason that the heavy element is not called earth, but Pluto, the god of the nether-world, and the light element, that flies into the air, not heaven, but fire, which is the boiling element, and is equated with Zeus.

Briefly we can summarize those respects in which the theogony in the Ps.-Clementine *Homilies* agrees with the theogony of Hieronymus and Hellanicus:

1. the fluid matter is the first principle;
2. from the material of the cosmic egg heaven and earth are fashioned.

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[33] Athenagoras, *Supplicatio pro Christianis*, 18 and 20 (Goodspeed 334-336); Kern, 137 and 138-139 (fragm. 57 and 58).

[34] Athenagoras calls this god in ch. 18 only a "θεός τις δισώματος". In ch. 20, however, he speaks about this god as Phanes.

b) It is beyond doubt, that there also existed agreements with the Rhapsodic version. In the first place, the godhead who is born from the world-egg, has the name Phanes, and is not some nameless god with two bodies, as Athenagoras describes him. In the second place a creative activity is also committed to Zeus. After having swallowed Métis, and having procreated the intelligence, also called Pallas, he becomes the αἰθέριος τεχνίτης, who by means of Pallas arranges the whole world. The same myth is found in the Rhapsodic theogony. Damascius mentions Phanes as well as Métis, who is seen as one of the aspects of Phanes.[35] Métis is even one of the names of Phanes, who has many names, among them : Erikepaios, Protogenos, Dionysos and Eros. In the Rhapsodic theogony we also find the idea that Zeus creates the world, after that he has made himself master of the force of Phanes by devouring him. So Proclus very clearly tells us, in his commentary on the *Timaeus* of Plato, that, according to Orpheus, after the devouring of Phanes all things have come to being in Zeus.[36] The only difference between the two versions is, that in the Ps.-Clementines it is Métis, who is swallowed by Zeus, and in the Rhapsodic theogony it is Phanes, who meets this fate. In Orphism, however, Métis often is another name of Phanes, so that both schemata are nearly the same.

c) At last we will show some clear differences between the version of the Ps.-Clementines and the other versions of the Orphic theogonic myth. In the first place the egg is compared with the egg of a peacock, in which, though it has one colour, the many different colours of the peacock are potentially present.[37] In the same way in the one primordial matter many forms are present, which will later be manifested. This image is not found in one of the other witnesses of the world-egg. And yet the Ps.-Clementines are not totally isolated in using this comparison, for a parallel is to be found in one of the fragments of the Alexandrian gnostic Basilides, which is quoted by his opponent Hippolytus. He also introduces the idea of a cosmic egg, from which is born the Great Archon Abrasax, who is the demiurge of the world. And, as in the Ps.-Clementines, this egg is compared with the egg of a peacock:

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[35] Damascius, *De Princ.* 123 (Ruelle I, 317, 4-7) :
"τοῦτο μὲν, ὁποῖον ἂν ᾖ, ὥς τὸν νοῦν, ὥς δὲ πατέρα καὶ δύναμιν, ἄλλα τινὰ προσεπινοοῦντες οὐδὲν τῷ Ὀρφεῖ προσήκοντα, τὴν δὲ τρίτην τὸν Μῆτιν (ὥς νοῦν), τὸν Ἠρικεπαῖον ὥς δύναμιν, τὸν Φάνητα αὐτὸν ὥς πατέρα".

[36] Proclus, *in Plat. Timaeum* 29a (Diehl I, 324, 14-16) :
"ταῦτα δὲ καὶ ὁ Ὀρφεὺς ἐνδεικνύμενος καταπίνεσθαι τὸν νοητὸν θεὸν (= Phanes) ἔφατο παρὰ τοῦ δημιουργοῦ τῶν ὅλων (= Zeus)".

[37] *Hom.* VI, 5, 3 (Rehm 108, 10-14) :
"ὥσπερ γὰρ ἐν τῷ τοῦ ταὼ γεννήματι ἓν μὲν τοῦ ᾠοῦ χρῶμα δοκεῖ, δυνάμει δὲ μυρία ἔχει ἐν ἑαυτῷ τοῦ μέλλοντος τελεσφορεῖσθαι χρώματα, οὕτως καὶ τὸ ἐξ ἀπείρου ὕλης

> "Or, to make plainer what they say, just as the egg of a variegated and many-coloured bird, such as a peacock or some other even more variegated and many-coloured (species), although it is only single, yet has within it many shapes of multiform, multi-coloured, and heterogeneous things, so, says he, the non-existent seed deposited by the non-existent God has (within it) the multiform and heterogeneous seed-mixture of the world".[38]

Since Basilides lived in Alexandria, the image of the peacock's egg must belong to the cosmogonic imagery of the Orphics in Alexandria. It is, however, not incomprehensible, that the image of the origin of the world and the gods from an egg is so well known in Egyptian Alexandria, for we also encounter this thought elsewhere in Egypt. In the doctrine of Hermopolis the sun-god Re is born out of an egg, that was laid in the moor by a Nile goose. This sun-god also becomes the creator of this world.[39]

The second deviating thought, which merits our attention, is the fact, that an important place is reserved for the spirit (πνεῦμα) in the

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ἀποκυηθὲν ἔμψυχον ᾠὸν ἐκ τῆς ὑποκειμένης καὶ ἀεὶ ῥεούσης ὕλης κινούμενον παντοδαπὰς ἐκφαίνει τροπάς".

[38] Hippolytus, *Refutatio* VII,21, 5 (Wendland 197, 10-16):
"ἵνα δὲ καταφανέστερον ποιήσω τοῦτο ὅπερ ἐκεῖνοι λέγουσι· καθάπερ ᾠὸν ὄρνιθος εὐποικίλου τινὸς καὶ πολυχρωμάτου, οἱονεὶ τοῦ ταῶνος ἢ ἄλλου τινὸς ἔτι μᾶλλον πολυμόρφου καὶ πολυχρωμάτου, ἓν ὂν ὅμως ἔχει ἐν ἑαυτῷ πολλὰς οὐσιῶν πολυμόρφων καὶ πολυχρωμάτων καὶ πολυσυστάτων ἰδέας, οὕτως ἔχει τὸ καταβληθέν, φησίν, ὑπὸ τοῦ οὐκ ὄντος θεοῦ οὐκ ὂν σπέρμα ⟨πανσπερμίαν⟩ τοῦ κόσμου πολύμορφον ὁμοῦ καὶ πολυούσιον".
The English translation is of R. Mcl. Wilson in W. Foerster, *Gnosis* I, English translation, Oxford 1972, 65.

[39] S. Morenz, *Ägyptische Religion* (Die Religionen der Menschheit 8), Stuttgart 1960, 186-188.

work of creation. This divine spirit first dwells in the cosmic egg, and afterwards is lifted up by Zeus unto the summit of heaven, and then is swallowed by him.[40] Moreover the author mentions, that they call this spirit Mêtis, in the Rhapsodic version one of the names of Phanes, who is there swallowed by Zeus. But contrary to the Rhapsodic version the divine πνεῦμα plays here a more important role than Phanes.

The question can now be put, what is the reason for this deviating representation. It is not wholly excluded that, although Apion expounded this myth as an Orphic doctrine, yet the Christian background of the author of the Ps.-Clementines, or the Jewish background of the author of the source of this passage, has changed the original form of the myth. In this case we should remember the role, which the spirit plays in the creation account in the Old Testament: "and the Spirit of God was moving over the face of the waters".[41] And it is exactly in Alexandria, that the Jewish philosopher Philo in quoting Gen. 2:7 ventures to say that God breathes spirit of life (πνεῦμα ζωῆς) in stead of breath of life (πνοὴ ζωῆς) into the nostrils of Adam.[42] So this O.T. notion easily could have been inserted into the Jewish apology against Apion, and have influenced the form of the Orphic myth, which Apion tells us. And it is not astonishing, that the original form of the myth is altered, for no witness to the Orphic theogony renders accurately the original representations. So the testimonies of the Neoplatonists are also clearly coloured, because they tried to recover their own doctrine in the myth of Orpheus.[43]

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[40] *Hom.* VI,7, 5-8, 1 (Rehm, 109, 16-20):
"ὁ Ζεὺς ... τὸ καταλειφθὲν ἐν τῷ ὑποκειμένῳ ὑγρῷ τὸ ἰσχνότατον καὶ θεῖον ἀνιμᾶται πνεῦμα, ὅπερ Μῆτιν ἐκάλεσαν, κατὰ κορυφῆς δὲ αὐτοῦ ἐλθὸν τοῦ αἰθέρος καὶ συμποθὲν ὑπ᾽ αὐτοῦ ὥσπερ ὑγρὸν θερμῷ μιγέν ... γεννᾷ τὴν σύνεσιν..."

[41] Gen. 1:2 LXX: "καὶ πνεῦμα θεοῦ ἐπεφέρετο ἐπάνω τοῦ ὕδατος".

[42] Philo, *Legum Allegoria* 3, 161 (Mondésert 262):
"ἐνεφύσησε γὰρ εἰς τὸ πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ πνεῦμα ζωῆς ὁ θεός, καὶ ἔγένετο ὁ ἄνθρωπος εἰς ψυχὴν ζῶσαν".
Cf. *Quod Deterius Potiori Insidiari Soleat* 80.
Since this is a quotation, it is also possible that Philo used a LXX text with this reading, which existed in Alexandria; however, in the existing LXX manuscripts this reading is not found. See also G. Quispel, *Ezekiel 1:26 in Jewish Mysticism and Gnosis*, in *VC* 34, 1980, 1-13, esp. 10.

[43] In treating the first two principles, water and earth, Damascius remarks that

Though the influence of the Bible is not excluded here, yet the important place of the spirit can be explained otherwise, so that the origin of this idea is Orphic. For the myth of the world-egg is also told by Aristophanes in his comedy *The Birds*.[44] In this account it is not Phanes, but Eros — he is, according to Hesiod the eldest of the gods —, who is born out of this egg. It is important for our purpose to remark, that this egg, which has been laid by the Night, is called an ὑπηνέμιον ᾠόν. The translation of the word ὑπηνέμιος is very difficult. Litterally it means "lifted by the wind".[45] This is explained by B.B. Rogers, in his translation of the *Birds*, as "from the whirlwind conceived".[46] Another meaning, however, is "full of wind", so that ὑπηνέμιον ᾠόν can also be translated as "a wind-egg".[47] Probably the comic poet Aristophanes has both meanings in his mind. If the word has here the first meaning, then we should here encounter a parallel with the representation in the Ps.-Clementine *Homilies*. For ἄνεμος and πνεῦμα can have the same meaning, "wind".[48] In both places the idea is expressed, that all has become alive by the wind, who often is considered as vivifying.

As we have just seen, the form of this myth in the Ps.-Clementines on the one hand has some agreements with the two versions of the Orphic myth, but on the other hand there are also important differences, as the creative force of the spirit, and the image of the peacock's egg.

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there is not mentioned a first single principle before the two, because this single principle is ineffable (τὴν δὲ μίαν πρὸ τοῖν δυεῖν ἄρρητον ἀφίησιν; Ruelle I,317, 19). Damascius here introduces the Neoplatonic doctrine of the unity of the first principle into the doctrine of Orpheus.

[44] Aristophanes, *Aves* 690-702 (Kern, 80, fragm. 1), esp. 695-696:

"τίκτει πρώτιστον ὑπηνέμιον Νὺξ ἡ μελανόπτερος ᾠόν,
ἐξ οὗ περιτελλομέναις ὥραις ἔβλαστεν Ἔρως ὁ ποθεινός".

Because this passage seeks to demonstrate that the birds are older than the other living creatures, even older than the gods, the value of this passage for our knowledge of the Orphic theogony is very dubious, despite its early date; cf. Guthrie, *O.c.*, 104: "But in the fragmentary state of our knowledge of the ancient theogonies, it is just as likely that Aristophanes used a comic poet's rightful prerogative to make a hotch-potch of the accounts which he was parodying, and even perhaps invent a new order of his own", and Moulinier, *O.c.*, 97: "Qu'y a-t-il donc à mettre au compte d'Orphée en cette tirade aristophanesque?".

[45] H.G. Liddell, R. Scott, and H.S. Jones, *A Greek-English Lexicon*, *s.v.*, 1872.

[46] Loeb Classical Library 179, p. 201.

[47] Quispel, *The Demiurge*, 17.

[48] Liddle and Scott, *s.v.*, 1424.

Since we also find the last image in the fragments of the Alexandrian Basilides, this raises the suspicion that we have encountered here a type of the Orphic theogonic myth, which must be localized in Alexandria. This fact could corroborate the opinion of Heintze, that at this point in the *Homilies* a Jewish apology of Alexandrian origin has been incorporated. It is indeed improbable, that this form of the myth has been invented, as Strecker thinks, by the author of the *Homilies*, who lived in the fourth century of our era.

We are still confronted with the question of whether this version of the theogonic myth in the *Homilies* is nearer to the original, or whether the version in the *Recognitions* is nearer the original. To answer this question, it is necessary to pay attention to some remarkable elements in the version of the *Recognitions*, which differ from the version in the *Homilies*. As we have seen, this myth is told at two places in the *Recognitions*, *Rec*. X, 17-20 and X, 30.

In the version of *Rec*. X,17 sqq., a very remarkable difference is that Chaos is considered to be the first principle,[49] and that the egg is a special form of it, which originates by the solidification of the chaotic matter. This deviates from the other Orphic versions, where Chaos never is the first principle, but an off-spring of Chronos. Chaos as the first principle is only found in the *Theogony* of Hesiod.[50] So we gain the impression that the author of the *Recognitions* has mingled the theogonic myth of Hesiod with that of the Orpheans. On the contrary in the *Homilies* both myths are clearly distinguished. So we here read: "That which Orpheus calls a produced egg is taken by Hesiod as Chaos" (τοῦτο Ἡσιόδος χάος ὑποτίθεται, ὅπερ Ὀρφεὺς ᾠὸν λέγει γενητόν). Although in the *Homilies* both myths are compared with each other, and agreements are stated, yet both are not blended, as in *Rec*. X,17. The same mingling has taken place in *Rec*. X,30. Though first Orpheus as well as Hesiod are mentioned separately, yet the cosmogonic and theogonic representations of both are not discerned, but to Orpheus is ascribed the idea that Chaos is the first principle, from which all came into being:

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[49] *Rec*. X,17, 2 (Rehm 336, 13-14):
"aiunt ergo qui sapientiores sunt inter gentiles, primo omnium Chaos fuisse".

[50] Hesiod, *Theogony* 116: Ἦ τοι μὲν πρώτιστα χάος γένετ᾽

> "It is Orpheus, then, who says that at first there was chaos, eternal, unbounded, unproduced, and that from it all things were made"
> (*"Orpheus igitur est, qui dicit primo fuisse chaos sempiternum, immensum, ingenitum, ex quo omnia facta sunt").*[51]

Because the author of the *Recognitions* blends the theogonic imagery of Hesiod and Orpheus with each other, it is clear that in the *Homilies* the Orphic myth is reproduced more accurately than in the *Recognitions.* Therefore it is probable that the author of the *Homilies* is nearer the Alexandrian source than the author of the *Recognitions*, who uses his source very freely.

In the second place it has struck us already when we considered the contents of *Rec.* X,17-20, that the subject of this passage is not the creation of the world, but the origin of the gods. Properly speaking Phaneta is no more than a link between Chaos and the first pair of gods, Ouranos and Gaia, Heaven and Earth. He creates the possibility, that gods can be born. Therefore, what originates from him are only the necessary conditions on which procreation can take place: substance, intelligence, motion and sexual intercourse.[52] We are, then, inclined, since the mixture of the myths of Hesiod with that of Orpheus is here so great, even to think that the author does not tell us an Orphic myth, but that one element of the Orphic myth, the birth of Phanes from the cosmic egg, has been added to the theogony of Hesiod.[53] It is also in this respect, that the Orphic myth in the *Recogni-*

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[51] *Rec.* X,30, 3 (Rehm 346, 24-25).

[52] *Rec.* X,17, 4 (Rehm 336, 21-22):

"et ex hoc dicunt progenitam esse substantiam, prudentiam, motum, coitum: ex his factum Coelum et Terram".

[53] In Hesiod's *Theogony* as well as in *Rec.* X,17 out of Ouranos and Gaia are born six male Titans and six female Titanides.

Theogony 132-138: "αὐτὰρ ἔπειτα
Οὐρανῷ εὐνηθεῖσα Ὠκεανὸν βαθυδίνην
Κοῖόν τε Κρῖόν θ' Ὑπερίονά τ' Ἰαπετόν τε
Θείαν τε Ῥείαν τε Θέμιν τε Μνημοσύνην τε
Φοίβην τε χρυσοστέφανον Τηθύν τ' ἐρατεινήν
τοὺς δὲ μέθ' ὁπλότατος γένετο Κρόνος ἀγκυλομήτης,
δεινότατος παίδων."

Rec. X,17, 5-6 (Rehm 336, 23-337, 2): "ex caelo sex progenitos mares, quos et Titanas appellant; similiter et de terra sex feminas, quas Titanidas vocitarunt. et sunt nomina eorum quidem qui ex caelo orti sunt haec: Oceanus, Coeus, Crios, Yperion, Iapetos, Cronos, qui apud nos Saturnus nominatur. similiter et earum quae ex terra ortae sunt

tions has a mixed character, so that we may conclude it is secondary to the report in the *Homilies.* As we have seen, the creation of the world is more stressed than the birth of the gods in *Rec.* X,30. In this respect the representation is here more cognate to the version of Hieronymus and Hellanicus, where it is also the world, which comes into being out of the matter of the egg.

The evidence which we have considered leads us to the following conclusions. In the first place the Pseudo-Clementines have preserved a special type of the Orphic theogonic myth. Speaking of the report in the *Recognitions*, Gruppe remarks that this theogony is not identical with that of Athenagoras, or Alexander of Aphrodisias, the commentator on Aristotle, who is also a witness to the Orphic theogony. He concludes: "Wieder eine andere, zwar nicht auf Orpheus zurückgeführte, aber doch offenbar in dem orphisierenden Kreis gehörige Theogonie ist auszugsweise bei Clemens Romanus, Recogn. X,7 (*sic*!) erhalten".[54] Apparently this theogony — and not only the theogony in the *Recognitions*, which is very corrupted, but also the theogony of the *Homilies* — does not belong to any of the familiar types, but is an Orphic theogony *sui generis.* One of the images, the image of the peacock's egg, points to Alexandria, where this form must be localized. Since we have also found some elements of the Rhapsodic theogony in this myth, we must conclude that it is not right to place this theogony, as Kern does, in the chapter "Hieronymi et Hellanici Theogonia".

Our second conclusion is, that in the Pseudo-Clementines the version of *Rec.* X,17-20 is clearly secondary to the version of the *Homilies*, because the Orphic element is very strongly reduced in favour of the theogonic representation of Hesiod. It is therefore clear, that the *Homilies* are nearer to the original source than the *Recognitions.* Because this source has Alexandrian ideas, Heintze was right, when he asserted, that this source was a Jewish apology written in Alexandria against the Alexandrian hater of the Jews Apion.

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nomina sunt haec: Thia, Rea, Themis, Mnemosyne, Tethys, Hebe". The only differences are that in the *Rec.* Heaven procreates alone the male Titans, and Earth the female, and the name of the sixth female Titan Hebe, who is called by Hesiod Phebe. A group, however, of *Rec.* manuscripts has the reading "bebe" or "boebe".

[54] Gruppe, *O.c.*, 641.

THE RELIGIO-HISTORICAL RELEVANCE OF LK 20:34-36

UGO BIANCHI

The well known text of Lk 20:34-36, particularly 36, raises a religio-historical problem, not usually dealt with in the commentaries. The problem is as follows: the Lukan text, after mentioning that in the world to come, in the resurrection, men and women will not marry nor be given in marriage, and before explaining that the resurrected will be "equal to angels and sons of God, being sons of the resurrection', inserts a motivation of its own, not to be found in the parallel texts of Matthew and Mark: "in fact, they cannot die anymore". So the first impression is that this Lukan text posits a correspondence between marriage and death: where there is no death, there is no marriage, where there is marriage, there is death.

Nowever, this connexion, nay this coincidence between the absence of marriage and the absence of death, is not a far-fetched one, if we consider the history of Christian thought, as we shall see. On the other hand, we may ask how old this conception is in the history of Christian spirituality.

The text of Luke 20:34-36 runs as follows: οἱ υἱοὶ τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου γαμοῦσιν καὶ γαμίσκονται, οἱ δὲ καταξιωθέντες τοῦ αἰῶνος ἐκείνου τυχεῖν καὶ ἀναστάσεως τῆς ἐκ νεκρῶν οὔτε γαμοῦσιν οὔτε γαμίζονται, οὐδὲ γὰρ ἀποθανεῖν ἔτι δύνανται, ἰσάγγελοι γάρ εἰσιν, καὶ υἱοί εἰσιν θεοῦ, τῆς ἀναστάσεως υἱοὶ ὄντες.

Matthew and Mark are more succinct: ἐν γὰρ τῇ ἀναστάσει οὔτε γαμοῦσιν οὔτε γαμίζονται, ἀλλ᾽ ὡς ἄγγελοι θεοῦ ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ εἰσιν (Mt. 22:30). ὅταν γὰρ ἐκ νεκρῶν ἀναστῶσιν, οὔτε γαμοῦσιν οὔτε γαμίζονται, ἀλλ᾽ εἰσὶν ὡς ἄγγελοι ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς (Mc. 12:25).

So, whilst the Matthean and the Markan texts only state that in the resurrection the practice and the institution of marriage will no longer exist, and that the resurrected *will* be as the angels in heaven are now, the Lukan text develops the argument in several directions.

First of all, an opposition is introduced between those belonging to this *aion* — being its 'sons' — and those wo are (or will be) given the privilege to belong to that *aion*, i.e. to resurrection — being sons of God —. True, as far as our specific problem is concerned,[1] the meaning is fundamentally the same here as with the corresponding Matthean and the Markan logia, since these too found the whole argument on the difference between *this* condition of life, — that of not yet resurrected men and women, — and the *final* condition, — that of the resurrected. But the particular emphasis, in the Lukan text, on the unique dignity of those who will be admitted to that *aion* (οἱ δὲ καταξιωθέντες ...) is not devoid of significance in the general context of the logion.

The other peculiarity, already mentioned, of the Lukan logion is that the οὐδὲ γὰρ ἀποθανεῖν ἔτι δύνανται inserted after the οὔτε γαμοῦσιν ... complicates the argumentation by introducing in it a third element and a special motivation, namely the mention of immortality, seen both as a quality of the **isangelia* and a formal alternative to the earthly régime to which marriage belongs (οἱ υἱοὶ τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου ...). Due to this intermediary position given to immortality (better to say: to the cessation of mortality) in this very delicate context, we are committed to dwell on the question whether this can imply or not those conceptual associations concerning the primordial state of integrity and non-mortality of man in Paradise which were usual in the wisdom and the apocalyptic literature of the first centuries A.D.; — this all the more since an exegetical trend of some Fathers sees in this Lukan logion a basic argument in favour of the practice of virginity, conceived not only as an anticipation of the condition of the resurrected and a testimony given to the world to come, but also as an instauration of the primordial condition of Adam.[2]

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[1] Here we do not enter the question of the actual meaning of the Lucan logion, whether it alludes or not to an anticipation of the life *isangelos* (through the present γαμοῦσιν) for those made worthy of resurrection (in our opinion, given the context and the parallels, the answer should be negative. See for this question Van Eijk, quoted n. 2).

[2] Cp. Ton H. C. Van Eijk, *Marriage and Virginity, Death and Immortality*, in *Epektasis* (Studies Daniélou), 220-235 and our observations in the article *Questioni storico-religiose relative al Cristianesimo in Siria nei secoli II-IV*, in *Augustinianum*, 19, 1979, 41-52, which is preliminary to this presentation.

Their argument was based on the inference that, resurrection being *apokatastasis*, i.e. instauration of the primal condition of man in Paradise, where Adam was not subject to mortality, that condition should have excluded the practice of sexual procreation, since this practice is excluded by the Lukan and the parallele logia for the angels and the resurrected (so e.g. Gregory of Nyssa).[3]

Thus we are confronted with a problem, the chronological ambit of which goes from the Lukan extension of the Matthean and the Markan logia (immortality seen as a symptom of the absence of marriage and vice versa) to the Gregorian hermeneutic theorizing of a primordial condition of man, where immortality was mutually implied with **isangelia* and virginity: now we wonder whether are we entitled to suppose that the Lukan mention of immortality in connexion with the absence of marriage for those made worth of the future *aion*, implied already — at least implicitly — the idea of an analogy between the final condition of man (resurrection, 'that' *aion*) and his primordial condition of integrity, — an analogy whose mediating element would have been the concept of immortality and the assumption that marriage is contextual with death, death being conceived as characterizing the régime of mankind after the sin and so destined to be abolished, as well as marriage and procreation, at the end of history?

But let us give some references concerning the period between Luke and the Cappadocian Fathers. The connexion between marriage, procreation and death is absolute and imperative among the Encratites. Tatian identifies *porneia* and *gamos*, Julius Cassianus identifies *genesis* and *phthorà* (thus giving a new meaning to the same identification made in the Platonic, more tolerant doctrine of the lower régime of time characterized by becoming and generation). This attitude of the Encratites is radical: birth implies death, birth causes the extension of the régime of death: only abstention from marriage and procreation could introduce resurrection and life, could hasten resurrection and life. As it is known, this very principle, of virginity stopping death, i.e. the encratic principle, was basic, in the opinion of some scholars, in a particular kind of spirituality. As to the theory that in an early Syrian Christianity married persons would have been excluded from baptism, see the alternative explanations by Klijn in *NTT* 14, 29-37, and Nedungatt in *OrChrPer* 39, 438-42. In any case, this would have been a qualified form of encratism, linked with the discipline of the administration of the sacraments, but not necessarily implying that radical, ontological identification between *porneia* and *gamos* which was characteristic of *absolute* encratism. In particular we do not know whether that qualified Syrian ecclesiastical and monastic encratism was motivated by peculiar conceptions concerning the primordial condition of mankind, and not by the more specific conception only that the resurrected (and also those destined to resurrection, who anticipate the condition of the resurrected by a way of life *isangelos*) will not marry.

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[3] De hom. op. 17, after quoting Lk 20:35f.: ἰσάγγελοι γάρ εἰσι καὶ υἱοὶ θεοῦ εἰσι τῆς ἀναστάσεως υἱοὶ ὄντες. / ἡ δὲ τῆς ἀναστάσεως χάρις οὐδὲν ἕτερον ἡμῖν ἐπαγγέλλεται ἢ τὴν εἰς τὸ ἀρχαῖον τῶν πεπτωκότων ἀποκατάστασιν. / ἐπάνοδος γάρ τίς ἐστιν ἐπὶ τὴν πρώτην ζωὴν ἡ προσδοκωμένη χάρις, τὸν ἀποβληθέντα τοῦ παραδείσου πάλιν εἰς αὐτὸν ἐπανάγουσα. / εἰ τοίνυν ἡ τῶν ἐπὸ κατισταμένων ζωὴ πρὸς τὴν τῶν ἀγγέλων οἰκείως ἔχει, δηλονότι ὁ πρὸ τῆς παραβάσεως βίος ἀγγελικός τις ἦν· διὸ καὶ ἡ πρὸς τὸ ἀρχαῖον τῆς ζωῆς ἡμῶν ἐπάνοδος τοῖς ἀγγέλοις ὁμοίωται.

The incompatibility of the condition of being resurrected with marriage, birth and the cycle of life in general is stated by Origen, *Expl. in Matth.* GCS X, 689 in relation to the Matthean logion: *quoniam si sunt ibi nuptiae, et partus; si partus et mortes et infirmitates; si nativitas et pueritia et ascensiones a pueritia ad maturitatem virilem et minorationes senectutis. Si autem haec omnia, erit et malitia, et vix alicubi virtus invenietur in raris hominibus quaerentibus eam* (we can observe here the typically Platonic connexion between the realm of *chronos*, implying mutability, decay, deficience, and the *kakia*). Cp. also p. 699: *aut post resurrectionem homines manducaturos et bibituros escas carnales et potus, ... putant nos etiam post exitum futuros esse in usu carnalium nuptiarum, propter quas nec vacare quis orationibus potest absque macula nec in hoc mundo.*

An alternative position which does not concern us here is that of gnosticism. In fact, gnostic encratism, though partly motivated as the already mentioned position (i.e. in order not to propagate the power of death), is more properly motivated by the ontological conception of the death-giving power of matter, considered as a principle opposing *pneuma*, — which is not properly, it would seem, the starting point of a Tatian or a Julius Cassianus (whatever could be said about the remote Platonic sources of the pre-comprehensions active in these doctors of encratism).

Let us return now to the encratism proper to these just mentioned writers, an encratism which is absolute, since it identifies marriage with *porneia* and *genesis* with *phthora*. This encratism — though not gnostic — can be labelled as dualistic, of a qualified dualism, not of the gnostic type, opposing spirit and matter as ontological principles (with the intermediary position of *psyché*), but anyway a dualism, *qua* ontologically linking *genesis* with corruption (a Platonic position in itself), but in the context of an absolute, ontological condemnation of marriage, seen as unfitting already for those destined to that *aion*.[4] This form of encratism could not be accepted by the Christian church, whatever the Syrian practice concerning baptism could imply for the Christian way of life. But the connexion between marriage and the propagation of death was accepted as one of the motivations of virginity[5] by orthodox thinkers of the IIIth and the IVth centuries A.D. such as the Cappadocian Fathers.

We had elsewhere[6] the opportunity to indicate in which sense a Gregory of Nyssa or a Gregory of Nazianz could be labelled as thinkers not completely devoid of both dualistic and encratic elements in their conception of man and his relation to sexuality. Of course, Gregory was not fundamentally a dualist, nor was he an encratite in the absolute sense of the word (as we have indicated, we mean by absolute encratism the absolute, ontological condemnation of marriage or the conception of its absolute incompatibility with the Christian profession introducing to resurrection). On the contrary: though highly praising virginity above marriage, Gregory considered marriage essential in the present condition of mankind in order to attain that totality, that numerical plenitude which was in the creative intention of God from the very beginning. But we cannot forget — as for those above mentioned dualistic and encratic 'elements' in the thought of Gregory — the fact that, according to him, God gave to man, made in the likeness of his creator, the sexual organs only because He had foreseen Adam's sin, and this in order to give to man that faculty that, had he not committed the sin, would have been exercised through means more coherent with the image of God, i.e. through means 'angelic', other than 'animal' ones. So the question is raised as for the first sources of Gregory's conception of virginity as an instauration of the primordial condition of man, that is as an anticipation not of resurrection itself, but of the condition of the resurrected, a resurrection which is, in a sense, a return to a primal situation.[7] Are those sources to be found beyond Origen, beyond the (more or less absolute) formulations of the Syrian encratism of the IIth century, already in the Judaeo-Christian milieus of primitive Christianity, possibly also in the conceptual patrimony active already in the context of the synoptical literature?

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[4] So, a coalescence of the Platonic doctrine of the two realms and the Christian doctrine of the two aiones (or a coalescence of Platonic, ontological dualism and of Christian eschatology), brought into effect under the sign of the Christian concept of divine transcendence but not necessarily authorized by it.

[5] As it is known, virginity, in the Christian tradition, is not necessarily linked with ontological, dualistic or encratic presuppositions, not even those already mentioned concerning Gregory (see e.g. Paul's argumentations in 1 Cor 7). As for the conceptual associations of *monachos* etc. further study is required.

[6] At the Seminar of Gregory of Nyssa held at Milan April 1978; this communication appeared in the volume U. Bianchi (Ed.), *La 'doppia creazione' dell'uomo negli Alessandrini, nei Cappadoci e nella gnosi*, Roma, 1978, 85-115. See also, in the same book, pp. 3-23, as well also our contribution *Presupposti platonici e dualistici di Origene, de principiis*, in *Origeniana* II, Proceedings of the IInd Intern. Congress of Origenian Studies held at Bari in 1977, Roma 1980: The issue concerning *arché* and *telos* in Origen and Gregory of Nyssa were the object of the Milan Colloquium on *The Anthropology of Origen and the Cappadocian Fathers* (1979), whose Proceedings are being published in the series *Studia Patristica Mediolanensia*.

In other words: given the particular context (immortality evoked in connexion with the cessation of marriage, and, in a sense, as a motivation for this: οὐδὲ γὰρ ἀποθανεῖν ἔτι δύνανται) are we to think that the Lukan extension of the original logion is better understood as a symptom of the idea that marriage is contextual with death, not only as an obvious inference that where there is no more death (i.e. in the resurrection) there is no birth and, consequently, no marriage, but also on the basis of an analogy between the primordial and the eschatological condition of mankind, an analogy carried on to the extreme of implying a virginity, *de iure* and *de facto*, of man, in the condition both of primordial innocence and of final integrity?

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[7] As for Gregory, this is not to be understood in the sense that resurrection, and history in general, will not achieve more than was already in existence before sin. On the contrary, Gregory's idea is that the final things will be a real progress and a full actualization of the potentiality of the beginnings, i.e. they will be unique and new, in the perfection of the *telos*. Rather, according to Gregory, the entire human history, as it actualizes itself in the course of time after the primordial sin, is a kind of *détour*, a precious one indeed, excogitated by God in order that man could attain the same results, via the *diastema* as we live it after sin, as if man had not committed the first failure and had perseverated in that condition of *isangelia* which was meant for him in the beginnings. Had sin not been committed, a *diastema* would have been equally in existence and the multiplication of mankind would have been realized in the time, though not by means of 'animal' procreation.

The question seems to us to be open and the argument is speculative. Needless to say, we should carefully avoid to 'read back' in the Lukan logion conceptions like those of the Gospel of Philip 71 or the Gospel of Thomas 114. Rather, our basic reference should be a serious consideration of the old tradition, certainly known in New Testament times, that Adam's sin had introduced death in the world, not only in the sense, already obvious on the basis of several Old Testament texts, that death had been originated by the fall in the Paradise, but also that death, as a lasting presence in all human history, is a kind of *poena medicinalis* and a power destined to be abrogated in and through the final resurrection (Paul's 'last enemy'). The tradition, rooted in the Biblical account, that Adam 'knew' Eve only after having left the Paradise could have cooperated. On the other hand, as for Gregory's *anthropogonical* and anthropological speculations, they are better understood on the basis of Platonic motivations, via Philo and Origen.

But we cannot close these lines without mentioning that an alternative explanation of the Lukan insertion : "in fact, they cannot die anymore", could be found in the fact that all the discussion in the entire episode turns around death and resurrection : so it could be considered as only natural to introduce the mention of the immortality of the resurrected in a discussion, the point of which were the successive *marriages* of a woman, motivated by the successive *deaths* of her husbands. In this case, the οὐδὲ γὰρ ἀποθανεῖν ... could be understood not as a motivation of the preceding phrase (οὔτε γαμοῦσιν...), but as an extension of the motivation given by this : "... will not marry not be given in marriage, *not even* will they die anymore..." (or, as in some translations which do not insist on a 'motivational' γάρ : '*neither* will they die anymore'). Other considerations could be grounded on the phrase καὶ υἱοί εἰσιν θεοῦ ... The mention of "*sons* of God" as "sons of resurrection" (υἱοί εἰσιν θεοῦ, τῆς ἀναστάσεως υἱοὶ ὄντες) in a matter of marriage and procreation (cp. the ἐξαναστήσῃ σπέρμα τῷ ἀδελφῷ αὐτοῦ of v. 28) could reinforce the (today) common exegesis of Lk 20:34-36 as a mere opposition of the two régimes : the present one and that of resurrection, without further implications such as those guessed in the first part of this article.[8]

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[8] Thanks are due here to Father St. Breton who drew my attention to this particular aspect of the exegesis of our logion.

THE CREATION OF ADAM'S PSYCHIC BODY IN THE APOCRYPHON OF JOHN

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Some years ago, in a study on the demiurge in the *Apocryphon of John* (AJ), Gilles Quispel suggested that "it was probably under the influence of Plato's *Timaeus* that Jewish heretics, and the Gnostics in their wake, said that the world was created by a lower demiurge".[1] In that connexion he devoted only a few general remarks to the question of Plato's influence on AJ's views of the demiurge and the creation of man.[2] In this study I aim to show that there actually exists a special relationship between some of AJ's specific views on these points and the *Timaeus*. To show that a suggestion of his once again proved fruitful to further research seems an appropriate way of honouring the provocative scholar and teacher from whom I have learned so much during so many years.

According to AJ, man was created by the seven planetary powers and their fellows. The complicated problem of AJ's zodiacal and planetary lists cannot be dealt with in this connexion.[3] But something must be said about the relationship between the list of the planets in AJ and those in other texts.[4] In AJ the planetary rulers, called Ἐξουσίαι, are united by the demiurge to seven powers (III, 18, 23 : Δυνάμεις). This is reminiscent of Philo's view that God had bestowed special powers (δυνάμεις) on the heavenly bodies.[5] In BG 43, 11 ff. the following archons and powers are enumerated :

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[1] G. Quispel, *The Demiurge in the Apocryphon of John*, in *Nag Hammadi and Gnosis. Papers read at the First International Congress of Coptology* (*Cairo*, December 1976), ed. by R. McL. Wilson (NHS XIV), Leiden 1978, 30.

[2] As elements taken from the *Timaeus*, Quispel, *Ibid.*, mentioned the idea "that this world is an image of the aeons and that the bodily frame of man was fashioned by the demiurge and his fellows." For the former, see BG 39, 9-10 parr.; the latter contains a slip of the pen: neither in the *Timaeus* nor in AJ does the demiurge play an active part in the creation of man's body.

[3] See A. J. Welburn, *The Identity of the Archons in the 'Apocryphon of John'*, in *VC* 32, 1978, 241-254.

[4] Of AJ's four Coptic versions I usually follow the text of the short recension as found in the Berlin Coptic Papyrus 8502 (= BG), edited by W.C. Till, *Die gnostischen Schriften des Koptischen Papyrus Berolinensis 8502*, 2nd rev. edition by H.-M. Schenke (TU 60^2), Berlin 1972. Nag Hammadi Codex III contains another

Iaoth	and	Pronoia
Eloaios	and	Divinity
Astaphaios	and	Goodness
Iao	and	Fire[6]
Sabaoth[7]	and	Kingship
Adoni	and	Synesis
Sabbataios	and	Sophia

We need not enter here into a discussion of the origin and meaning of the female powers of this list. Neither these questions nor the problems raised by the mutual disparities at this point between the extant versions of AJ, and by the differences between them and the related list in *On the Origin of the World* need detain us here since they have no direct bearing on our argument. In the latter text the powers are not conceived of as separate hypostases; they are simply called the feminine names of the androgynous archons.[8]

The beginning of AJ's list of male archons is still preserved in *On the Origin of the World*, 101, 10ff. (Böhlig 44), though it is in fact

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version of the short recension. This text and both versions of the long recension, in Cod. II and Cod. IV, have been edited by M. Krause and P. Labib, *Die drei Versionen des Apokryphon des Johannes im Koptischen Museum zu Alt-Kairo* (ADAIKairo, Koptische Reihe, 1), Wiesbaden 1962.

[5] Philo, *De opificio mundi*, 46 (Cohn-Wendland I, 15); see below p. 45.

[6] Instead of ⲕⲱϩⲧ, "fire", the other versions read ⲕⲱϩ, "jealousy" or "envy". Welburn, *o.c.*, 248 suggested that the power Fire was "somewhat unimaginatively" introduced because Iao stood for the Sun. The reading ⲕⲱϩ, which most probably renders the Greek word ζηλοτυπία (see the remarks by G. Mussies on p. 330 of this volume) seems to be more original since it fits better into this list of (in its original Greek form) female powers.

[7] In the short recension's first enumeration of the seven archons, the fifth ruler is called Adonaios (BG 42, 3; III, 18, 3). This must be an error since the parallel text in II, 11, 31 (IV, 18, 20-21 is defective) and also the passages corresponding to BG 43, 20 read "Sabaoth" (II, 12, 22 : Sanbaoth; IV, 19, 23; III deest).

[8] *On the Origin of the World* is cited after the edition by A. Böhlig and P. Labib, *Die koptisch-gnostische Schrift ohne Titel aus Codex II von Nag Hammadi im Koptischen Museum zu Alt-Kairo* (DAWBOr, Veröffentlichung Nr. 58), Berlin 1962, but with the page numbers of *The Facsimile Edition of the Nag Hammadi Codices : Codex II*, Leiden 1974.

inconsistent with this writing's own view of the planetary rulers. The demiurge, Ialdabaoth, having created heaven and earth, called an androgynous son into being by means of his word. When this son saw his father he said to him : "I"; therefore, his father called him *Iao*. Again he created a second son, and because this one said to his father : "E", he was called *Eloai*. Thereupon the demiurge created a third son, who said to his father : "As", and for that reason was called *Astaphaios*.

In this text, the name of the first son is called *Iao*, and not *Iaoth*. This may be another instance of the confusion which apparently existed with respect to the name of the first archon of this planetary list : in Cod. III, 17, 22 he is called *Aoth* and in Cod. II, 11, 26 and 12, 16 *Athot*.[9] It is also possible that a scribe of *On the Origin of the World* once substituted the familiar name *Iao* for the uncommon name *Iaoth*.

Immediately after the passage on the three sons of Ialdabaoth the text continues : "Seven appeared in Chaos as androgynous beings; they have their masculine name and their feminine name" (101, 23-26; Böhlig 44). The masculine names of these "seven powers of the seven heavens of Chaos" (102, 1-2; Böhlig 46) turn out to be identical with those given by Irenaeus, Origen, and the inscription on a gnostic gem.[10] In *Adv. Haer.* I, 30, 5 (Rousseau-Doutreleau I, 2, 368), Irenaeus transmits from an Ophite writing a list of the planetary rulers which in a slightly different order is also found in Origen's description of the Ophite diagram, in *Contra Celsum* VI, 31 (Koetschau 101 f.). The gnostic amulet shows on its obverse a lion-headed god, with to the left the word "AARIEL" and to the right the name Ialdabaoth. The reverse shows the same list as that in Irenaeus and *On the Origin of the World*, but with the abbreviation "Ia" for Ialdabaoth, obviously because of lack of space.[11] These lists present the following names :

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[9] This form probably also in Cod. IV, 19, 17 (lacunous). In Origen's Ophite planetary list discussed below, the archon corresponding to Iaoth is called Hor(aios).

[10] See H. Chadwick, *Origen : Contra Celsum, translated with an Introduction and Notes*, Cambridge 1953, 349, n. 2. Chadwick could not yet know *On the Origin of the World*; Welburn (see note 4 above), however, should have made use of this important text and also of the gnostic gem.

[11] See C. Bonner, *Studies in Magical Amulets, chiefly Graeco-Egyptian* (University of Michigan Studies, Humanistic Series, Vol. XLIX), Ann Arbor-London 1950, 135-

OrigWrld	*Irenaeus*	*Gnostic gem*	*Origen*
〈Ialdabaoth〉	Ialdabaoth	Ia〈ldabaoth〉	Ialdabaoth
Iao	Iao	Iao	Iao
Sabaoth	Sabaoth	Sabaoth	Sabaoth
Adonaios	Adonai	Adonai	Adonaios
Eloaios	Elohim	Eloai	Astaphaios
Oraios	Hor	Horeos	Ailoaios/Eloaios
Astaphaios	Astaphaeus	Astapheos	Horaios

According to Origen, *Contra Celsum* VI, 31, the Ophites said "that the star Saturn (Φαίνων) is in sympathy with the lion-like archon", i.e. Ialdabaoth.[12] In AJ's list of planetary archons Ialdabaoth is missing, but it seems certain that in that list it is Sabbataios who has to be combined with Saturn. Sabbataios most probably represents the Hebrew *Shabbetai*, the seventh planet, i.e. Saturn.[13] An important difference between the Ophite list and that in AJ is that the former opens with Saturn and the latter concludes with that planet. If we reverse the Ophite list and assume that also the other archons were associated with the planets in their most usual order from Saturn down to the Moon,[14] the lists can be paralleled in this way:

138, 284 (no. 188), and Pl. IX, 188. Bonner, 136, mentioned the possibility of *Ia* being "merely a mnemonic abbreviation for Ialdabaoth", but preferred to take it as another form of Iao. See also note 12.

[12] That the "lion-like archon" refers to Ialdabaoth is certain. In AJ, Cod. II, 10, 9, Ialdabaoth is said to have the shape of a serpent and the face of a lion, cf. Quispel, *o.c.*, 9-10. The lion-headed god on the gnostic gem has a human body, but the word AARIEL, i.e. the Hebrew word *Ariel*, means "Lion of God", see F. Brown, S. R. Driver, and Ch. A. Briggs, *A Hebrew and English Lexicon*, Oxford 1962, 72, and also Bonner, *o.c.*, 137-138.

[13] J. Levy, *Neuhebräisches und chaldäisches Wörterbuch über die Talmudim und Midraschim*, IV, Leipzig 1889, 507. The identification of Sabbataios and Saturn was already made by J. Michl, *Engel*, in *RAC* V, Stuttgart 1962, 230 (nr. 192), and Welburn, *o.c.*, 245.

[14] That the following identifications are correct can be shown from the correlations between the planets and those signs of the Zodiac which are their day- and night-houses; see Welburn, *o.c.*, 250-254. On these correlations: F. Boll, C. Bezold, and W. Gundel, *Sternglaube und Sterndeutung. Die Geschichte und das Wesen der Astrologie*, 5th ed. by H.G. Gundel, Darmstadt 1966, 58-59. The identifications of Iaoth-Pronoia, etc. with the Moon, etc. are confirmed by the text of Zādspram cited on p. 50 below.

AJ	*Ophites*	*Planet*
Iaoth	Astaphaios (Origen : Horaios)	Moon
Eloaios	Horaios (Origen : Eloaios)	Mercury
Astaphaios	Eloaios (Origen : Astaphaios)	Venus
Iao	Adonaios	Sun
Sabaoth	Sabaoth	Mars
Adoni	Iao	Jupiter
Sabbataios	Ialdabaoth	Saturn

It will be clear that the list of Origen has more in common with that of AJ than the other Ophite testimonies. The names of the second, third, and fifth archons are identical in both lists. The names of AJ's fourth and sixth rulers have changed their places in the Ophite lists. That is no surprise since they are virtually identical, Adonai only being the Hebrew pronunciation of the Tetragrammaton, JHWH. It should be observed, however, that the Ophite list in its traditional form, beginning with Ialdabaoth-Saturn, presents the second, third and fourth archons in the same order as AJ : Iao, Sabaoth, Adonaios. Though there are instances of different orders, the sequence Iao, Sabaoth, Adonaios was used by preference and formed a fixed magic formula.[15] Therefore, which of the two lists may have been original, it seems quite probable that it already contained the traditional sequence Iao, Sabaoth, Adonaios, which was not changed with the reversal of the original list.

The most striking difference between the Ophite lists and that of AJ is that in the former Ialdabaoth, the demiurge is one of the seven planetary rulers, whereas in the latter he stands above them as their creator and Lord.

In its present form, which, however, betrays use of various and even conflicting sources, *On the Origin of the World* teaches that Ialdabaoth alone created the heaven and earth and together with his fellow-archons made man (114, 29-115, 3; Böhlig 77).[16] In AJ, however,

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[15] *PGM* I, 36 (III, 77), 122 (IV, 1484-5 and 1538-9); II, 10 (VII, 220), 14 (VII, 311), 28 (VII, 626), 29 (VII, 649), 43 (VII, 979), 48 (VIII, 60-1), 50 (VIII, 96), 52 (X, 6), 53 (X, 46-9), 62 (XII, 75), 77 (XII, 285), 164 (XXXVI, 43), 175 (XXXVI, 349-50); 209 (Christ. pap. nr. 2, 4), 210 (Christ, pap. nr. 3, 1).

[16] According to the *Tractatus Tripartitus*, 104, 31ff., too, the demiurge and his angelic servants were engaged in the creation of man; cf. the commentary by G. Quispel and J. Zandee in R. Kasser, M. Malinine, H.-Ch. Puech, G. Quispel, J. Zandee, *et al.*, *Tractatus Tripartitus*, II and III, Bern 1975, 195-196.

Ialdabaoth creates only heaven and earth and leaves the creation of man to the seven planetary powers. Irenaeus' Ophites still took Ialdabaoth as the first of the seven archons, but they, too, taught that he was not engaged in the creation of man; this was done by the six other powers (*Adv. Haer.* I, 30, 6; Rousseau-Doutreleau I, 2, 370).[17]

This points to a tendency to ascribe the creation of the world to a separate demiurge and to reserve the creation of man to lower angelic beings. This view seems to represent the final stage of a development which started from the doctrine that world and man had been created by angels.[18]

The emergence of one demiurge and the idea to dissociate him from the creation of man seems due to influence of Plato's *Timaeus*. There the demiurge charges the young gods to create mortal beings. Explaining the reason of this commandment he declares: "If I myself gave them birth and life, they would be equal to gods" (41C). Thereupon, the demiurge made the immortal souls, assigned each of them to a particular star, and showed them the nature of the Universe and the laws of Destiny. These implied for every soul at least one incarnation, which, however, if it failed to live well, should be followed by as many reincarnations as should be necessary to enable its return to its original state of righteousness (41D-42D). When he had delivered these ordinances "to the end that he might be guiltless of the future wickedness of any one of them", he sowed the souls in the Earth, the Moon, and the other instruments of time, i.e. the planets, and left to the young gods the task of moulding the mortal bodies and fashioning the mortal parts of the soul (42DE).

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[17] The same tendency to dissociate Ialdabaoth from the creation of man seems to be at work in the *Hypostasis of the Archons*, which, just as AJ, distinguishes between the demiurge and the Seven (II, 95, 1-4) and ascribes the creation of man to "the Rulers" (87, 23-33), into whom, however, their chief, Ialdabaoth, might be included (cf. 94, 34: "this Ruler" = Ialdabaoth).

[18] According to Irenaeus, *Adv. Haer.* I, 23, 2 and 5, and 25, 1, Simon Magus, Menander, and Carpocrates taught that the world and man had been created by angels; the same in *Tractatus Tripartitus* 112, 35 - 113, 1. Saturninus spoke about *seven* angels as the creators of world and man (Irenaeus, *Adv. Haer.* I, 24, 1): his system is closely related to that of AJ. See also the text of Justin Martyr cited in note 22. Cf. S. Pétrement, *Le mythe des sept archontes créateurs peut-il s'expliquer à partir du Christianisme?*, in *Origini*, 460-487.

In the *Timaeus*, the young gods are not confined to the seven planets. The νέοι θεοί (42D), also called the παῖδες of the demiurge (42E), are "both all that revolve before our eyes and all that reveal themselves in so far as they will", i.e. the gods of popular belief (41A). Plato seems to have primarily thought of the visible gods, the stars and planets, as the creators of the mortal parts of the soul and of the body.[19] It has been claimed that in Middle Platonism the young gods were generally identified with the seven planets (sun and moon included).[20] If this were true, it would explain why in AJ the creation of man is assigned to the planetary powers, but there is no conclusive evidence for this thesis. Philo, for instance, who was adduced as a witness, never speaks of the planets as the creators of man. He is obviously under Plato's influence when he ascribes the creation of the mortal parts of the soul to the powers to whom God said : "Let us make man" (Gen. 1,26), — "an expression which plainly shows the calling in of others as fellow-workers."[21] These lower creators are responsible for the evil thoughts and deeds of man, whereas his blameless thoughts and deeds are due to God : "For it could not be that the Father should be the cause of an evil thing to his offspring."[22] Philo says that "God deemed it necessary to assign the creation of evil things to other makers, reserving that of good things to himself alone."[23] That does not imply that Philo already thought of God's fellow-creators as evil angelic beings. He only had in mind the nature of the mortal soul which, according to Plato, *Tim.* 69CD, has in itself "dread and necessary affections", which the creators "combined with irrational sense and desire that shrinks from no venture." But it will be clear how easily Philo's lower demiurges could develop into evil angelic beings.

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[19] See F.M. Conford, *Plato's Cosmology. The Timaeus of Plato with a running Commentary*, 3rd impr., London 1952, 141; cf. also P. Boyancé, *Dieu cosmique et dualisme. Les Archontes et Platon*, in *Origini*, 342-347.

[20] J. Dillon, *The Middle Platonists. A Study of Platonism, 80 B.C. to A.D. 220*, London 1977, 172 (Philo), 324 (Pseudo-Plutarch). Dillon himself, however, points out that the younger gods "are equated by Albinus not so much with the planetary gods as with daemons" (288). Philo's alleged testimony is discussed in the text above. Pseudo-Plutarch, *De fato*, 9 (572F; Valgiglio 50), says that secondary Providence belongs to the secondary gods and quotes the speech of the demiurge to the younger gods (573EF; Valg. 55). There is, however, in this text no justification for Dillon's conclusion : "Since the Young Gods are in Middle Platonism generally identified with the planetary gods, this is a description of the planetary influences on the soul." Calcidius identified the younger gods with the heavenly bodies in general, *Comm. in Tim.*, 201 (Waszink 220) : "iubet ... diis, id est stellis"; also 139 (W. 179). Cf. Boyancé, *o.c.*, 347.

[21] Philo, *De opificio mundi*, 75 (Cohn-Wendland I, 25).

[22] Philo, *Ibid.* According to Justin Martyr, *Dial.*, 62 (Goodspeed 168), there was a Jewish sect which taught that the human *body* was a creation of the angels. The special emphasis on the body seems to point to influence from the *Timaeus*.

[23] Philo, *De fuga et inventione*, 70 (Cohn-Wendland III, 124).

There is no evidence that Philo identified God's fellow-workers with the seven planets. In his *De opificio mundi*, 45-46 (Cohn-Wendland I, 14f.), he attacks the view that the regular movements of the heavenly bodies are the causes of all things. According to him, it was to refute this wicked doctrine in advance that God had created sun, moon and stars after the earth had already put forth all kinds of plants and fruits: "For he has no need of his heavenly offspring on which he bestowed powers, which, however, were not independent." The whole context shows that Philo did not think here of the seven planets only but of the heavenly bodies in general.[24]

That in AJ the creation of Adam is ascribed to the seven planets seems not due to a Middle Platonic interpretation of Plato's young gods, but to the combination of a particular planetary *melothesia* and a well-known doctrine of the descent of the soul. According to AJ, the planetary powers first created a psychic Man, whom they called Adam. It was only after they had become aware that Adam, thanks to the Spirit which the demiurge had breathed into him, exceeded them all, Ialdabaoth included, that they resolved to bring him down to the regions of matter and death and to bound him into a carnal body (BG 52, 1-55, 18). In this study I intend to deal with Adam's psychic body only, or rather with one aspect of that body, its composing elements. For as far as I know it has not yet been noticed that the components of Adam's psychic body correspond to those of the carnal body in the *Timaeus*.

According to AJ, the seven archons resolved to create man when they had seen the likeness of the heavenly Anthropos reflected in the waters of Chaos (BG 48, 4ff.). This creation is not ascribed to the

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[24] Boyancé, *o.c.*, 352-354, has pointed out that Philo's comparison of the ruling activity of the heavenly bodies in the cosmos with that of archons in a city, in *De spec. leg.*, I, 13 (Cohn-Wendland V, 4), and the name archons for the planetary rulers in Gnosticism may originate in Plato too.

Ἐξουσίαι themselves but to their Δυνάμεις, the female aspects of the androgynous planetary rulers. Each power created a particular element of the psychic body of man. According to the short version, this happened in the following way, BG 49, 10-50, 5:

> And the powers began from below.
> The first is Divinity: a bone-soul,[25]
> the second is Goodness: a sinew-soul,
> the third is Fire: a flesh-soul,
> the fourth is Pronoia: a marrow-soul, and the whole foundation of the body,
> the fifth is Kingship: a blood-soul,
> the sixth is Synesis: a skin-soul,
> the seventh is Sophia: a hair-soul.

It will be noticed that in this list Pronoia takes the fourth place whereas in that of AJ 43, 11ff., quoted above, it is mentioned first. We may safely assume that also in the list of AJ 49, 10ff. Pronoia originally held the first position. If we put it there again, with the marrow associated with it, the sequence of the soul substances becomes a logical one, running from the inmost part of man to his outmost: marrow, bones, sinews, flesh, blood, skin, and hair. This must be the original order of the psychic body's components, for it was in this order, with the omission of one element, that Plato discussed the composition of the carnal body.

In his *Timaeus*, 73B-76E, Plato consecutively deals with marrow, bones, sinews, flesh, skin, hair, and nails. Strange enough, he does not speak of blood in this connexion, probably because he wanted to discuss the blood, "upon which the flesh and the whole body feeds" (80E), after he had dealt with the plants (as food of man), the inner "irrigation system" (veins and arteries), and respiration (80D-81E). This difference between Plato and AJ suggests that AJ is not directly dependent on the *Timaeus* but has made use of a later source in which the blood had been put into its logical position between the flesh and the skin. In *Tim.* 77D, Plato himself says that the creator made two veins beneath the juncture of skin and flesh.

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[25] Literally: "it is a bone-soul" (sc. what was made by Divinity); the corresponding passage in Cod. III, 22, 19ff. is very lacunous, but most probably read: "a bone-soul"; that in Cod. II, 15, 14ff. reads: "The first, Goodness (!), created a bone-soul", and that in Cod. IV, 24, 3ff.: "The first is Goodness, she created a bone-soul".

According to BG 49, 16-19, Pronoia made "a marrow-soul, and the whole foundation of the body". This rather cryptic phrase can also be explained from the *Timaeus.* Plato explicitly says that the coming into being of the marrow formed the beginning of bones, flesh, and the other elements of the body: τούτοις σύμπασιν ἀρχὴ μὲν ἡ τοῦ μυελοῦ γένεσις (73B). He distinguishes between two kinds of marrow, the brain (moulded into spherical shape) and the ordinary marrow (moulded into shapes at once rounded and elongated), the immortal part of the soul being anchored to the brain and the mortal parts to the rest of the marrow. The whole body was constructed around this marrow: περὶ τοῦτο σύμπαν ἤδη τὸ σῶμα ἡμῶν ἀπηργάζετο (73D). It will be clear that, according to Plato, the marrow is the starting point, the basis of the rest of the human body.[26] This is also meant when AJ says that Pronoia made "a marrow-soul, and the whole foundation of the body." In this sentence the copula "and" (Copt. ⲁⲩⲱ = Gr. καί) has to be taken in an epexegetical sense: "a marrow-soul, that is to say the whole foundation of the body."[27]

AJ does not speak about the brain, but that the tradition it transmits originally did so, like Plato, appears from a corresponding passage in the treatise *On the Origin of the World.* It relates that the seven rulers created Adam: "His moulded body came into being according to the portion of each of them. Their chief, then, created the brain and the marrow" (114, 33-35; Böhlig 76).[28] This text confirms that the creation of marrow has to be associated with the first-mentioned planetary ruler, here Ialdabaoth, whose "feminine name" is called *Pronoia* Sambathas (101, 26-27; Böhlig 44).

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[26] Cornford, *o.c.*, 293, n. 1 has pointed out that the word ἀρχή in *Tim.* 73B "does not mean that marrow is the fundamental stuff in the composition of all other tissues." According to M. Baltus, *Timaios Lokros über die Natur des Kosmos und der Seele* (Philosophia Antiqua, XXI) Leiden 1972, 151, Timaeus Locrus, 47 (218, 11f.) took the word ἀρχή in this sense. But neither Timaeus Locrus nor AJ need to have meant more than that the marrow (or brain) is the starting point of the formation of the body.

[27] The coptic word ⲕⲱ ⲉϩⲣⲁⲓ, translated here with "foundation", has been rendered as "Aufbau" (Till-Schenke, Krause), "construction" (Wilson), and "agencement" (Kasser); literally, it means: "laying down", cf. W.E. Crum, *A Coptic Dictionary,* Oxford 1939, 98. The short recension of Codex III, 23, 4-5, has a similar addition after the sixth soul-substance: "a skin-soul (or, though improbable, a tooth-soul; cf. Till-Schenke, 141, ad 3) and the whole body." The reference to the whole body was apparently connected with the skin, because this covers the whole body. It seems that also the source of Zādspram, see note 32, contained an addition similar to that of Cod. III, 23, 4-5. In the long recension of AJ the remark on the foundation of the body has been omitted, probably because the addition had become incomprehensible.

[28] I do not understand why H.G. Bethge and O.S. Wintermute, in *The Nag Hammadi*

In our discussion of the two list of planetary rulers we have adopted the view that in AJ the archons, from Iaoth to Sabbataios, correspond to the planets, from the Moon to Saturn, in their most usual order. If in the passage on the soul substances Pronoia is restored to its original position at the head of the list, we can make the following juxtaposition of archons, powers, planets and soul substances:

Iaoth — Pronoia — Moon — Marrow
Eloaios — Divinity — Mercury — Bones
Astaphaios — Goodness — Venus — Sinews
Iao — Fire — Sun — Flesh
Sabaoth — Kingship — Mars — Blood
Adoni — Synesis — Jupiter — Skin
Sabbataios — Sophia — Saturn — Hair

The tradition of AJ must ultimately derive from a source in which the seven planets were associated with the components of the human body as described in Plato's *Timaeus*, 73B-76E (with inclusion of the blood). This might seem a bold inference from the above-made juxtapositions; but we need not infer this, for it can be proven, albeit from a rather unexpected source.

In his account of the Creation, the Persian writer Zādspram, who lived in the ninth century A.D., devoted a chapter of his *Selections* to the structure of man.[29] In Chapter 30, 4 he writes: "The material bodied was completed by seven folds, the innermost of which is the marrow, surrounding the marrow the bones, surrounding the bones the flesh, surrounding the flesh the sinews, surrounding the sinews the veins, surrounding the veins the skin, and surrounding the skin the hair."[30]

Library in English, edited by J. M. Robinson, Leiden 1977, 172, translate ⲡⲉⲅⲕⲉⲫ[ⲁ]ⲗⲟⲛ by "head". The reading is certain; there is no reason to emendate ἐγκέφαλον into κεφαλή.

[29] On Zādspram, see Mary Boyce, *Middle Persian Literature* (Handbuch der Orientalistik, I, 4, 2, 1), Leiden and Cologne, 41-43.

[30] B. T. Anklesaria, *Vichitakiha-I Zatsparam, with Text and Introduction*, I, Bombay 1964, CV. R.C. Zaehner, *Zurvan. A Zoroastrian Dilemma*, Oxford 1955, quotes several texts which are of interest in this connexion; see following notes. Drs. G. Kreyenbroek

The only difference with AJ (and Plato) is that the sinews are not mentioned before the flesh but after it, with the result that the veins are said to surround the sinews. The sequence in Plato and AJ seems more logical and, therefore, more original. It should be noted that, just as in AJ, the blood veins are mentioned before the skin, whereas in Plato the blood is mentioned in another connexion. This shows that the insertion of the blood into the components of the body is not a free invention of the author of AJ but was already earlier to be found in a systematic exposition of Plato's doctrine.

The man who first systematized the data of the *Timaeus*, most probably a doxographical or medical writer, apparently aimed to arrive at the total number of seven bodily components. On the one hand, he inserted the blood before the skin and, on the other hand, he omitted the nails, which Plato had dealt with after the hair (76DE). The idea to distinguish seven parts of the body was wide-spread at the beginning of our era. Several arithmological writings from Antiquity transmit lists of seven internal organs of man and also of seven external parts of the human body, which probably have their origin in Posidonius.[31] But these lists have nothing to do with Plato's discussion of the main structure of the body. Moreover, the seven elements of these lists are in no way brought into connexion with the seven planets. It is important to note this, since it shows that we need not assume that the 'Platonic' list was determined by planetary speculations from the beginning.

In AJ each of the seven components of Adam's psychic body is related with a particular planet. This planetary *melothesia* presupposes an earlier version which pertained to the elements of the carnal body. That such a version did actually exist is confirmed, again, by Zādspram. Immediately after his enumeration of the components of the body he continues, *Selections*, 30, 5-12:

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of the Iranian Institute of the University of Utrecht was a most helpful guide to the relevant editions, translations and studies, for which I am very grateful. He also pointed out to me that in the passage quoted above, and also in that referred to in note 33, the word "sinews", left out in Anklesaria's translation, has to be added, since it is read in the Iranian text.

[31] See J. Mansfeld, *The Pseudo-Hippocratic Tract* ΠΕΡΙ ʽΕΒΔΟΜΑΔΩΝ *Ch. 1-11 and Greek Philosophy*, Assen 1971, 196-202.

> And the marrow was attached to the Moon, ...
> And above the Moon is Mercury, its abode is over the bones.
> And above Mercury is Venus, its abode is over the flesh.
> Above Venus is the Sun, its abode is over the sinews.
> And above the Sun is Mars, its abode is over the blood veins.
> Above Mars is Jupiter, its abode is over the skin, the beautifier of the bodies.[32]
> Above Jupiter is Saturn, its abode is over the hair.
> This is the picture.[33]

The last words show that the whole of the planetary spheres is conceived of as a huge cosmic man whose body is composed by "seven folds" (cf. Chapt. 30, 4, quoted above). This explains why the highest planet, Saturn, is associated with the hair and the lowest planet, the Moon, with the marrow. In *On the Origin of the World*, the creation of the brain and the marrow is ascribed to Ialdabaoth-Saturn. This must be a later development, due to the concern to relate man's most essential component to the highest planet, which, however, could only be achieved by putting aside the mythic conception of the planetary world as a heavenly man.

The agreement between Zādspram and the system presupposed in AJ proves that the identifications of the archons Iaoth, Eloaios, etc., with the Moon, Mercury, etc., are right. It is inconceivable that Zādspram should have developed his view without ultimately being dependent on a Greek source. That AJ was able to make use of a further developed version, which took the 'Platonic' elements of the body as psychic substances, shows that the original *melothesia* already must have been known before the middle of the second century A.D. The idea of a special relationship between parts of the body and the planets was much older and possibly already taught by Nechepso-Petosiris (2nd century B.C.).[34] Various instances of such a planetary *melothesia* are known, of which here one may be cited in full. Claudius Ptolemy writes in his *Tetrabiblos*, III, 12: "Saturn is lord of the right ear, the spleen, the bladder, the phlegm, and the *bones*; Jupiter is lord of touch, the lungs, the *arteries*, and the semen; Mars of the left ear, kidneys, *veins*, and genitals; the Sun of the sight, the brain, heart, *sinews* and all the right-hand parts; Venus of smell, the liver, and the *flesh*; Mercury of speech and thought, the tongue, the bile, and the buttocks; the Moon of taste and drinking, the stomach, belly, whomb, and all the left-hand parts."[35] This *melothesia* mentions several parts of the body which are also found in the 'Platonic' list, but that need not mean that Ptolemy actually used it. In any case, there is no trace of any influence from the *melothesia* of AJ and Zādspram, which is the only one which connects each of the seven planets with one specific element of the body.

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[32] The word translated by Anklesaria with "beautifier" is corrupt; the translation is based on an emendation (Kreyenbroek). See note 28 for a similar addition to the "skin-soul".

[33] Anklesaria, *o.c.*, CV-CVI; cf. Zaehner, *o.c.*, 162.

[34] See Boll, Bezold and Gundel, *o.c.* (note 14), 138-139, and W. and H. Gundel, *Planeten*, in *PWRE*, 20, 2 (1950) 2155-2156.

This particular *melothesia* has left more traces in Iranian literature. In the *Greater Bundahišn*, 28,21, the six Ameša Spentas, the Bounteous Immortals who form a heptad with Ahura Mazda (but are not identified with the planets), are each said to preside over a special part of man: "This, too, is manifest that every part of man belongs to a spirit; life, every light along with life, intelligence, conscience and others of this class belong to Ôhrmazd, flesh belongs to Vohuman, veins and fat to Asavahest, the bony frame to Satrivar, the pith to Spendarmat, the blood to Khurdat, and the hair to Amurdat."[36]

The sequence flesh, veins and fat, bones, marrow, blood, and hair is quite different from that in Plato, AJ, and Zādspram. Moreover, the veins, with the fat, and the blood are separately mentioned,[37] whereas the sinews are not mentioned at all. But the man who originally combined Ameša Spentas and bodily components was apparently not interested in maintaining the original order. His associations are determined by the corresponding nature of the creations traditionally assigned to the Ameša Spentas.[38] Vahoman presides over cattle, therefore he was associated with the flesh; Asavahest presides over the fire, therefore he was associated with the veins which contain the fiery blood; Satrivar presides over metals, therefore he was associated with the bones; Spendarmat presides over the earth, therefore he was associated with the marrow, the inmost part of man; Khurdat presides over waters, therefore he was associated with the blood; Amurdat presides over the plants, therefore he was associated with the hair. Though the attributions to Asavahest and Spendarmat are less convincing, it will be clear that in the passage of the *Greater Bundahišn* the components of the body have taken the place of those parts of nature which were traditionally associated with each of the Ameša Spentas.

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[35] Translation by F.E. Robbins, *Ptolemy: Tetrabiblos*, (Loeb) Cambridge (Mass.) and London 1956, 318-321.

[36] B.T. Anklesaria, *Zand-Ākāsīh. Iranian or Greater Bundahišn. Transliteration and Translation in English*, Bombay 1956, 253.

[37] See also the text quoted in note 39 below.

[38] On the Ameša Spentas and the "creations" assigned to them, see Mary Boyce, *A History of Zoroastrianism*, I (Handbuch der Orientalistik, I, 8, 1, 2, 2A) Leiden and Cologne 1975, 203-205; also Zaehner, *o.c.*, 135.

The same lack of interest in a logical order of the components of the body appears from a passage in the *Denkart*, 278 (Madan), in which the body of the world is compared with the body of man: "The whole body of the world is fire, water, earth, metals, plants, cattle and man, just as the body of man is marrow, blood, veins, sinews, bone, flesh, and hair."[39] The correspondences are not the same as in the *Bundahišn*; and the order of the components of the body does not seem to have any specific meaning.

We may assume that also the Iranian speculations in which the sequence of the components does not make sense have their ultimate source in Plato's *Timaeus*, through one or more Greek intermediaries. For it is only in Plato that there is a deliberate order, which is determined by his concern for the soul and, therefore, starts with man's most essential element, the brain and the marrow to which the soul is firmly anchored, and then proceeds through the various covers or layers to the outer side of man.

According to the *Denkart*, it was especially under the reign of Shapur I (A.D. 241-272) that Greek and Indian influences were very strong in Iran: writings from India, the "Byzantine" Empire, and other lands, which treated medicine, astronomy, movement, time, space, substance, creation, etc., were added to the *Avesta*.[40] One of these writings was the Μέγιστη, the *Almagest* of the Arabs, by Claudius Ptolemy of Alexandria.[41] It is quite conceivable that in this way also the doctrine of a special relationship between the seven planets and the seven 'Platonic' elements of the body became known in Iran. In this way knowledge of these elements must also have reached Mani.

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[39] Translation by Zaehner, o.c., 145; see also J. Menasce, *Le troisième Livre du Dēnkart*, Paris 1973, 267. The same macrocosmos-microcosmos scheme is found in the *Greater Bundahišn*, 28, 4 (Anklesaria 245): "And every person has his own length and width, whose skin is like the sky, flesh like the earth, bony-skeleton like the mountain, veins like rivers, blood within the body like the water in the sea, stomach like the ocean, hair like the plants, ... the essences of the body like metals, innate wisdom like humanity, wisdom-heard-with-the-ears like the animal kingdom."

[40] Denkart 412ff. (Madan), translation by Zaehner, *o.c.*, 8.

The Manichaean *Kephalaia* ascribe to Mani himself a myth of the fall and salvation of the soul in which five of Plato's components of the body play an important part. In Chapter 33, which *int. al.* deals with the saving work of the Light-Nous, it is told how Sin bound the faculties of the human (rational) soul to the composing elements of the mortal body and how the Light-Nous delivered the soul from its carnal bonds. The members of the soul correspond to the five well-known Members or Powers of God: νοῦς, ἔννοια, φρόνησις, ἐνθύμησις, λογισμός. The origin of this Manichaean conception needs a short discussion.[42]

The Greek names of the five Powers of God derive from a Greek theory of the faculties of the human mind which were subsequently also attributed to the Mind of God. It was used by Irenaeus to refute the Valentinian doctrine of the Pleroma, *Adv. Haer.* II, 13, 1-4 (Harvey I, 280-283): Ennoia cannot reasonably be assumed to be the mother of Nous; on the contrary, Nous should be the father of Ennoia. This is made clear by an analysis of the activity of the human mind, which distinguishes between νοῦς, ἔννοια, ἐνθύμησις, *sensatio* (= φρόνησις),[43] *consilium* (= (δια)λογισμός),[44] and *cogitationis examinatio* (= βούλησις?), which as remaining within the mind can be called the λόγος ἐνδιάθετος, from which the λόγος προφορικός proceeds

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[41] Denkart 428 (Madan), translation by Zaehner, *o.c.*, 139.

[42] On the five "Members", see F.C. Burkitt, *The Religion of the Manichees*, Cambridge 1925, 33; H.H. Schaeder, in R. Reitzenstein and H.H. Schaeder, *Studien zum antiken Synkretismus aus Iran und Griechenland* (Studien der Bibliothek Warburg, VII), Leipzig and Berlin 1926 (reprinted Darmstadt 1965), 284-286; E. Waldschmidt and W. Lentz, *Die Stellung Jesu im Manichäismus* (APAW 1926, Nr. 4), Berlin 1926, 42ff.; *Idem*, *Manichäische Dogmatik aus chinesischen und iranischen Texten* (SPAW, 1933, Nr 13), Berlin 1933, 489 (151c), 530, 547, 572-574. In these works the reader will find discussions of many passages in which the five Powers are mentioned; the origin of this conception, however, is not explained.

[43] Cf. Irenaeus, *Adv. Haer.* V, 20, 2 (Rousseau-Doutreleau-Mercier V, 2, 258-259): "*mensura sensationis*" = τὸ μέτρον τῆς φρονήσεως.

[44] Cf. Maximus Confessor, *Opusc.* 8 (PG 91, 21A).

("*quae etiam in mente perseverans, verbum rectissime appellabitur; ex quo emissibilis (!) emittitur verbum*").[45] Irenaeus strongly opposes the idea that this division of the faculties of the human mind could be applied to the Mind of God (II, 13, 3).[46] But that is exactly what is done in the *Letter of Eugnostus the Blessed* and its Christian adaptation, the *Sophia Jesu Christi.*[47] In these writings, the two highest divine beings, the Unbegotten Father and Immortal Man, are said to be wholly rational: they are all νοῦς, ἔννοια, ἐνθύμησις, φρόνησις, λογισμός, and δύναμις. The last word seems to contain the notions of both the potential and the actual realization of the will of God (λόγος ἐνδιάθετος and προφορικός). In fact, Eugnostus himself seems to have introduced δύναμις as the last faculty of the mind.[48] At any rate, he knew a list of mental faculties which concluded with θέλησις and λόγος. In 83,4-10 (omitted in the *Sophia Jesu Christi*), it is related that the six androgynous children of the Saviour and Pistis Sophia generate other aeons: first the Ἔννοιαι appeared; from the Ἔννοιαι, the Ἐνθυμήσεις; from the Ἐνθυμήσεις, the Φρονήσεις; from the Φρονήσεις, the Λογισμοί; from the Λογισμοί, the Θελήσεις; from the Θελήσεις, the Λόγοι. It is clear that Irenaeus and Eugnostus knew a list of seven faculties of the mind or rational soul: νοῦς, ἔννοια, ἐνθύμησις, φρόνησις, λογισμός, θέλησις (βούλησις? = λόγος ἐνδιάθετος), λόγος (προφορικός). Irenaeus emphasizes that these faculties are aspects of one and the same mind and only receive different names ("*appellationes*") because of the different stages of the activity of the mind they express.[49] Eugnostus says that all these "members" (μέλη) of God are perfect and immortal; with respect to imperishableness they are equal, with respect to power, however, they are different, like the difference between a father and a son (III, 78, 9-15).

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[45] See Harvey's edition, I, 281, n. 2, and also Maximus Confessor, *o.c.*, who after διαλογισμός mentions the λόγος ἐνδιάθετος and the λόγος προφορικός.

[46] *Adv. Haer.* II, 13, 3 (Harvey I, 282): "*Si autem Scripturas cognovissent, et a veritate docti essent, scirent utique quoniam non sic Deus, quemadmodum homines; et non sic cogitationes eius, quomodo cogitationes hominum.*"

[47] *Letter of Eugnostus*, NHC III, 73, 9-11 and 78, 6-9, and *Sophia Jesu Christi*, BG 86, 16-87, 1 and 96, 14-19 (= NHC III, 96, 3-7 and 102, 21 - 103, 1).

[48] In the system, however, which Irenaeus ascribed to Basilides, δύναμις is also the last of five divine hypostases, *Adv. Haer.* I, 24, 3 (Rousseau-Doutreleau I, 2, 326): νοῦς, λόγος, φρόνησις, σοφία, δύναμις. W. Bousset, *Hauptprobleme der Gnosis*, Göttingen 1907 (reprinted Göttingen 1973), 235-236, already compared these hypostases with the five Manichaean Powers.

[49] *Adv. Haer.* II, 13, 2 (Harvey I, 282): "*Unum autem et idem est omnia quae praedicta sunt, a No initium accipientia, et secundum augmentum assumentia appellationes.*"

Mani must have known this Greek division of the human (and divine) mind. But his preference of pentads made him accept only the first five powers, as is witnessed by many Manichaean texts. Though these powers were mostly ascribed to God, their original psychological meaning was not forgotten. This appears from *Kephalaia* 33 and also from a short remark (possibly a gloss) in the account of the Manichaean doctrine of metempsychosis in the *Acta Archelai*, 10 (Beeson 15): τῆς δὲ ψυχῆς ἐστι τὰ ὀνόματα (Cf. Irenaeus: "*appellationes*") ταῦτα, νοῦς, ἔννοια, φρόνησις, ἐνθύμησις,[50] λογισμός.

According to *Kephalaia* 33, then, Sin bound the five "members" of the soul to five 'Platonic' members of the body: "νοῦς in the bone, thought (Copt. ⲙⲉⲩⲉ = ἔννοια) in the sinew, intellect (Copt. ⲥⲃⲱ = φρόνησις) in the vein,[51] reflection (Copt. ⲥⲁϫⲛⲉ = ἐνθύμησις) in the flesh, and consideration (Copt. ⲙⲁⲕⲙⲉⲕ = λογισμός) in the skin (I, 95, 17-19 Polotsky). The saving activity of the Light-Nous consists in setting free the five members of the soul from the bone, the sinew, the vein, the flesh, and the skin (I, 96, 13-21).

There is nothing typically Iranian in this conception. In fact, it simply combines a Greek psychological theory on the structure of the mind and a Greek physiological theory on the structure of the human body.[52] In *Kephalaia* 42 (I,107,27ff.) it is said that the human body consists of marrow, bones, sinews, flesh, veins, blood, and skin. Veins and blood are separately mentioned, just as in some of the Iranian texts quoted above, whereas the hair is missing. It is not clear why in *Kephalaia* 33 the five mental faculties were not simply combined with the first five bodily components of the list in *Kephalaia* 42. This might be an indication that Mani did not find the two lists with seven bodily and seven mental elements already associated but that he combined them himself.

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[50] The Manichaean sources always mention φρόνησις before ἐνθύμησις, cf. Polotsky in PWRE, Suppl. VI, 249. The *Letter of Eugnostus* agrees with Irenaeus, and so does *Sophia Jesu Christi* in BG 96, 14-19. In *Soph. J. Chr.*, BG 86, 16-87, 1, however, ἐνθύμησις is mentioned before ἔννοια; in Cod. III the sequence of the powers agrees in both passages with that in the Manichaean texts, and also with that in *Acts of Thomas*, 27 (Bonnet 142-143). Most probably it was through a text of the *Sophia Jesu Christi* like that in Cod. III that Mani became acquainted with this analysis of the powers of the (divine) mind.

[51] Here mentioned before the flesh, against AJ (sinews, flesh, blood) and Zādspram (flesh, sinews, veins).

[52] G. Widengren, *The Great Vohu Manah and the Apostle of God, Studies in Iranian and Manichaean Religion* (Uppsala Universitets Årsskrift, 1945, 5), Uppsala and Leipzig 1945, 22 (note 3 of p. 21), identified the five divine powers of the Manichaeans with the five Iranian Ameša Spentas: "The connexion between the doctrine of Mani and Iranian *theologoumena* is abundantly clear on this point." According to Widengren, the Manichaean account of how Nous was chained in Man and the combination of

In Chapter 33 of the *Kephalaia* there is no trace of any connexion between the elements of the body and the planets, as found in AJ and Zādspram, nor are these elements taken to be psychic substances, as done in AJ. The Manichaean conception represents just another case of utilization of Plato's analysis of the structure of the human body.

Finally we have to ask why in AJ the seven planets are said to create a *psychic* body, while Zādspram shows that the presupposed planetary *melothesia* originally had reference to the carnal body only. AJ's particular view must be related with the doctrine that the soul during its descent from heaven assumes from the planets an astral, psychic body, called the ψυχὴ πνευματικὴ[53] or simply the πνεῦμα[54], and considered to be the πνευματικὸν ὄχημα τῆς λογικῆς ψυχῆς.[55] This view was certainly known at the time that AJ was written: it was taught by the *Chaldaean Oracles* and Numenius, and presupposed in the system of Theodotus the Gnostic and in the *Authentikos Logos*.[56] In a passage of Macrobius, which reflects the views of Numenius, the "*sidereum corpus*" of the soul is associated with its psychic and vital faculties, which it receives during its descent through the spheres of Saturnus, Jupiter, Mars, Sol, Venus, Mercurius, and Luna.[57] Given

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the Ameša Spentas with parts of the body in the *Greater Bundahišn* 28, 21, quoted above, represent "two different Iranian systems" (p. 54).

[53] Cf. the *Authentikos Logos*, 23, 12-13; Porphyry, *De regressu animae*, frg. 2 Bidez (= Augustine, *De Civitate Dei*, X, 9): "anima spiritalis" = ψυχὴ πνευματικὴ; Synesius of Cyrene, *De insomniis*, 4 (134B; Terzaghi 156, 8-9).

[54] Porphyry, *Sententiae*, 29 (Lambertz 18, 6).

[55] Hierocles, *Comm. in Aur. Pythag. Carmen*, 26 (Koehler 117, 2-3). For other expressions describing the nature of the pneumatic vehicle of the rational soul, see my article mentioned in the next note, 262-263.

[56] Cf. R. van den Broek, *The Authentikos Logos: A New Document of Christian Platonism*, in *VC* 33, 1979, 260-266 and the notes on p. 282-284.

[57] Macrobius, *In somn. Scip.*, I, 11, 12 (Willis II, 47).

the planetary *melothesia* discussed above, a combination of these views with that of the creation of the mortal parts of the soul by the young gods of Plato must have laid near at hands. And this, in fact, has happened in AJ. Not the demiurge himself but his sons create the body of man, just as in Plato. But these sons are now the seven planetary powers and the body they create is a psychic one, just as in Numenius and others.

It seems probable that the author of AJ knew a doctrine of the soul which combined the idea of the formation of the astral body during the soul's descent throught the planetary spheres with that of the creation of the seven components of the carnal body by Plato's young gods, who were conceived of as the seven planets. But he can only have applied this doctrine to the creation of Adam's body by the planetary powers, if he already assumed beforehand that Adam at first was created in a psychic body. He distinguishes between the creation of man after the image of God, which resulted into a psychic body, and a creation of man from the earth, which led to the carnal body.[58] This is strongly reminiscent of Philo's distinction between the creation of the ideal, heavenly man after the image of God, as related in Gen. 1, 26f., and that of empirical man from the dust of earth, as told in Gen. 2, 7.[59] I suggest that the author of AJ knew and to a certain extent accepted this Jewish, Alexandrian tradition, but placed it into a gnostic setting. That would explain why his psychic Adam, into whom the Spirit of God had been breathed, exceeded all the archons, including the demiurge himself.[60]

AJ's account of the creation of Adam is a curious mixture of Plato's analysis of the structure of the human body, a planetary *melothesia*, and a doctrine of the soul's astral body, all based on a Jewish, Alexandrian interpretation of the biblical story of the creation of man.

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[58] BG 48, 8 - 52, 1 and 52, 1 - 55, 18 parr.

[59] See, for instance, *De opificio mundi*, 134 (Cohn-Wendland I, 46). Cf. E. Bréhier, *Les idées philosophiques et religieuses de Philon d'Alexandrie*, 3rd ed., Paris 1950, 121-126; Ch. Kannengiesser, *Philon et les Pères sur la double création de l'homme*, in *Philon d'Alexandrie*, Colloque de Lyon, 11-15 sept. 1966, Paris 1967, 277-296; R.A. Baer, Jr, *Philo's Use of the Categories Male and Female* (Arbeiten zur Literatur und Geschichte des hellenistischen Judentums, III), Leiden 1970, 14-44.

[60] BG 52, 8-11 : "His understanding became far stronger than (that of) all of them, and than (that of) the first archon"; 54, 7-11 : "his thought was exalted above those who had created him. ... He had exalted himself far above them."

DAĒNĀ, LICHTJUNGFRAU, ZWEITE GESTALT

Verbindungen und Unterschiede zwischen zarathustrischer und manichäischer Selbst-Anschauung

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„Die Auffassung, daß der persönliche Schutzengel des Menschen sein Ebenbild darstellt, stammt aus dem Griechentum und ist vom Judentum in der hellenistischen Zeit übernommen worden. Auf dieser Grundlage beruht das gnostische *mysterium coniunctionis*, sowohl in der Schule Valentins wie in der Religion Manis." „Es ist an der Zeit, nach den vielen Vorarbeiten auf Grund des neuen Materials ... (die) genetische Entwicklung (dieser Vorstellung) zu verfolgen".[1] Im ersten Teil der wichtigen Abhandlung, der diese Sätze entstammen, geht G. Quispel zunächst auf die archaisch-griechischen Vorstellungen vom Daimōn und vom Eidōlon zurück, verfolgt die ersteren über die Identifizierung mit der Vernunft bei Platon bis zu Poseidonios und die letzteren bis zur Gleichsetzung mit dem Daimōn bei den Pythagoreern; er weist dann Spuren der nunmehr fertigen Ebenbild-, Selbst- oder Engel-Vorstellung in Deuteronomim Rabba 4 (201 d), Acta 12, 15 und Matth. 18, 10 nach. Diese Spuren sollen dazu berechtigen, in den reicher entwickelten Auffassungen des Hirten des Hermas, valentinianischer Schriften und des Thomasevangeliums, daß der Mensch ein himmlisches Ebenbild hat, (des Näheren) ein Erbe des palästinischen Judenchristentums zu erblicken.

Es ist hiermit ein Entwurf vorgelegt, der große Linien aufzeigt, die nunmehr nachgezogen und verfeinert werden müssen. Hierzu gibt es

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[1] G. Quispel, *Das ewige Ebendild des Menschen. Zur Begegnung mit dem Selbst in der Gnosis*, in *ErJb* 36, 1967, Zürich 1968, 9-30, abgedruckt in: *Gnostic Studies*, 1 (Uitgaven van het Nederlands Historisch-Archaeologisch Instituut te Istanbul 34, 1), Istanbul 1974, 140-157, danach zitiert. Die beiden obigen Aussagen dort 142 oben und 141 unten.

Ansatzpunkte an zahlreichen Stellen.[2] Eine davon liegt dort, wo die manichäischen Anschauungen ihre Selbständigkeit gewinnen, die Quispel eingangs kurz neben die valentinianischen und — in Aufnahme von Hinweisen H. Corbins — neben die altiranischen von der Daēnā gestellt hat, und mit denen er sich im zweiten Teil seiner Abhandlung ausführlich beschäftigt. Diese sollen hier wiederaufgenommen und weitergeführt werden.

Vorausgesetzt werden die von Quispel wiedergewonnene Gesamtanschauung und die von ihm aufgezeigten Voraussetzungen dafür : die historische, d.h. Manis Bekanntschaft mit entsprechenden Anschauungen des syrischen Christentums einschließlich des Thomasevangeliums, und die psychologische, nämlich Manis visionäre Begegnung mit seinem Zwilling („Thomas") oder Paargenossen. Vorauszusetzen ist ferner die inzwischen erfolgte Bildung des manichäischen Mythos, in welchem das Selbst oder Gegenbild, der Zwilling oder Engel in mehrfachen Repräsentationen nebeneinander auftritt. Es wird am Schluß zu fragen sein, in welchem Grade einzelne dieser Repräsentationen im Verhältnis zum durch seinen Geist repräsentierten Menschen eine aktive Erlöserfunktion gewonnen haben. Denn grundsätzlich stellt sich nach Bildung des Mythos die Identität des Erlösers sowohl mit dem zu Erlösenden wie mit dem schließlich Erlösten als eine gnostische Offenbarungswahrheit dar, nach welcher die Trennung zwischen diesseitigem und jenseitigem, personifiziertem oder jedenfalls hypostasiertem „Geistes"-Teil durch einen mythologischen Vorgang, z.Bsp. den — oft mit dem Offenbarungsruf verbundenen — Abstieg des Erlösers aufgehoben wird.

Die Frage nach der Herkunft dieser Erlöser-Lehre hat an verschiedenen Punkten auch auf die iranische Religion geführt. Neben der zarathustrischen Verkündigung von den Aməša Spəntas war es vor allem die zoroastrische Lehre von der Daēnā, die Beachtung forderte. Das wichtigste Dokument über sie ist der sog. Haδōxt-Nask. Die Überlieferungen, die er enthält, stehen wohl an Alter denen des fünften, zehnten, dreizehnten, fünfzehnten und siebzehnten Yašt nicht nach, und seine sprachliche Gestaltung weist auf Redaktoren oder gar Verfasser hin, welche denen des Vidēvdād nahestanden.[3] Nach diesem Text (HN 9,2; 11, 2-4) tritt dem Jüngling, der selbst u.a. gute *daēnā* hatte, bzw. seiner verselbständigten Seele (*urvan*), nach dem Tode seine eigene *daēnā* entgegen, welche die Gestalt einer Jungfrau hat; sie stellt sich ihm wohl nicht direkt als die Personifikation seiner eigenen Tugenden vor, aber doch als ein Wesen, dessen Qualitäten durch die guten Taten eines Jünglings gefördert worden sind, als „die im Jenseits aufbewahrte Quintessenz seiner Gedanken, Worte und Werke".[4] Es geht also aus dem Text eine weitgehende Identität beider Figuren hervor.

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[2] Vgl. Merki und Ladner in *RAC* 4; ter Vrugt-Lentz in *RAC* 9 (genaue bibliographische Angaben zur hier und im folgenden abgekürzt zitierten Literatur siehe am Schluß dieser Studie; vgl. auch das Abkürzungsverzeignis am Anfang dieses Buches).

R. Reitzenstein[5] hat versucht, mit der *daēnā* die manichäische Lichtjungfrau zu erklären, welche nach *Fihr.* 335, 12 dem erlösten Gerechten ähnelt. Doch statt hier gleich eine Kontinuität festzustellen, welche die ganzen Figuren umfaßt, muß man zunächst versuchen, diese Einzelheit des schwierigen *Fihrist*-Textes überlieferungsgeschichtlich einzuordnen und festzustellen, ob die Aussage, die der späte Fihrist-Text über die Jungfrau macht, die älteren manichäischen Anschauungen zuverlässig wiedergibt.

Die Lichtjungfrau ist schwierig zu beschreiben, weil sie sowohl in der Ein- wie in der Zwölfzahl erscheint und genealogisch verschieden eingegliedert ist. Zwölf Jungfrauen haben im Gebetsleben und Festkalender des Manichäers zwar ihren Platz,[6] werden aber meist bloß als zum Dritten Gesandten gehörig genannt[7] oder näher als seine „zwölf Stunden" auf ihn bezogen, wo die Bildrede vom Gesandten als dem zweiten der vier das Lichtreich repräsentierenden Tage es gestattet.[8] Hier sind sie auch vom Dritten Gesandten „berufen". Wo die Lichtjungfrau in der Einzahl auftritt, wird ihr dieselbe Genealogie nur an einer Stelle im Kapitel über die fünf Väter gegeben,[9] wohl weil die Zwölfzahl hier „wegen des Triadenschemas unverwendbar" ist.[10] Sonst ist sie als einzelne immer Tochter oder Emanation Jesu des Glanzes.[11] Sie wohnt im Lichtschiff des Mondes, aber nicht immer in der gleichen Gesellschaft: *Keph.* 82, 34/83, 1 mit Jesus dem Glanz und dem Urmenschen, der hier als Erlöser den Nous verdrängt hat, den man nach den eben zitierten Stellen erwarten sollte; sonst mit Jesus dem Glanz und dem Nous; *Keph.* 24, 19 mit dem Nous des Vaters (?) und nicht näher bezeichneten Göttern und Engeln. Diese letztere Anordnung mag eigens für die Systematik des Kapitels[12] geschaffen worden sein, welche Glückseligkeit, Weisheit und Kraft dieser Welt durch Gleichsetzung mit mythologischen Gestalten erklären will. Dabei ist die Bedeutung der Weisheit gerade durch die Jungfrau am sinnvollsten aufgezeigt worden: als „sublimierte manichäische Vertreterin ... der Sophia der älteren gnostischen Systeme"[13] ist die Jungfrau „Anfang aller Weisheiten der Wahrheit".[14] Sie spielt eine beherrschende Rolle im Kampf gegen die Finsternis; unter diesem allgemeinen Aspekt sind Aussagen wie *Keph.* 72, 34 (präexistent vom Vater der Größe durch Emanieren aus seinem *makmek* — Überlegung — geformt) und *Hymn.* 10, 7f. (vom Vater mit den fünf Lichtgliedern ausgerüstet, um gegen die Abgründe der Finsternis zu kämpfen) zu verstehen. Es ergibt sich aus diesen Aussagen im Vergleich mit den vorher zitierten Belegen, daß die Jungfrau im System nicht stabil war und dementsprechend zur Lichtbefreiung in verschiedener Weise eingesetzt werden konnte.

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[3] Widengren, in *OLZ* 1963, 544. — Mit der Schilderung des HN stimmt, wenn auch in vielen Einzelheiten abweichend, im Großen und Ganzen Mēnōig xrad 2, 114-194 (hsg. von Nyberg, *Manual*, Part I, 72 Z. 7 letztes Wort — 77 Z. 13) überein. Die anderen zoroastrischen, sowohl pahlav- wie jungawestischen Texte über die *daēnā* (reiche Belegsammlungen bei Bartholomae, 662-666 jeweils unter 2) tragen für Vergleiche mit jeder gnostischen Erlöserlehre nichts aus; vgl. zu diesem Komplex Corbin, 105, 111, 115, 125, 127, 135-138, 140, 142-146. Wichtig an diesem materialreichen Aufsatz ist vor allem der Versuch, das himmlische Ich des Zoroastrismus, welches mit der auferstandenen Person identisch sei, mit dem himmlischen Gegenbild der kreatürlichen Erde in Verbindung zu bringen. Für die *daēnā*, welche in manchen Texten die Tochter der „Archange féminin de la Terre" Spənta Armaiti ist (Belege a.a.O. 111 und 136), ergibt sich damit eine Beziehung zur vergeistigten Makrokosmos-Mikrokosmos-Vorstellung, die in interessanter Weise an die Verwurzelung anderer Selbst-Spekulationen in dieser Idee erinnert.

[4] Humbach, *Gathas*, 1, 72.

[5] *Iran. Erlösungsmysterium*, 30-33.

[6] *Hymn.* 33, 4.

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[7] Z. Bsp. *Hymn.* 138, 65; 144, 24.

[8] *Keph.* 25, 22; *Hymn.* 133, 16; vgl. Polotsky, *Mani-Fund*, 75ff. u. *Muséon* 1934, 253ff. = Collected Papers 685ff u. 654ff.

[9] *Keph.* 35, 15.

[10] Polotsky, *Mani-Fund*, 68 = Collected Papers 678.

[11] *Hom.* 86, 10; *Hymn.* 164, 13; 160, 18; 185, 14; M 2 II in *Mir. Man.* III, 852; M 583 R 1 Z. 14-16 in *Man.Dogm.*, 545ff.

[12] Vgl. das Schema *Keph.* p. XV.

[13] Schaeder, *Urform*, 103; Polotsky, *Mani-Fund*, 68i.

[14] *Keph.* 44, 8f.

Diese verschiedenen Weisen können deshalb leicht durch erweiternde Paraphrasen umschrieben werden. Oft wird ihr dabei eine der Aufgaben noch einmal zugeschrieben, die schon dem Dritten Gesandten obliegen. Dieser wird bekanntlich entsandt, nachdem aus den Leichen erschlagener Dämonen, die zuvor die Lichtelemente des Urmenschen in sich aufgenommen hatten, der Kosmos gebildet ist. Der Dritte Gesandte soll die Lichtteile, die nun darin enthalten sind, herauslösen. Dies geschieht einmal, indem er den Kosmos in Bewegung setzt, sodaß das Licht über die Milchstraße, Mond und Sonne in die Lichtwelt zurückgeleitet werden kann.[15] Außerdem aber ist der Dritte Gesandte männlicher und weiblicher Natur[16] und muß als solcher durch Zeigen seiner Eikōn den Archonten das Licht entlocken.[17] Bei Archonten ist hier an die weiblichen Vertreter dieser Gattung gedacht; entsprechend hat die Jungfrau, welche nichts anderes ist als die weibliche Erscheinung des Dritten Gesandten,[18] den männlichen Archonten das Licht zu entziehen, indem sie sich vor ihnen enthüllt. Theodor bar Konai sagt im Anschluß an die eben zitierten Stellen einfach, daß die Archonten daraufhin nach dem Gesandten, und zwar jeweils nach der Erscheinung des anderen Geschlechts, lüstern werden und das von ihnen verschlungene Licht freizugeben beginnen. Die koptischen Texte beschreiben diese Verführung der Archonten in verschiedenen Bildern.[19] Damit ist gemeint, daß die weiblichen Archonten abortieren und die männlichen pollutionieren. Nach manichäischer Lehre entsteht dann aus dem herniederfallenden Sperma die Flora und aus den Fehlgeburten die Fauna, von wo aus dann für die weitere Lichtbefreiung gesorgt wird.[20]

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[15] Schaeder, *RGG*^{2}, 3, 1965.

[16] Theodor bar Konai 129, 20f. Pognon = 316, 11f. Scher: „Da offenbarte der Bote seine Gestalten, die männliche und die weibliche (*hāidēn izgaddā ḡlā ṣūrāṯēh deḵrā wneqbṯā*)".

[17] Diesen Vorgang kann man an den Wolken wahrnehmen, die zur Jungfrau ziehen: *Keph.* Kap. 95 passim.

[18] Theodor bar Konai 129, 24 Pognon: *dmūṯā ḏneqbṯā*; 316, 16 Scher: *dmūṯā ḏneqbṯē*. Theodor kennt auch die Zwölfzahl der Jungfrauen und nennt sogar ihre Namen, 129, 10-17 Pognon / 316, 1-8 Scher.

[19] Herz rauben, *Keph.* 35, 15 ähnlich *Hymn.* 10, 12ff. — Archonten und Kräfte richten, *Keph.* 80, 25 — durch Schönheit beschämen, *ti šipe hn … saie*, *Hymn.* 2, 27f.

[20] Schenke, *TLZ* 1959, 247 hat gezeigt, daß in der von ihm versuchsweise „Vom

Indem Mani und seine Jünger nur indirekt sagen, daß die Freigabe des Lichtes durch die Archonten in Abortion, bzw. Pollution, erfolgt,[21] tilgen sie so weit wie möglich die Obszönität, die die älteren Vorbilder dieses Teils des manichäischen Systems noch an sich haben.[22]

Was nun die Rolle der (Licht) jungfrau (*bikr*) im eschatologischen Bericht *Fihr.* 335, 12 anlangt, so ist deutlich, daß sie ausschließlich auf Mithilfe beim Werk des Geleitenden Weisen, nämlich der posthumen Lichtausläuterung, festgelegt worden ist. Aus der Triade Jesus, Jungfrau/*kanīg*, Nous/*manuhmed*/*wahman* etc. kennen wir ihre Zuordnung zu den Hauptgöttern der dritten Berufung und haben im Fihrist den Ausdruck nur dieses allgemeinen Sachverhalts. Ihre eigentliche Aufgabe, durch Zeigen ihrer Eikōn noch vor der Erschaffung der Menschen die Archonten zu verführen, klingt Z. 13 nur noch in dem hier ganz beziehungslosen Motiv nach, daß sie die Gestalt des Weisen angenommen habe,[23] d.h. daß sie ursprünglich der weibliche Aspekt des Hauptgottes der dritten Berufung ist. Es liegt nahe, da die Lichtjungfrau sonst die weibliche Gestalt oder Erscheinung des Dritten Gesandten ist, hier als ältere Entsprechung zum Geleitenden Weisen[24] gar den

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Ursprung der Welt" betitelten Schrift aus dem koptischen Funde von Nag Hamadi ein Abschnitt enthalten ist, wie ihn Mani vorausgesetzt haben könnte, oder der auch von Mani beeinflußt ist. Das Stück Labib pl. 156, 2-158, 1 (heute NHC II 108, 2-110, 1; dazu jetzt Böhlig, 58-65, und besonders Tardieu, 85-174) handelt von der Entstehung des Menschen und der Flora aus den Aborten und Pollutionen der Archonten übrigens in ähnlich zurückhaltender und die Einzelheiten umschreibender Form wie bei Mani. Die Beziehungen, die Zaehner, *Zurvan* 186-192, zur zurvanitischen Urhure J̌ēh herstellt, sind nicht überzeugend : diese ist Gefährtin Ahrimans, und wenn sie Gayōmard verführt, so will sie damit nicht sein Sperma — das bei ihm übrigens nicht in Finsternis eingeschlossen ist wie bei den manichäischen Dämonen — befreien, sondern es verderben.

[21] Dieser Vorgang wird in verschiedenen gnostischen Kulten von den Eingeweihten direkt nachgebildet. Am bekanntesten in dieser Hinsicht sind die Borborianer, vgl. L. Fendt, *RAC* 2, 512.

[22] Zu diesen Vorbildern vgl. Bousset, *FRLANT* 10, 71-83, zum simonianischen System auch Leisegang, *Gnosis*, 65f., 82, 208. Auf den durch sublimierende Worte überwundenen obszönen Mythus legt den Mani der entrüstete Augustinus fest in *De nat. boni*, 44 (881 ff. Zycha) u. *Ctra Faustum*, 20, 6 (540 Zycha) (Schaeder, *Urform*, 82).

[23] Es ist aus sachlichen Gründen unmöglich, die erste Konsonantengruppe *ʾlhh* Fihr. 335, 13 als *āliha* „die Götter" zu lesen, wie Keßler, *Mani*, 399 es will. Die Bedeutung gerade der Lichtjungfrau als weiblicher Aspekt des Hauptgottes der dritten Berufung erfordert, daß man liest *ilāha* „die Göttin".

[24] Zu den anderen sechs Entsprechungen, die man zum Geleitenden Weisen des ara-

Dritten Gesandten anzunehmen; jedoch nicht ganz, da der Dritte Gesandte und die Jungfrau wohl hinsichtlich ihrer Funktion, aber nicht als Hypostasen identisch sind, während das letztere beim Geleitenden Weisen und der Jungfrau offenbar der Fall ist, indem die Jungfrau in den Geleitenden Weisen sozusagen übergeht. Durch ihre Gestaltveränderung unterstützt sie nur noch die Heraufführung des Lichts, und außerdem ist ihr Werk aus der Zeit vor der Erschaffung des Menschen in die Zeit nach dem Tode des geschaffenen Electus verlegt worden. Die Tatsache, daß die Jungfrau zusammen mit Jesus und dem Nous im Monde wohnt, enthält die manichäisch sinnvolle Möglichkeit einer solchen Übertragung schon in nuce: der Mond ist ja nicht nur ein vom Lebendigen Geist zur mechanischen Lichtausläuterung geschaffenes Gestirn, sondern auch ein Schiff, das (wie auch hier Z. 15) die unmechanisch, d.h. durch Annahme der Gnosis befreiten Lichtseelen von der Säule der Herrlichkeit, in der sie aufsteigen, zur Sonne befördert. Der zweiten Funktion wurde auch die Tätigkeit der Jungfrau angeglichen. Auch die Untersuchung der Rolle der Lichtjungfrau im arabischen Bericht im Vergleich mit ursprünglichen Texten lehrt also, daß wir es hier mit spätmanichäischer Mythopoiia zu tun haben.

Besteht nun zu dieser späten oder zur früheren Ausprägung der Jungfrau eine inhaltliche Kontinuität von der zoroastrischen Daēnā aus? Die Daēnā-Vorstellung des HN ist deutlich jünger als die der Gathas; nicht zuletzt weist die größere Ausführlichkeit der Seelenreise gegenüber Vid. 19, 27-32 und die Tatsache, daß bestimmte weibliche Attribute nicht mehr der Anāhitā (wie nach Yt. 5, 7 und 64), sondern jetzt der Daēnā gehören, von der man dies nach den Gathas nicht erwartet hätte, auf ein späteres Stadium. Gleichwohl ist die HN-Vorstellung bedeutend älter als die manichäische. Angesichts dessen besteht in den

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bischen Textes in älteren Texten namhaft machen könnte, siehe Colpe, *FRLANT* 78, 107-113 (Lichtgestalt, Paargenosse, Apostel des Lichts, Lichtnous, Jesus der Glanz, Großer Richter bzw. Richter der Wahrheit). An Hand derselben Texte hat auch Quispel, 155f. auf das Nebeneinander der Gestalten hingewiesen und darüber hinaus einige Funktionsunterscheidungen versucht (das Mädchen wie die Daēnā ein Werk des Gläubigen, das ihm erst bein Tode begegnet; die Lichtgestalt in der Gestalt des Weisen eine nicht vom Menschen erzeugte, göttliche Gestalt, die schon während des Lebens des Gläubigen, wenn er in die manichäische Kirche aufgenommen wird, in seine Existenz eintritt). Dazu oben im folgenden einige Verbesserungen.

Unterschieden zwischen zoroastrischer Daēnā und manichäischer Lichtjungfrau ein besonderes Problem. Für seine Erörterung ist zunächst ein kurzer Rückblick auf den alten, den sog. zarathustrischen Befund notwendig.

Nach der heute wohl allgemeinen Meinung ist *daēnā* von der Wurzel *dāy-* „sehen" abgeleitet.[25] Pagliaro interpretiert aber von da aus nicht als „(die Fähigkeit zu) Vision, das Schauen", und daraus sich ergebend als „die (religiöse) Ansicht", sondern parallel zu griech. *eidos* als imago, species und davon abgeleitet als Modell, Typ, genus und schließlich als Natur, Wesen. „Der Bedeutungsübergang von 'Wesen, geistiges Bild' (der Gottheit) zu 'Religion' folgt wie selbstverständlich und berechtigt aus Stellen wie Y 44, 11". An dieser Stelle geht auch die von Humbach für die beiden voraufgehenden Stanzen wohl wie in Y 49, 9 früher festgehaltene Grundbedeutung „Sinn" in eine andere über: in Y 44, 11 übersetzt er *daēnā* als rituellen terminus technicus mit „Andacht".[26] Insler kommt an sämtlichen Stellen außer in Y 44, 9f.,[27] wo er „vision" sagt, mit der Bedeutung „conception" aus.[28] Früher hatte Jackson[29] übersetzt „conscience", Geldner „Gewissen"[30] oder „religiöses Gewissen";[31] auch damit scheint eine richtige Nuance in der Bedeutungsbreite getroffen zu sein, weil damit die Voraussetzung der durch freien Willen zu treffenden Entscheidung für Aša oder Drug bezeichnet wird. Schaeder[32] pflegte, bestimmte Aspekte der genannten Übersetzungen so weit wie möglich verdichtend, eine Grundbedeutung „Bekenntnis" anzusetzen; von da aus habe das Wort einerseits den Ausdruck der durch gutes Denken, Reden, Handeln bekenntnismäßig geäußerten, der Aša-Welt zugehörigen Gesinnung, andererseits „Religion"[33] bedeuten können. Der innere Bereich des Menschen, der damit angesprochen ist, wird durch die Übersetzung „Ich, Person, Selbst"[34] konkretisiert; Reitzenstein meinte, daß es sich dabei um einen ganz anderen Begriff handele als den der Religion.[35] Doch ist evident, wie die Bedeutungen auseinander ableitbar sind.[36] Die Annahme einer semantischen wie etymologischen Verwandschaft aller Bedeutungen hat sich als so haltbar erwiesen, daß die *daēnā* neuerdings nicht auf Grund einer Herkunft von ved. *dhénā-*,[37] sondern rein nach den

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[25] Zuletzt etwa Pagliaro (hier und im folgenden zitiert nach Duchesne-Guillemin, 64f.); Humbach, MSS 1956, 76; Insler (siehe Anm. 27); Schmidt, *Acta Iranica* 5, 165. Sachlich damit zusammenhängend, aber anders nuanciert ist die frühere Interpretation von Nyberg (*Religionen*, 159) der *daēnā* als „Schauseele" (so in Y 34, 13 u.ö.), die „in hervorragendem Sinne das Organ für die in der Ekstase geschaute Vision" ist. In Y 44, 10 bezeichne *daēnā* „die nach allen Regeln der Kunst hervorgerufene Vision". Ein einziges Mal wagt auch Humbach (*Gathas* 1, 57 und 154) die Übersetzung „Schauseele", nämlich in Y 51, 13; vgl. auch unten Anm. 38. — Diskussion auf Grund einer vollständigen Bestandsaufnahme der Gatha-Stellen ist hier nicht beabsichtigt; dafür sei zur Ergänzung auf den dichten und gehaltvollen Aufsatz von Kramers (siehe Lit.-Verz.) verwiesen.

[26] Humbach, MSS 1956, 74-76 und 79-81; in *Gathas* 1, 144 und 119 dafür „Gesinnung" und „andächtige Gesinnung".

[27] An beiden Stellen wegen des Wortspiels mit *daidyat̰* „sehen sie?" in Y 44, 10, vgl. den Kommentar, 246. Insler bezeichnet übrigens, 192, die Form *daēnā* statt des urspr. dreisilbigen **dayanā* (so, aber mit *o*, auch Lommel, *Yäšts*, 101 und 103) als Wiedereinarbeitung („reworking ... into") der mittelpers. Form *dēn* in die Redaktion des Awesta-Textes. Wenn es richtig ist, daß die Awesta-Schrift als Präzisierung der Pahlavi-Schrist entwickelt wurde, können sich dabei der ersteren in der Tat auch Wortformen aus der letzteren mitgeteilt haben. Insler leitet das Wort von der Wurzel *dī* (sic) „(sc. dauernd) betrachten, bedenken" ab, sieht die gathische Verwendung dicht bei der von ved. *dhī́* „Vision, Gedanke" und nimmt als spätere Entwicklung auch die zu „Religion" an.

[28] Doch findet sich p. 69 zu Y 44, 11 und p. 111 zu Y 53, 1 bei conception die Anmerkung „weiterhin" bzw. „wieder" „die gute Vision einer Welt, die von Wahrheit und gutem Denken regiert wird".

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[29] *Avesta Grammar*, XXXV für Y 45,2; in § 243 auch „religion".

[30] RgLb H. 1, 2 (für Y 45, 2) und öfter.

[31] *A.a.O.*, 42f. in HN § 9 und 11; daneben z.B. „gläubige Seele", *a.a.O.*, 13 für Y 49,9.

[32] Mündlich im Kolleg.

[33] Die zweite Bedeutung hat sich namentlich für die mittelpers. Form des Wortes, *dēn*, stabilisiert. Dieses Wort ist also nicht, was grundsätzlich möglich gewesen wäre, das aus dem Aramäischen entlehnte *dīn* „Gericht"; aus der Bedeutung „Religion", welche *dīn* im Arabischen neben „Gericht" hat, ist nicht zu schließen, daß *dīn* auch im Aramäischen „Religion" hieß. Vielmehr ist das arabische *dīn* „Religion" ein — aus dem mittelpers. *dēn* hervorgegangenes — neupersisches Lehnwort, das mit der zufällig gleichlautenden semitischen Wurzel zusammengefallen ist.

[34] Reitzenstein, 31f. 39; Lentz, *ZDMG* 1928, 203; neuerdings Lommel, *Gathas*, passim (z.B. Y 49, 9 : geistige Persönlichkeit; Y 34, 13 : geistige Urpersönlichkeit; Y 51, 13 : Geistpersönlichkeit; Y 31, 20: geistiges Ich; Y 46, 6: geistiges Urwesen; Y 45, 2: geistige Natur); in Y 44, 9-11 jedoch dreimal „Lehre".

[35] So auch Bartholomae, 665-667 und 662-665. Übersicht über andere Ausdeutungen des Begriffs bei Pavry, *Future Life*, 28f.

[36] Kritik der Bedeutungsteilung und Näheres bei Nyberg, *Religionen*, 114-120.

[37] Schmidt, *Acta Iranica* 5, 179 kommt, nach Diskussion der Bedeutungen „Milchkuh" (*dhenú*), „Gebet", „Lob" u.a., zum Bedeutungsansatz primär „Milchstrom, nährender Strom", figurativ „nährender Redestrom". Mit der Assonanz zu ved. *dhī́* „Vision" hätten die vedischen Dichter immerhin gespielt (tertium comparationis p. 172: die eigentliche poetische Vision sollte magisch Nahrung schaffen oder die Götter veranlassen, dieses zu tun). Daß *dhénā* und *daēnā* beide in die Kuh-Bild-Vorstellung bzw. figurative Rede von der Kuh eingefügt waren, sei Koinzidenz.

Spiritualisierungsgesetzen bildlicher Hirtenrede als Orientierungsbegriff sogar für ein ganz heterogenes Vorstellungs- und Bedeutungsfeld in Anspruch gnnommen werden und stabil bleiben konnte: darin sei die Kuh der Zarathustra-Predigt eine Metapher für die „gute daēnā" gewesen.[38] Doch kommt diese Möglichkeit für zoroastrische Priester und manichäische Lehrer, die beide weit außerhalb und zeitlich fern von Zarathustras Milieu stehen, nicht mehr in Betracht. Zum Beispiel ist die Lösung der Daēnā aus Fesseln, von der Yt. 13, 100 spricht, kein Nachhall der Befreiung der Kuh mehr, woran man von Y 29 aus denken könnte, sondern eine Allegorie der Förderung, welche Vištāspa der guten Religion angedeihen ließ.

Selbst wenn es nicht möglich erscheint, auf etymologischem oder auf semantischem Wege eine genauere Übersetzung für *daēnā* zu finden, so mag doch der Sinn genügen, wie er aus der referierten Diskussion hervorgeht. Man wird ihn, jedenfalls in den Gathas, ohnehin nie eindeutiger bestimmen können, als die Texte selbst gemeint sind. Sachlich ist die *daēnā* in den Gathas, wo sie noch nicht als Jungfrau vorgestellt wird,[39] eine Art Index für die Taten des Menschen im Gericht, „the real determinant of his (sc. The man's) future destiny".[40] Insofern kann von ihr gesagt werden, daß sie den Menschen zur Gerechtsprechung oder zur Verurteilung führt.[41] Aber sie ist keineswegs selbst der Richter;[42] dieses Amt bleibt Ahura Mazdā vorbehalten.

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[38] Nach früheren Veröffentlichungen am ausführlichsten Schmidt, *Zarathustra*, 2-14 (zu oben Anm. 25 vgl. p. 3: Wörtliche Bedeutung „Vision", subjektiv eine Fähigkeit des Menschen, objektiv der Visionsinhalt, woraus sich die Bedeutung „Religion" entwickelte). Dort 20f wird die Gleichsetzung aus der Vorstellungswelt um die Morgenröte (awest. *ušah*) entwickelt. Es ergibt sich in der Tat oft ein Sinn, wenn das, was vom Menschen entwickelt, gereinigt, vollendet werden kann, als Vision wie als Kuh gelesen wird.

[39] Nach Nyberg, *Religionen*, 82f. ist das erst geschehen, als die Zoroastrier das Pantheon der Mithragemeinde aufgriffen und die Göttin Čisti mit der *daēnā* gleichsetzten. Zur Mädchengestalt der *daēnā* im HN weist auch Schmidt, *Zarathustra*, 22 darauf hin, daß diese ebenso wie die spätere awestische Gottheit Čistā Züge der vedischen Uṣas bzw. ihrer indo-iranischen Grundgestalt wiedergeben.

[40] Pavry, *Future Life*, 29.

[41] Y 31, 20, dazu Pavry, *Future Life*, 29-32.

[42] Diese Aussage gilt auch dann, wenn man annimmt, daß die Gathas eine ebensolche Eschatologie voraussetzen, wie sie nach späteren Texten von Hübschmann, *JpTh* 1879 (kritisch weitergeführt von Colpe, *SHR* 41); Söderblom, *Vie future*; Pavry, *Future Life*, beschrieben wird. Gerade der HN zeigt das besonders deutlich.

Die dem Haδōxt-Nask am nächsten stehende gathische Aussage ist in Y 48, 4 zu erblicken, wo nach der übereinstimmenden Auslegung der Spezialisten gemeint ist, daß derjenige, der seinen Sinn besser oder schlechter mache, durch Worte und Taten auch die *daēnā* besser oder schlechter mache. Wie das Wesen der *daēnā* durch Gesinnung und Taten des Wahrhaften konstituiert wird, sagt ausführlicher HN §§ 12-14. Die *daēnā* ist hier aber lediglich dieses personifizierte Symbol. Der Text sagt weder, daß sie sich mit der Seele des Wahrhaften vereint, noch daß sie die unentbehrliche Garantin und Leiterin des Seelenaufstiegs ist, noch daß sie — wie in *Fihr.* 335, 13 die Lichtjungfrau — am Gericht über die Seele teilhat. Die *daēnā* ist also nicht die Erlöserin des Menschen, bzw. dem Gerechten treten seine personifizierten Verdienste nicht als *erlösende* Gottheit entgegen. Außerdem deckt sie sich substantialiter mit dem unkörperlichen Teil des Menschen zwar weitgehend, aber doch nicht so vollständig wie der erlösende Gott eines gnostischen Systems mit dem salvandum im Menschen. Denn es gibt neben ihr noch *ahū* (Leben), *baodah* (Bewußtsein), *urvan* (Freiseele) und *fravašay* (geistige Präexistenzform), und die drei letzteren agieren neben der *daēnā* nach dem Tode des Menschen durchaus selbständig.[43] Sie vertreten dann zwar das unkörperliche Wesen des Menschen zu mehr als nur einem Viertel, behalten aber doch ihren partiellen Charakter und treten nicht so konkurrierend bzw. sich im Mythus ablösend füreinander ein wie gnostische Hypostasen.

Es ergibt sich also, daß zwischen *daēnā* und Lichtjungfrau keine religionsgeschichtliche Beziehung bestehen dürfte,[44] weil sie nur die

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[43] Belege bei Bartholomae, 283, (666,) 919, 1538, 992. Daneben gibt es z.Bsp. *uštāna*, den „materiellen Lebensgeist, der an den Körper gebunden ist und sein Geschick beim Tode teilt" (Nyberg, *Religionen*, 116); weiteres Material bei Widengren, *Numen* 1954, 30-34; Nyberg, *Religionen*, 445; *Questions* 1929, 232f., überhaupt das dort und bei Zaehner, *Zurvan*, 321-336 bearbeitete 3. Kapitel des Großen Bundahišn; für die Gathas hat Humbach (*Gathas* 1, 56-58; 72) gezeigt, daß *urvan* und *daēnā* promiscue angewendet werden und ihre Verteilung rein nach den Gesichtspunkten dichterischer Technik bestimmt ist. Die beiden Wörter können paarweise stehen, jedes kann aber auch für das andere oder für das ganze Paar eintreten, und in dieser Weise können beide sowohl die Persönlichkeit und Seele des Menschen als auch die Quintessenz seiner im Jenseits aufbewahrten Äußerungen bezeichnen. Erst im Haδōxt-Nask sind die Bedeutungen der beiden Wörter terminologisch getrennt und festgelegt.

[44] Daß die Bedeutung von *daēnā* in anderer Richtung weiterentwickelt wird, sagt auch die Bemerkung von Pagliaro (zitiert bei Duchesne-Guillemin, *Western Response*, 65): „Questo motivo della *daēnā* ha avuto nella elaborazione teologica ulteriore poca

Eigenschaft der Weiblichkeit gemeinsam haben, die als solche nichts besagt. Doch war Reitzenstein dennoch berechtigt, an den Haδōxt-Nask zu denken, und zwar auf Grund der — von uns bisher noch nicht besprochenen — Angabe *Fihr.* 335, 12, daß die Lichtjungfrau dem erlösten Gerechten ähnele. Reitzenstein konnte noch nicht wissen, daß diese Angabe für die Lichtjungfrau im Fihrist singulär ist. Wir aber können auf Grund des uns zur Verfügung stehenden viel reicheren Materials nicht nur sagen, daß diese Eigenschaft der Lichtjungfrau in anderen Texten nicht bezeugt ist, sondern auch, welcher Hypostase diese Eigenschaft der Ähnlichkeit mit dem Gerechten ursprünglich zukommt: nämlich der sog. Lichtgestalt oder auch Zweiten Gestalt. Worum handelt es sich hier?

Die Lichtgestalt ist nach *Keph.* 36,9-11; 41,12ff.; Fragment T II K 2a[45] das zweite Selbst des Menschen, der sie schon zu Lebzeiten „annimmt", indem er sie durch Betätigung der „lebendigen guten Gedanken" selbst bildet. Nach seinem Tode tritt sie ihm in selbständiger Körperlichkeit als „Lohn" für seine guten Gedanken entgegen. Polotsky: „Der 'Lohn' besteht darin, daß die verkörperte Frömmigkeit des Verstorbenen sichtbarlich seine Berechtigung dartut, die Insignien des Sieges zu empfangen und so als Erlöster zum Lichtreich aufzusteigen".[46] Die Lichtgestalt geleitet die Seele des Verstorbenen mit Unterstützung der drei Engel, welche die Siegesinsignien für den Erlösten tragen, in die Heimat zurück und heißt deshalb „Erlöserin der Seele". Sie ist wahrscheinlich auch mit der „*morphē* des Meisters (sc. der Seele)" in Kap. 141 der *Kephalaia* gemeint.

Auch im posthumen Schicksal des Katechumenen kommt diese Gestalt vor. *Keph.* 225, 17-29 steht:

> „... so steht es mit dem Katechumenen, der mit dem Siegel des Glaubens und dem Siegel der Wahrheit gesiegelt ist. Die Werke, die er von den ersten Zeiten an getan hat, nicht ist einer durch sie in die Höllen gegangen wegen seiner *morphē*, die von Anfang an erwählt wurde, indem sie dasteht oben in der Höhe. Denn sie, seine *morphē*, sie erbarmt sich über ihn. Nicht

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fortuna, poichè è stato in parte assorbito dalla fravaši 'spirito protettore, genio' che ha un valore più religioso e meno speculativo, e di cui nelle Gâthâ non si ha parola." Hierzu paßt die gute Interpretation der Daēnā und Aufweis ihrer sachlichen Verwandschaft mit der Fravaši bei Lommel, *Yäšts*, 101-107.

[45] *Türk. Man.* I, 22; dazu Polotsky, *Muséon* 1934, 268ff. = Collected Papers 669-672.

[46] Siehe Anm. 57

> läßt sie seine Werke sich verirren. Wie seine letzten Werke, die er tut, nicht in die Höllen gehen wegen seines Glaubens, so steht es mit den ersten Werken, die er getan hat, da seine *morphē* am Anfang in der Höhe ausgewählt wird. Nicht gehen sie in die Irre, sondern kommen nur in die *metaggismoi* und Mühsal. Dann kommen sie in die Hand der Engel und werden gereinigt."

Dieses hat den Wert einer Erklärung zu *Keph.* 36, 9-11[47], woraus hervorgeht, daß nicht nur die Electi, sondern auch die Katechumenen sich bei Lebzeiten eine Lichtmorphē bilden, die nach ihrem Tode für gerechte Beurteilung und Belohnung der guten Werke sorgt und die Seele weiterleitet. Allerdings kann sie noch nicht endgültig den Weg ins Lichtreich freigeben, sondern nur die Seele von den sie verfolgenden Dämonen befreien, um sie dann in neuen *taraddud* (*Fihr.* 335,23)/*metaggismos*[48] zu entlassen. — Während diese Gestalt im Koptischen „Gestalt" oder „Lichtgestalt" heißt, sagt der zitierte alttürkische Text T II K 2a[49] *ikinti grīw*. *Grīw* ist das hier ins Alttürkische entlehnte, uns aus dem Parthischen bekannte Wort, sodaß man diesen Begriff etwa mit „zweites Selbst" übersetzen muß. Daß wir es hier mit einem Äquivalent für die Lichtgestalt zu tun haben, ist wegen der sachlichen Verwandtschaft der Texte sicher.[50] Diese Hypostase als eine „zweite" im Verhältnis zum irdischen Electus und Katechumen zu bezeichnen, erscheint nach dem bisher Ausgeführten sehr sinnvoll.

Es erhebt sich nun die Frage, ob im Arabischen mit dem Begriff „Zweite Gestalt" eine Kombination beider Bezeichnungen vorliegt. Wir müssen hier noch einen weiteren Fihrist-Text besprechen, weil er zur

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[47] „Die dritte (Kraft) ist die Licht-Gestalt (*morphē*), welche die Electi und die Katechumenen annehmen, wenn sie der Welt entsagen".

[48] Allberry (*ErJb* 1939, 132) hält den Begriff für letztlich platonisch und findet einen Reflex davon in der „Bibliothek" des Photius in einem Zitat des Philosophen Hierokles. „Der Begriff des *metaggismos* (Jackson, *JAOS* 45, 1925, 246-268; s. auch Epiphanius, *Panarion*, LXVI, 62 mit Holls Anm.) bedeutet wörtlich den 'Wechsel des Gefäßes (*to aggos*), das Umgießen' ... Der von Mani gebrauchte syr. Ausdruck *tašpīkā* „Eingießen" ist bei Titus v. Bostra, 138, 13 de Lagarde, sowie bei Ephräm, *Prose Refut.* I 30, 37 Mitchell erhalten" (Allberry, *aa.O.* Anm. 1 u. 2). Vgl. *Hymn.* 218, 6; *Hom.* 27, 6; *Keph.* 21, 31; 87, 12; 115, 24; 223, 30; 224, 18; 225, 10.28; 240, 11 f.

[49] Türk. Man. I, 22.

[50] Das „zweite Selbst" wird als *öz sinlïγ ögdir* „der mit eigenen Gliedern ausgestattete Lohn" erklärt. Die Bedeutung von *ögdir* „Lohn, Preis", die v. Le Coq in *Türk. Man.* I, 22 und 42 f. noch nicht angeben konnte, jetzt bei A. v. Gabain, *Alttürkische Grammatik*, 322.

Klärung speziell der Formulierung „Zweite Gestalt" nötig ist, welche viel Verwirrung gestiftet hat. Es handelt sich um Fihr. 332, 27-333, 3.

> 27 „Wie der Mensch in die Religion (*dīn*) eintreten soll.
> 28 Er (Mani) sagt: Wer in die Religion eintreten will, dem obliegt es, daß er sich selbst prüfe. Wenn er dann einsieht, daß er die
> 29 Sinnenlust und die Habgier zu beherrschen, auf den Genuß aller Arten von Fleisch, auf Weintrinken und den ehelichen Beischlaf zu verzichten und sich des Schädlichen des Wassers und Feuers sowie der Zauberei und der Heuchelei zu enthalten vermag,
> 30 so möge er in die Religion eintreten. Wenn er aber alles dieses nicht vermag, dann soll er nicht in die Religion eintreten. Wenn er die Religion zwar liebt,
> 1 jedoch die Sinnenlust und die Habgier nicht zu beherrschen vermag, dann mache er sich die Bewahrung der Religion und der Electi (*ḥifẓa d-dīni waṣ-ṣiddīqīna*) zunutze und habe (verschaffe sich) im Gegensatz zu seinen bösen
> 2 Werken Zeiten, in denen er frei ist zur Tätigkeit (*ʿamal*), Rechtschaffenheit (*birr*), nächtlichen Wachsamkeit (*tahağğud*), (Für)bitte (*masʾala*) und Demut (*taḍarruʿ*); denn das macht ihn jetzt
> 3 und in Zukunft zufrieden, und seine Gestalt wird im jenseitigen Leben (*maʿād*) die Zweite Gestalt (*aṣ-ṣūra aṯ-ṯāniya*) sein, von der wir, so Gott will, im Folgenden sprechen werden."

Dieser Abschnitt faßt die unterschiedlichen Pflichten von Electi und Auditores zusammen. Der Auditor, d.h. derjenige, der dem Manichäismus dienen, aber nicht voll angehören möchte, ist in 333, 1 genannt; mit denselben Begriffen wie dort wird er in 335, 18f. (*al-ḥāfiẓu* sc. *lid-dīni walil-birri waliṣ-ṣiddīqīna*) beschrieben. Der obige Text, der von Ibn an-Nadim (wie hier nicht weiter gezeigt werden kann) der gleichen Quelle entnommen ist, verweist am Schluß zur Erklärung der „Zweiten Gestalt" ganz offensichtlich auf diese Stelle 335, 18f. Hier entsteht eine Schwierigkeit dadurch, daß die geschilderte Erlösung gegenüber der des Electus zweiten Ranges ist, weil die Seele noch Generationen lang auf der Seelenwanderung (*metaggismos/taraddud*, Z. 23) bleiben muß. Einerseits wird die Faktizität der Erlösung berichtet, ohne die die Lichtgestalt des Katechumenen sinnlos ist, andererseits bleibt der Zustand weiteren Gebundenseins in die Hyle (Z. 21f.) bestehen, sodaß die Lichtgestalt des Katechumenen nicht dieselbe Aufgabe erfüllen kann wie die des Electus und ihr gegenüber zweitrangig wird. Offenbar wird auf diesen Sachverhalt angespielt, wenn im Abschnitt Fihr. 332, 27-333, 3 nur (in 333, 3) die Gestalt des Auditors[51] als „Zweite Gestalt" im *ma'ād* bezeichnet wird. Wollte man der Tatsache, daß eine Seele auch nach ihrer Wanderung z.Bsp. durch Pflanzen oder Auditores zuletzt doch nur in einem Electus zur Erlösung kommen konnte, keine Rechnung tragen, sondern in einem paränetisch-kasuistischen Text wie *Fihr.* 332, 27ff.[52] schon dem empirischen Auditor aus seelsorgerlichen Gründen als Belohnung für seine Verdienste die geziemende Stellung im *ma'ād* anweisen, so mußte man sich auf das genannte Dilemma zwischen Aussicht auf Erlösung (wie beim Electus) und Ankündigung weiterer Seelenwanderung einlassen. Die Bezeichnung der „Gestalt" des Auditors als „Zweite Gestalt (sc. Licht-Gestalt)" (sc. nach der des Electus) wäre dann der Ausdruck dieses Dilemmas.[53]

Es läßt sich nur vermuten, warum in *Fihr.* 335, 9ff. diese „(Licht-) Gestalt" des Auditors, obwohl auf sie verwiesen wird, expressis verbis nicht auftaucht. Einmal ist ja dort von den geleitenden Göttern nur zusammenfassend die Rede, nachdem sie beim Electus etwas detaillierter genannt waren. Zum andern wohl deshalb, weil die „Gestalt" des Electus von der Jungfrau (s. gleich) verdrängt worden ist (sonst hätte man diese die „erste Gestalt" nennen müssen); zum dritten wird in einem Zusammenhang, der die Dinge rein von den Verhältnissen im Jenseits und nicht vom Standpunkt des zu ermunternden Auditors aus betrachtet, für eine rangmäßige Anordnung der „(Licht-) Gestalten" kein Anlaß bestanden haben, da das Schicksal ihrer irdischen Abbilder ohnehin feststand.

Die „Zweite Gestalt" von *Fihr.* 333, 3 ist demnach keine Parallele zu *ikinti grīw*, obwohl in beiden Fällen eine Lichtgestalt gemeint ist. Nach der arabischen Terminologie wäre eine (nicht bezeugte) „Erste Gestalt" die Lichtgestalt des Electus, so wie die „Zweite Gestalt" die Lichtgestalt des Katechumenen ist. Nach der alttürkischen Terminologie wäre ein (nicht bezeugtes) „erstes *grīw*" der irdische Electus, so wie das „zweite *grīw*" seine Lichtgestalt ist.[54]

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[51] In diesem Abschnitt scheint zwischen dem empirischen Auditor und seinem eschatologischen Typus, d.h. seiner Lichtgestalt, nicht unterschieden zu sein; deshalb kann auf ihn mitsamt seiner Lichtgestalt in 335, 18f. verwiesen werden, wobei man auch in 335, 18f. auf gesonderte Erwähnung der Lichtgestalt verzichten kann. Möglich ist aber auch, daß mit „seine Gestalt" nicht seine irdisch-empirische, sondern seine Lichtgestalt gemeint ist so wie im Koptischen mit dem einfachen *morphē*. In diesem Falle ergibt sich die für diesen Text vorgeschlagene Bedeutung von „Zweite Gestalt" noch eindeutiger.

[52] Bei Colpe, *SHR* 21, 403f. wird dieser Text unter einer anderen Fragestellung als hier, nämlich form- und überlieferungsgeschichtlich, untersucht. Soweit sich diese Fragestellung mit der hier leitenden berührt, konnten einige Formulierungen von dort übernommen werden.

[53] So deutet es schon Flügel, *Mani*, 286, an.

Wenn nun in *Fihr.* 335, 12 gesagt wird, daß die Lichtjungfrau dem erlösten *ṣiddīq*/Electus ähnelt, dann hat sie Züge der Lichtgestalt angenommen. Das ist die einsichtige Konsequenz des spätmanichäischen Bestrebens, die Jungfrau auch an der posthumen Lichtausläuterung zu beteiligen, bei der die Lichtgestalt ja von Anfang an ihren Platz hat. Da in der manichäischen Theologie zwischen Figuren, die durch Verschiebungen im System verwandte Funktionen gewinnen, auch hypostatische Beziehungen hergestellt werden — das zeigte sich ja auch bei der Beziehung der Jungfrau zum Geleitenden Weisen[55] —, wurde hier eine Eigenschaft der Lichtgestalt auf die Lichtjungfrau übertragen. Als religionsgeschichtlichen Nachfahren der *daēnā* weist uns die Jungfrau damit auf die Lichtgestalt hin.

Sie hat im Vergleich mit der *daēnā* vor der Jungfrau wenigstens dies voraus, daß sie gleichfalls durch die Taten des Menschen gebildet wird.[56] Hier muß zwischen *daēnā* und Lichtgestalt in der Tat eine mythographische Beziehung vorliegen. Polotsky's Definition[57], daß die Lichtgestalt des Verstorbenen „sichtbarlich seine Berechtigung dartut, ... als Erlöster zum Lichtreich aufzusteigen", würde auch auf die *daēnā* passen, die er gar nicht in Betracht gezogen hat. Vielleicht hat Mani diese Figur tatsächlich übernommen, wie manch andere. Aber dann ist es selbstverständlich, daß auch sie — ganz ähnlich wie Vohu Manah — im Sinne seines Systems neu gedeutet ist: die Lichtgestalt ist nicht nur das sichtbare Symbol der Erlösungswürdigkeit der Seele, sondern auch ihre aktive Erlöserin,[58] welche sie „rettet[59] von der Finsternis ab bis zum Lichte".[60] Damit ist am entscheidenden Punkte in der bekannten Weise die Kontinuität zur zoroastrischen Vorstellung aufgegeben; eine neue erlösende Figur ist entstanden, die als solche im Zoroastrismus neben Ohrmazd kein Recht hätte. Außerdem wird in *Keph.* 225, 17-29 — auch hier erlösend, so weit möglich! — dem Katechumenen eine Lichtgestalt zugeteilt, d.h. dem weder ganz guten noch ganz bösen Menschen. Das gilt einer Figur, die im späteren Zoroastrismus nicht zu einem festen besonderen Menschen- bzw. Gemeindeglied-Typus gemacht worden ist.[61]

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[54] Die „Zweite Gestalt" ist also kein Nachklang des zoroastrischen „künftigen Körpers", womit die „letzte Existenzform" bezeichnet wird, „welche dem Universum gegeben wird, nachdem der jetzt im Gange befindliche Zyklus der Millennien vergangen ist", „die nächste Welt, die Ewigkeit": Nyberg, *Manual*, 2, 190. Belege zumeist aus dem Mēnōīg xrad *a.a.O.* s.v. *tan i pasēn*. Vgl. Zaehner, *Teachings*, 139-150.

[55] Siehe oben bei Anm. 24.

[56] *Keph.* 225, 17-29.

[57] *Muséon* 1934, 271 = Collected Papers 672 (vgl. oben Anm. 46).

Quispel stellt gegen Schluß seiner Untersuchung (p. 157) fest: „Mani hat sein eigenes religiöses Erlebnis, die Begegnung mit dem Zwilling, institutionalisiert und für die Mitglieder seiner Religion verbindlich gemacht." Er weist darauf hin (p. 156), in welcher Weise „der Erlöser, dieses Selbst, dann doch auch wieder von Menschen, zu denen er gehört, erlöst wird", und (p. 157) wie „die Ansicht, daß die Gottheit sich durch Vermittlung dieser dualitudo verwirklicht und erlöst", weiterhin verbindlich bleibt, bzw. wie das göttliche „Interesse daran, daß der Mensch seine Aufgabe erfüllt, weil (die Gottheit) dadurch selbst aus der Umklammerung mit der Materie erlöst wird", auch nach erfolgter Institutionalisierung lebendig erhalten wird. Das ist richtig. Die vorstehende kurze Untersuchung sollte zeigen, daß nach der Institutionalisierung aber auch noch etwas anderes eintreten konnte: die Verselbständigung der Selbst-Erfahrung zu einer fast dinglichen Symbolik, danach gar deren Multiplikation, sodaß Kombination, Austausch und Neubildung von Begriffen möglich wird. Hier scheint dann die terminologische Ausgestaltung und Weiterbildung einer Lehre bis hin zum scholastischen Distinktionsspiel wichtiger zu werden als das Instandhalten mythographischer Beziehungen, wichtiger auch als das Bewußthalten der „Polarität" von „Bild und Ebenbild, Mensch und Zwillingsbruder, Seele und Geist, Ich und Selbst."

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[58] *Keph.* 41, 20f.

[59] l. *nessatoy*, von *sōte*, cf. Z. 21.

[60] *Keph.* 41, 12.

[60] Vgl. Colpe, *Or. Suec.* 1978/79, 136f.

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THE ANGELS OF THE NATIONS AND THE ORIGINS OF GNOSTIC DUALISM

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Professor G. Quispel was the first scholar after World War II who criticized the ideas of the *religionsgeschichtliche Schule* concerning the origins of Gnostic dualism. According to him, the background of Gnosticism is Jewish.

The impact of Professor Quispel's studies on modern scholarship is well known and needs no further introduction. In particular, he studied Jewish angelology in order to show the analogies between the heavenly beings in the Jewish beliefs and the Gnostic hypostases. That is why we scarcely could imagine a more appropriate subject for a paper in a volume in his honor than *the relation between the Jewish Angels of the Nations and the origins of Gnostic dualism.* A basic contribution to the study of this problem was published by the late E. Peterson, one of Professor Quispel's masters. And Professor Quispel himself is the author of the hypothesis that we share in this article, namely that the background of the Gnostic demiurge is Jewish.

The hypothesis of the Jewish origin of Gnostic dualism already had been sponsored by some scholars of the XIXth century, beginning with H. Graetz.[1] Graetz and his followers certainly were wrong in their demonstrations, because they confused two distinct concepts, namely *ditheism* (or binitarianism) and *dualism.* Some Jewish pre-Christian doctrines actually were acquainted with the idea of a second god, who was sometimes held responsible for the creation of the world. This second divine being was usually an angel of the Lord, who obeyed His orders and who by no means had any evil intent towards Him. The earliest rabbinic evidence concerning the condemnation of this ditheistic heresy belongs to the IInd cent. A.D., but Philo of Alexandria had previously discussed the hypothesis of two Gods.[2] Therefore, it is possible to state that the doctrine was pre-Christian. It is also possible to state, with absolute certainty, that the doctrine was not dualistic. *Radical* dualism involves the coeternity of two antagonistic principles, while *mitigated* dualism involves a discontinuity in the expanding of Being. Jewish binitarianism did not fit either the first or the second kinds of dualism.

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[1] H. Graetz, *Gnosticismus und Judenthum*, Krotoschin 1846.

Nevertheless, some of the Jewish ditheists seem to have believed that the world had been created by an angel of the Lord. The same idea is present in certain Gnostics, such as Simon Magus or Cerinthus. Thus it is likely that, in a dualistic climate, the Lord's angel might have been changed into the evil demiurge of the world. In other words, the problem is not to state whether the background of the gnostic demiurge is Jewish or not, but what are the reasons why a good angel becomes an evil one, i.e., what are the origins of the dualistic *Zeitgeist* of that period.

1. *The main hypotheses* concerning the formation of Gnostic dualism are the following:

a) *Gnostic dualism originates in Iran.* This theory has been sponsored by the *religionsgeschichtliche Schule.* There are very strong arguments against it, namely that Zoroastrian dualism is procosmical, not anticosmical. Moreover, relevant evidence of Mazdaean dualism may belong to a period posterior to the II$^{\text{nd}}$-III$^{\text{nd}}$ cent. A.D.

b) *Gnostic dualism originates from Orphic, Pythagorean and Platonic dualism.* The scholars holding this hypothesis like to recall the analogies between the fall of the soul in Plato's ontology and the fall of a divine hypostasis in the mitigated Gnostic dualism. They also point out that Orphism, Empedocle's doctrine and, very likely, Pythagoreanism, were anticosmic.

The opponents of this theory reject it on reason of its merely phenomenological character.

c) *The background of Gnostic dualism is Jewish.* According to this socio-psychological theory, Gnostic dualism represents the fatal issue of the events of 70.

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[2] Cf. A. F. Segal, *Two Powers in Heaven, Early Rabbinic Reports about Christianity and Gnosticism*, Leiden 1977, 159-79.

Some scholars use to reject this hypothesis, since the strong anti-Jewish features of Gnostic speculations seem incompatible with a Jewish background thereof. That is why one of the challengers of this theory tried to demonstrate that

d) *Gnostic dualism originates in Samaria*, i.e., in a Jewish *milieu* fostering strong anti-Jewish feelings. We shall not discuss here this last hypothesis.

It seems very likely that hypothesis *c*), if considered carefully, stands to reason. After the events of 70 and 135, even the most conservative Jewish circles, when confronted with the problem of theodicy, may have rejected a God who failed, if only in order to preserve the idea of transcendence itself. Because the Jewish God had a strong national character, he was the heavenly guardian of Israel, in opposition with the mere angels, who were the guardians of the other nations. A defeated god is no almighty god. That is why such a god might have been sacrificed, in order to save the idea of divinity.

2. At first sight, our hypothesis looks very shocking, may be even rash. But it is not, when one thinks of the immediate, concrete political advantages that the Jewish people were expecting from the position of their God. As a matter of fact, all the nations of the earth were supposed to have representatives in heaven. These latter were mere angels, while the representative of the Jewish nation was God himself, i.e., the supreme head of all heavenly beings. This idea is certainly as early as the IInd century B.C., while the national angels might belong to a still earlier period.[3] The Hebrew original of the *Dt.* 32, 8 reads: "the Highest ... set borders between the peoples, *according to the number of the children of Israel*" (thus the Vulgate: „*iuxta numerum filiorum Israel*"). The same place in the LXX reads: "according to the number *of the children of God*",[4] i.e. of the angels. And the passage reads

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[3] According to W. Bousset, the expression "heavenly army" in *Dt.* 4, 19 and 17, 3 (which actually means "stars": cf. W. Bousset, *Die Religionen des Judentums in späthellenistischen Zeitalter*, hrgg. von H. Gressmann, Tübingen 1926^3, 321-2) would mean "national angels" (*ibid.*, 324). I Scheftelowitz, *Die altpersische Religion und das Judentum. Unterscheide, Übereinstimmungen und gegenseitigen Beeinflussungen*, Giessen 1920, 156, does not agree with Bousset. For Scheftelowitz, the origin of the "angels of the peoples" is to be sought in passages as *Dt.* 29, 25, *Dan.* 10, 13.20 or *Sir.* 17, 17, where the gods of different nations represent their lands before God.

[4] Cf. Bousset-Gressmann, 324-5; E. Peterson, *Das Problem des Nationalismus im*

further on : „*pars autem Domini populus eius, Iacob funiculus hereditatis eius*" (32, 9). According to the LXX, one should assume that God has allotted all territories upon the earth to his angels, in such a way as to assign each angel one nation. Only the people of Israel are directly dependant upon God himself. The consequence thereof is (to put it with E. Peterson's words) that "das Verhältnis Israels zu den Nationen primär gar nicht als ein Verhältnis von Volk zu Volk, sondern als eines von Gott zu den Engeln der Völker aufgefasst ist".[5] Beginning with the II^nd^ cent. B.C., the evidence concerning this belief is particularly rich: Sirah 24, 12, *Jubilees* 15, 31 f., etc.[6] The Book of Daniel tells about the angel of the Persians (10, 13.20) and the angel of the Greeks (10, 20). Here, however, the guardian of the Jews is not God himself, but Michael (10, 13.21), "one of the most important angelic Princes". The Ethiopian Book of Enoch is acquainted with the same idea.[7] At any rate, Michael is superior to the other national angels: "*uni vero qui in archangelis erat maximus sorte dato est dispensatio eorum qui prae ceteris omnibus excelsi dei cultum atque scientiam receperunt*".[8]

The interpretation of another biblical passage sheds further light on the otherwise faint shapes of the national angels: Isaiah 24, 21-2. According to the exegesis of this passage, the heavenly angels of the peoples are responsible for the military and political actions of the worldly kings.[9] In the Babylonian Talmud, this old idea is pointed out very clearly: "No nation is punished unless its divinity is also punished together with it".[10] That means that political troubles are not consented to by God, but they nevertheless originate from above, from the free will of the angels. Already in the I^st^ cent. A.D., the belief that the national angels were engaged in war with one another, in

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Alten Christentum, in *Frühkirche, Judentum und Gnosis*, Rome-Freiburg-Vienna 1959, 51. According to R. Dussaud and O. Eisfeldt, this episode (*Dt.* 32, 8) derives from the Canaanite mythology, namely from the partition of the lands according to the number of the sons of El. *Israel* would be a Massoretic transformation of the name El.

[5] Peterson, *l.c.*, 52.

[6] Cf. Peterson, *ibid.*; H. Bietenhard, *Die himmlische Welt im Urchristentum und Spätjudentum*, Tübingen 1951, 109-10. Cf. Iren., *Adv. haer.* III, 11: "*populum autem, qui credit Deo, jam non esse sub angelorum potestate, sed sub Domini. Facta est enim portio Domini, populus eius Jacob, funiculum haereditatis eius Israel*".

[7] *1 En.* 20, 5; cf. Bietenhard, 109.

[8] Ps.-Clem. *Recognitiones* II, 42; cf. Peterson, 52.

[9] Is. 24, 21. 22; cf. Bietenhard, 109-10; rabbinic interpretations *ap.* Bietenhard, 111 ff.

[10] *bSukka* 29a, *baraitha*.

the same manner as the peoples whose celestial representatives and guardians they were was wide spread. Satan was usually very warlike, e.g. in the *Ascension of Isaiah*: "Ascendimus ego et ille (*sc.* the angel) super firmamentum, et vidi ibi prelium magnum sathane (Ethiop. and Lat. Fr.: *Samael*) et virtutem ejus resistentem honoratie dei et unus erat prestantior alio in videndo, quia *sicut est in terra tanto est in firmamento, forme enim firmamenti hic sunt in terra*".[11]

3. In conclusion, the Jewish doctrine of the national angels is certainly as early as the II^nd^ cent. B.C. According to this doctrine, the heavenly representative of the Jewish nation is God himself. The relation of the Jewish people to the other peoples of the earth is the same as the relation God's to the celestial angels. This belief derives from the interpretation of a passage of the *Deuteronomy* (32, 8), and is already present in the *Wisdom* of Jesus Sirah and in the Book of Jubilees. According to another tradition, which appears in *1 Enoch*, ch. 20 and in the Book of Daniel (10, 13.21), the heavenly guardian of the Jewish nation is the archangel Michael.

Another belief, namely that the conflicts between the nations of the world reflect the conflicts between their celestial representatives, derives from the interpretation of a passage of Isaiah (24, 21-2).

There are further details concerning the national angels. Their number was 72 or 70, which was connected with the Babylonian calendar.[12] Some of the national angels are given a name and an individuality. For instance, the people of Edom is protected by the angel *Sammâêl*.[13] Dubbiêl is the prince angel (*archon*) of the Persians.[14]

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[11] *Asc. Is.* VII, 9-10; 147-8. Tisserant.

[12] According to rabbinic sources, the number 70 would derive from *Genesis* 11 (cf. *Targum Ps.-Yonathan in Gen.* 11, 8). For Western scholarship, the number 72 (70) derives from the Babylonian calendar, *viz.* from the 72 *hamuštu* or 5-days "weeks": cf. W. Bousset, *Hauptprobleme der Gnosis*, Göttingen 1907, 358-60; Bousset-Gressmann, 325-6; Bietenhard, 109. Number 70 appears in *1 Hen.* 89, 59ff.; Ps.-Clem. *Hom.* 18, 4; *hTestNaphth.* 8; *Targ.Ps.-Yonath.* in *Gen.* 11, 8. Number 72 occurs in Ps.-Clem. *Rec.* 2, 42. According to Bousset, *Hauptprobleme*, *l.c.*, 72(70) has a symbolic value.

[13] According to Scheftelowitz, 156, the national angel is also the king's protector (*Sôtâ* 8; *Shemôt r.* 21, 5). That is why Esau, as patriarch of the people of Edom, is protected by the angel Samâêl (*Bereshîth r.* 77; *Tanhuma*, Yelammedênu in *Wayyishlah* 8). Same tradition in *3 Enoch* 26, 11 — cf. also my article "*Démonisation du cosmos" et dualisme gnostique*, in *RHR* 98 (1979), 3-40, esp. 36.

[14] *Ibid.*

The same way, Tannaitic and more recent rabbinic evidence concerning the national angels can be ranged under the following headings:

a) All nations have an angel as heavenly representative, except Israel, whose representative is God himself or the archangel Michael (*in* LXX, *Dt.* 32, 8). According to the Jewish Testament of Naphthali, the language spoken in heaven is Hebrew, because Abraham, in choosing God as Lord of his people, has also chosen His language.[15]

b) The angels of the peoples are reponsible for the earthy disorders, as wars and the like (*in* Isaiah 24, 21-2). "When the peoples of the earth make war, their heavenly princes make war too".[16] A further development of this belief is that the national angels assist their peoples in fight. The angel of Egypt, when his people were sunk into the Red Sea, sought safety in flight.[17]

Another related idea is that the national angels act as a sort of ministers for their people at the heavenly court. They defend their own nation and bring accusations against others. Satan, Sammael and Dubbiel are the accusers of the Jewish people.[18] According to another tradition, Israel deserves no less punishment than others, for its idolatry and faithlessness.[19]

c) Another belief is a combination of the first two with an interpretation of Jacob's dream (*Gen.* 28, 10-22) or of Jacob's fight with the angel (*Gen.* 32, 22-9). According to R. Meir (c. 150), the angels getting up and down the ladder are the national angels.[20] Jacob saw the angels of Babylon, of the Medes, Greeks and of Edom (Rome) getting down the ladder. That meant that their rulership over the world has come to an end. Shemuel b. Nahman (c. 260) states further that the respective lengths of the reigns of the first three angels were 70, 52 and 180 years.

R. Hama b. Haninah (c. 250) is persuaded that Jacob fought against

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[15] *hTestNaphth.* 8ff.; *jMegillah* 1, 71b, 44, *ap.* Bietenhard, 111. The tradition descends from *Jub.* 15, 31-2 — cf. Peterson, 52.

[16] *Emek hammelek* 173, *ap.* Bietenhard, 111 n. 1.

[17] *Mekiltha* in *Ex.* 15, 1. According to R. Eleazar b. Pedath (c. 276), Misrayîm, the angel of Egypt, is foreseen with wings — cf. Peterson, 53-4 n. 5.

[18] *3 Hen.* 26, 11.

[19] Assigned to Eleazar de Modein (*ob.* 135), *Midr.* in *Ps.* 1, 20; to R. Yehuda b. Shimon (c. 320), *Shir r.* in *Cant.* 8, 8, *ap.* Bietenhard, 109.

[20] *Pesikta* 151a.

Sammael, the angel of Edom, and this fight foretells Israel's fight against Rome.[21]

4. *Sammael's Identity.* We already came across the name Sammael in the Ethiopian and the Latin fragmentary version of the *Ascension of Isaiah.* The name also occurs in Jewish texts not earlier than the III^rd^ cent. A.D., as *Bereshîth rabba*, *Tanhuma* and *3 Enoch.* In all this later evidence, he is identified with the angel of Edom (Rome). According to an older tradition, the name Sammael is given the Angel of Death, who already receives the title of *kosmokrator* from R. Eliezer b. R. Jose Haggelili (c. 150).[22] It is likely that Sammael was one of the most repellent heavenly beins for the Jewish intelligentia at the end of the Tannaim. This is also proved by an etymological attempt to make his name descend from *sam 'ēl*, "God's poison".[23] The Prince (*archon*) of the Roman people is also frequently given the title of "Prince of the World" (*sar ha-olam*, *archon tou kosmou*).

5. *The Prince of the World.* In the *Martyrium Isaiae*, the title "Power of this World" is given Beliar or Matanbukus, "the angel of iniquity".[24] The title "Prince of this World" appears twice in the *Ascension of Isaiah*, indicating the chief of the evil angels.[25] In the *Apocalypse of Abraham* (end I^st^ cent. or beginning II^nd^ cent. A.D.), Azazel, the head of the evil army of the heavens, is Lord of the peoples of the world, i.e., chief of the national angels.[26]

The title of "Prince of the World" had originally no negative meaning: in the rabbinic literature it is once given the archangel Michael.[27] The "Prince of the World" was simply the head of the angelic princes (archontes) of the nations. From the I^st^ cent. A.D. on, the Prince of the World is identified with Satan, the evil angel, under one of his names: Beliar, Azazel, or — not the least — Sammael, the angel of the Romans. Under the features of this new angelic character, one may recognize four distinct traditional figures:

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[21] Bietenhard, 112-13.

[22] Bietenhard, 116.

[23] *Ibid.*

[24] *Asc. Is.* II 4; 93 Tisserant.

[25] *Asc. Is.* I 3, and X 29 Tisserant 86 and 201, resp.: only Ethiopian and Slavonic versions.

[26] *Apoc. Abrah.* 14, 5f.; 20, 5; 22, 6.

[27] *Pirke R. Eliezer* 27.

1) Satan — a generic name for the angel of iniquity who already occurs in the literature of the Maccabean times.

2) The Prince of the World, i.e., the chief of the national angels.

3) The Angel of Death, called Sammael.

4) The Angel of Rome, called Sammael after the Exterminator.

It is not difficult to understand the mental process by which a new heavenly entity is created from four previously distinct characters.

Rome has conquered the world. Automatically, her angel becomes "Prince of the World", i.e., head of all the national *archontes*. But Rome represents the negative, satanic power which has subdued the people of God. Therefore, her angel must certainly be the angel of iniquity, Satan himself, under one of his names. The best name one can choose is surely Sammael, the Exterminator, because the Roman army had exterminated the Jewish people, the Roman angel had brought death and destruction everywhere.

In conclusion, the political (and, therefore, religious) life of Israel is dominated, in the Ist cent. A.D., by a huge and terrifying black shadow: that of the Prince of the World, the archon of the Roman people, who was the same with the angel of iniquity and death. Other Jewish traditions will give us sufficient evidence to explain why this malefic angel becomes, in Gnosticism, the Creator of the world.

6. *Jewish Ditheism.* Different rabbinic sources, the earliest of which is the *Mekhilta*, a IInd cent. midrash *in Shemot*,[28] record a "heretical" doctrine, *viz.* that of ŠTY RŠWYWT BŠMYM, "Two Heavenly Powers".[29] The rabbinic evidence comes from Palestine and precedes the religious contact with Zoroastrianism in Amoraic Babylonia. The accursed doctrine, i.e. ditheism or binitarianism, derives from the interpretation of "dangerous" biblical passages, e.g. the (formal?) plural Elohîm in *Bereshîth*, the angel in *Shemot* 20f. or the Son of Man in Daniel 7,9. The RR. Yohannan and Simlai were the first to use grammar in order to fight the erroneous ideas at which the heretics

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[28] Cf. G. Foot Moore, *Judaism in the first centuries of the Christian Era. The Age of the Tannaim*, I, Cambridge 1946, 135f.

[29] A.F. Segal, 33f.

had arrived.[30] The Jewish ditheism was certainly pre-Christian, since Philo of Alexandria already discussed in his works the hypothesis of two Gods.[31]

All this evidence is in complete agreement with the — very recent: X^th^ cent. — statement of Al-Qirqisânî concerning the pre-Christian Jewish sect of the Magharians.[32] The Magharians believed that God himself was not directly responsible for the creation of the world. The world had been created by a lieutenant of God, an angel of his court. According to G. Quispel, these Jews were certainly aware of the contradiction between the non-anthropomorphic features of their God and the anthropomorphic ways used to create the world (through the word, by handicraft), as described in the *Genesis*. Their reasoning was logically rigorous.

The idea that an angel of the Lord is the creator of the world is assigned to Simon Magus by the Pseudo-Clementine *Recognitiones*[33] and to Cerinthus by Irenaeus[34] and by Pseudo-Tertullian.[35] The same belief was also shared by other Gnostics.[36] Thus, it is likely that Simon Magus borrowed the idea of a second Creator from the Magharians, i.e., from representatives of the heresy of "Two Powers in Heaven", but this second Creator became, in the Samaritan gnosis, *the God of the Jews*.[37] One may certainly infer that Simon's perverse interpretation was meant to put in a bad light the God of his neighbours, i.e., to show that he was only an angel of the true Lord.

On the other hand, there is enough evidence that the apocalyptic and rabbinic literature emphasize the idea of *God's lieutenant*, warning the believers that *this angel is not God himself.*

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[30] Segal, 150.

[31] Segal, 159ff.

[32] Cf. L. Nemoy, *Al-Qirqisânî's "Account of the Jewish Sects"*, in *HUCA* 7, 1930, 317-47; H. Wolfson, *The pre-existent angel of the Magharians and Al-Nahâwandî*, in *Jewish Quarterly Review* 11, 1960, 97; G. Quispel, *The Origins of the Gnostic Demiurge*, in *Gnostic Studies*, vol. I, Istanbul 1974, 213-19.

[33] *Rec.* 2, 39 *ap.* Quispel, *l.c.*, 216.

[34] *Adv. haer.* I 26, 1: "*non a primo deo factum esse mundum docuit, sed a virtute quadam valde separata et distante ab ea principalitate quae est super universa et ignorante eum qui est super omnia deum*".

[35] *Adv. omn. haer.* 3: "*nam et ipse mundum institutum esse ab angelis dicit... ipsam quoque legem ab angelis data perhibens, Judaeorum deum non dominum, sed angelum promens*".

[36] Sources in Quispel, 219.

[37] *Rec.* 2, 57; Quispel, 216.

7. *The Lieutenant of God.* The strange informations of *Genesis* 5, 18-24 concerning Enoch gave rise to a rich legendary tradition. Enoch was held able to ascend to the heavens in order to learn the secrets of astronomy,[38] to contemplate God's world,[39] or to gain information concerning the coming Messiah.[40] He was instructed in all secret doctrines, he knew all things that have been and all things to come, in the heaven and on the earth.[41] According to the Book of Jubilees (4, 23), Enoch had been set in the Garden of Eden as a scribe and archivist of God's judgments. He was a sort of Jewish cultural hero, who taught men the alphabet, the sciences — especially astronomy —, and wisdom.[42] He was a great visionary, knower of all visible and invisible things.[43] In the Slavonic Book of Enoch, God sends to him the archangel Vrevoel, in order to promote him to the rank of heavenly scribe.[44] An angel and, later on, God himself have taught him the secrets of Creation (*ma'aseh bereshîth*) and of the Universe (*ma'aseh merkâbâh*). According to the *Testament of Abraham* (10, 8 - 11, 3), he is the scribe-*angel*, whose records are carried by the Cherubim. He is the mediator between God and men[45] and even between God and his angels.[46] He bears the mysterious title of "Son of Man"[47] and he is the chief of the Just in heaven.

In more recent texts from Amoraic Babylonia, Enoch is identified with the angel Metatron: "Enoch ... has been caught by the Word of God and has been set in heaven and has received the name of Metatron, the Great Scribe".[48] This tradition is further developed in the Hebrew Book of Enoch. In the beginning, Enoch-Metatron, God's messenger, is the *angelus interpres* who reveals to R. Yishmael b. Elisha the secrets of the 7th sky ʿAraboth. He bears the title of *sar ha-panim*, "Prince of the Face" or of the Presence of the Lord. In fact, he is no one else than Enoch, who has been promoted to this high angelic dignity in spite of the protests of the "old" angels Uzza, Azza and Azzael.[49] Because of his quick career, he is called "young", *naʿar*.[50] He is also the only celestial being born of a woman, and therefore he is called "unique between the sons of heaven".[51] As God's lieutenant, he is YHWH HQṬWN, "Lesser Yahveh". He has 70 names, corresponding to the 70 names God's and to the 70 peoples of the earth. He is foreseen with 72 wings, each one as great as the whole world, and with 365 eyes, each one as big as the sun. His throne looks like God's throne and his crown has 49 (7 × 7) precious stones in which the magic words of the Creation are engraved.[52] As a Prince of the Angels, he is also the chief of the national angels and, accordingly, he is given the title of SR HʿWLM, "Prince of the World".[53]

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[38] *1 En.* 72-82.
[39] *1 En.* 14.
[40] *1 En.* B.
[41] *2 En.* 24ff.
[42] *Jub.* 4, 17-23.
[43] Cf. Bietenhard, 143ff.
[44] *2 En.* 22ff.
[45] *2 En.* 64, 4.
[46] *1 En. 13, 3f.*
[47] *1 En.* 71, 14-17.
[48] *Targ. Ps.-Yon.* in *Gen.* 5, 24.

The name Metatron is connected with the legend of the four who entered the *pardes*. Elisha b. Abuya, also known as *Aher* ("Other"), becomes, according to this legend, the champion of the binitarian heresy. When glimpsing Metatron's throne and the angelic scribe who does not stand before God (because he is too busy writing in his books!), Aher cannot keep himself from thinking: "Perhaps — God forfend! — there are two Powers".[54] After such a reprovable mistake, poor Aher is doomed to be an heretic. On the other hand, Metatron is punished too, because he misled Aher through his sitting position.[55]

Metatron's story is likely to be only an Amoraic addition to the legend of the four who entered the *pardes*.[56] Anyway, the figure of a God's lieutenant is by no means recent. The heavenly guardian of Israel, the angel who presides upon the Judgment, the heavenly writer or the psychopompe belong already to the early traditions of

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[49] *2 En.* 4, 5-6.
[50] *3 En.* 3, 2; 4, 10.
[51] *3 En.* 48, 1 C.
[52] Bietenhard, 152-3.
[53] *3 En.* 10, 3; 14, 1; 48, 9 C.
[54] *bHagigah* 15a.
[55] *bHag.* 15a; *3 Hen.* 16.
[56] Cf. Segal, 63.

1 Enoch, of the Book of Daniel and of the *Jubilees*. The archangel Michael plays a very important role in the apocalyptic and rabbinic sources. Other angels, such as Uriel (*1 Enoch*) or Yahoel, are also leading figures in heaven. But, as far as we are concerned, the most interesting angels of the Tannaitic period are Melchizedek and Yeremiel.

Melchizedek has been identified with the "Prince of Light" or "Angel of Truth" at Qumrân.[57] In the eschatological midrashim discovered in cave 11 at Qumrân, Melchizedek is the savior who, at the end of the days, will guide the exiled back to their land, in order to let them know that they are freed from sin. He is identified with Michael and will lead the celestial armies which are to destroy Belial and his evil angels.

In the Sokolov manuscript of *2 Enoch*, Melchizedek, born by miracle, is saved from the flood by the angel Michael and stays 40 days in the Garden of Eden.[58] He is called "the Great Priest from on high, God's Word and God's Power, who performs the greatest and the most glorious wonders".[59] According to some Christian writers, the Asian Theodotus regarded Melchizedek as a great heavenly power, mediator and intercessor for the angels.[60] Origen and Didymus were acquainted with the idea that Melchizedek was an angel.[61] Later on, a group of Melchizedekian heretics[62] asserted that Melchizedek was God by nature, that he was the divine Logos. All these features — except perhaps the last two — are certainly not unknown to us: before Melchizedek, Enoch had been endowed with. That is to say that the legend of God's lieutenant existed as early as the II^nd cent. B.C.

As far as the angel *Yeremiel* is concerned, his name or kindred (Remeiel, Remiel, etc.) appear in the Ethiopian Book of Enoch. The Gizeh papyrus, ch. XX, adds to the list of the six holy angels the name Ῥεμειήλ. On the contrary, Ῥαμιήλ (or Rumael) is a fallen angel in the chapters VI and LXIX.

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[57] Cf. A. S. van der Woude, *Melchizedek als himmlische Erlösergestalt in den neugefundenen Midrashim aus Qumran Höhle XI*, in *OTS* 14, 1965, 354-73.

[58] *2 En*. 3, 28-9 — cf. Segal, 194-5 n. 33.

[59] *2 En*. 3, 24.

[60] Hipp. *ref*. 7, 36; Epiph. *Pan*. 55, 1; Philast. *haer*. 52; Ps.-Tert. *adv. omn. haer*. 8 — cf. Segal, *ibid*.

[61] Hier. *Ep. ad Euangelium* 73, 2.

[62] *P.G.* 65, col. 112a, *ap*. Segal, *ibid*.

The angelic name Remiel also occurs in the apocrypha *IV Ezra* and *II Baruch*, both composed during the same period (c. 70-135 A.D.). In both of these texts, the prophets converse with an angel (*IV Ezra*: Uriel). At a certain moment, both of them *forget* that they are before an angel, and call them with the name *God*.[63]

The Syrian text of II *Baruch* reads *rmʿil*,[64] exactly as *IV Ezra* 4, 36. The Latin versions of *IV Ezra* give the following variants of the name:

2 mss. : Uriel (1 ms. : Oriel)
3 mss. : Remihel (Remiel)
1 ms. : Hieremihel (= p. 42 Violet 1910)
1 ms. : no name at all.

Uriel is the *lectio facilior*, impossible in that context; *Hieremihel* derives from *Ieremeêl* (Jeremy 36(43),26). The Georgian versions read *Eremi* and Uriel, the Ethiopian one reads *Iyarûmival*, the Arab one reads Uriel.[65] The name also occurs in the family Φ of the *Sibylline Oracles* II 214-19: "When the incorruptible messengers of the immortal God will arrive, Heromiel, Uriel, Saniel and Azael (ἑρομιὴλ οὐριὴλ σανιὴλ ἀζαὴλ), they who know how many sins everyone has already committed, they will lead all the souls of men out of the deep darkness for the Judgement before the Court of the Immortal and great God". The most astonishing information concerning the angel Yeremiel comes from an unknown Coptic apocalypse,[66] where the name is spelled ⲉⲣⲉⲙⲓⲏⲗ, perhaps a deformation of ϩⲣⲉⲙⲓⲏⲗ.[67] This angel warns the visionary *not to change him for God himself*: "Take care, do not pray before me, *I am not the Lord*, *the Almighty*, I am the great angel Eremiel, the guardian of the abyss and of the hell, (I am the one) in whose hands are put all the souls of men from the end of the flood to date". A similar function was performed by the angel Uriel in *1 Enoch*.

In the apocryph *II Baruch*, Remiel is endowed with the same powers as Michael and Gabriel according to Jewish sources.[68]

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[63] *II Bar.* 7, 2; 75, 1; cf. *L'Apocalypse syriaque de Baruch*. Introd., trad. et comm. par P. Bogaert, Paris 1969, I, 426.

[64] 55, 3; 63, 6 — cf. Bogaert, 428.

[65] Violet (1910), 42 reads *Remihel*.

[66] G. Steindorff, *Die Apokalypse des Elias, eine unbekannte Apokalypse und Bruchstücke des Sophonias-Apokalypse* (TU XVII, 2), Leipzig 1899, 50-1 and 152.

[67] Bogaert, 431.

[68] Discussion in Bogaert, I, 432 and II, 117.

The hypothesis we share in this paper comes from P. Bogaert, who believes that the name (Ye)remiel is a changing of *Yeraḥmeel*, derived from the root RḤM-. Close to it is the name *Yeremeêl*, to be found in *I Chronicles* (2, 25-7.33.42) and in Jeremiah 36(43),26. The forms Hieremihel, Iyrûmiyal and Eremi in the different versions of *IV Ezra*, together with Ἑρομιήλ in the *Sibylline Oracles* and Ἐρεμιήλ in the Coptic apocalypse are also very close to Yeraḥmeel. The name Yeremiel occurs again in another Coptic text quoted by P. Bogaert.[69] The author believes that the angels Uriel and (Ye)remiel are but "heavenly personifications" of the prophets Jeremiah and Uriyahu.[70]

At any rate, the etymology of these names is, for us, much less important than the episode (*IV Ezra*, *II Baruch*, Coptic unknown apocalypse) in which the visionaries have the tendency *to interchange the two great heavenly beings for God himself.* If we were right in our statements, although Metatron's episode might be an Amoraic addition to the legend of the four who entered the *pardes*, the idea that a visionary might have been misled by a Great Angel is not posterior to the Ist cent. A.D.

8. *Conclusion.* Jewish ditheism is certainly pre-Christian. In the Ist century A.D. or earlier, the binitarian doctrine undergoes the following transformations:

1) in the apocalyptical legends, God's lieutenant may be mistakenly exchanged for God himself;

2) in the cosmogonical legends, God's lieutenant is assigned the creation of the world.

On the other hand, the lieutenant of God, as a chief of the national angels, receives the title of SR H'WLM, "Prince of the World". At the same time, this title was due the angel of Rome, since Rome was the master of the world. The angel of Rome was Sammael, who also was the angel of Death and was identified with Satan, God's challenger and chief of the evil angels. This way, the "Prince of the World" might become the *Creator of the world*: moreover, he might become *the evil Creator of the world.*

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[69] C. D. G. Müller, *Die Bücher der Einsetzung der Erzengel Michael und Gabriel* (CSCO 226, Ser. Copt. 32), Louvain 1962, 86, 14-22, *ap.* Bogaert, 436.

[70] Bogaert, 438. Uriyahu is a prophet who foretells the same things as Jeremiah, in *Jer.* 26, 20.

GNOSTISCHE SPUREN BEI PLUTARCH

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Auf diesen Blättern soll der Versuch unternommen werden, das religiöse Denken und Empfinden Plutarchs von Chaironeia vergleichend und differenzierend zu dem der Gnosis, genauer zum Prae- oder Protognostizismus[1] in Beziehung zu setzen.

I.

Plutarch ist eine der wenigen Persönlichkeiten der späteren Antike,[2] die durch ihre Schriften verläßlichen Einblick[3] in ihr religiöses Denken und Empfinden (antik gesprochen: ihr Wissen, ihre Philosophie) gewähren. Daher darf man mit aller Sicherheit sagen: Plutarch war kein Gnostiker; es verbietet sich aber auch, ihn irgendwo auf der Entwicklungslinie einzuordnen, welche zur Gnosis hinführte. So muß es als voreilig abgelehnt werden, Plutarch etwa zuzuschreiben, daß er an irgendwelchen Stellen[4] seiner Schriften Gnostisches repräsentiere oder gar davon „abhänge".[5] Mit derlei Vermutungen wird man der oft bewiesenen Eigenständigkeit Plutarchs nicht gerecht.

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[1] Diese Termini werden in dem Sinne verwendet, der im *documento finale* (vgl. bes. B III), erarbeitet auf dem Kongress zu Messina 1966, bezeichnet wird: *Origini*, XXI und XXXI.

[2] Man dürfte an die Seite Plutarchs wohl nur Philon von Alexandreia stellen, dazu Plotin und in weitem zeitlichem Abstand Proklos. Während seiner Lebenszeit (etwa 50-130) steht Plutarch als ein Zeuge hellenistischer Religiosität ganz allein. Dieser Befund steht in lehrreichem Kontrast zu der Fülle religiöser Aussagen, die das Christentum hervorgebracht hat.

[3] Plutarch ist oft falsch, meist zu vordergründig verstanden worden; denn er teilt sein „Credo" nicht diskursiv, sondern in sorgfältig gewählten Verschlüsselungen mit. Dennoch darf der Einblick, den Plutarch gewährt, als verläßlich bezeichnet werden — eine These, die unten S. 103f. erhärtet wird.

[4] Einen solchen Versuch hat Albert Torhoudt unternommen: *Een onbekend gnostisch systeem in Plutarchus' De Iside et Osiride*, Löwen 1942. Seine These ist von der Mehrzahl der damaligen Rezensenten abgelehnt worden; vgl. insbes. die eingehende Rez. von W. Theiler: *Erasmus* 2, 1949, 396-399.

[5] Bei J. Dupont: *Gnosis*, etc. ^{2}1960, 358 begegnet man, bei der Behandlung von

Auf der anderen Seite gilt dies: Plutarch ist mit seinem ganzen Wesen in einer Religiosität verwurzelt, die durch das Denken und das Empfinden des ausgehenden Hellenismus, in wichtigen Punkten durch Poseidonios von Apameia, geprägt ist. Das ist eben der Wurzelboden, dem die Gnosis sehr viel, vielleicht alles verdankte. Gewiß wird sich auf diesem Wege das viel erörterte Problem, woher die Gnosis ihren Ursprung nahm, nicht bündig lösen lassen; aber es wird sich ein kleiner, hoffentlich hilfreicher Beitrag zu der Thematik gewinnen lassen, die dem vorliegenden Bande gestellt ist: Gnosis and Hellenistic Religion. Denn es soll von den religiösen Bindungen eines Mannes die Rede sein, dem es am Herzen lag, eben die Probleme zu bewältigen wie vor ihm und neben ihm die Gnostiker.

II

Der entscheidende Ausgangspunkt ist durch die Frage gegeben: Warum ist alles, was da besteht, von Entartung[6] bedroht? Man dürfte diese Frage nicht auf die lapidare Formel πόθεν τὰ κακά; verkürzen.[7] Sondern es muß mit der Betonung gefragt werden: Wie kann es geschehen, daß etwas Werthaftes, an und für sich gut Geschaffenes durch das Böse zunächst infiziert, dann deformiert und schließlich zu etwas Wertwidrigem pervertiert wird? Da nicht nur einzelne Menschen, sondern ganze Staaten[8] von pervertierender Entartung bedroht sind, dürfen offenbar „Gut" und „Böse" nicht als zwei Größen angesehen

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Plutarch, *Is.* 2-3, dem befremdlichen Satz: „... il (Plutarque) dépend d'une source alexandrine" — lehrreiches Beispiel für eine Katachrese. Der stilistische Mangel eröffnet den Blick auf die in der Sache unzutreffende Behauptung: Denn danach ließe sich Plutarch durch eine Vorlage („Quelle") dazu nötigen, etwas zu behaupten, das mit seiner „Philosophie", d.h. mit seinem Gesamtkonzept von Gott und der Welt im Widerspruch steht. Eine solche Behauptung müßte mit größter Sorgfalt bewiesen werden. Da das nicht geschehen ist, darf hierauf mit Horaz, *ars. poet.* 188 geantwortet werden.

[6] Zu diesem Problem einige grundsätzliche Erwägungen im Art. *Entwicklung*, in *RAC* 5, 1961, 476-504.

[7] Freilich ist man sich durchweg bewußt, daß die Frage „woher?" die Frage nach der konstitutiven Besonderheit — φύσις — des Bösen involviert, so Hippolytos, *ref.* 1, 19, 23 = doxogr. 570, 6.

[8] Den vielfachen Erörterungen, die zur Frage der besten Staatsverfassung angestellt wurden, lag die Überlegung zu Grunde, daß eine wirklich gute Verfassung dem Umsturz — μεταβολή — entrückt sein müsse. Insofern hat Platons Darlegung (vor allem im Staat, Buch 8), daß eine Entartung die andere nach sich ziehe, weithin nachgewirkt.

werden, die einander ausschließen;[9] sondern das Böse verfügt über eine Macht des Auflösens — καταλύειν — wie sie den Schmarotzern im Tier- und Pflanzenreich zukommt. Dann aber muß dem „Guten" der Mangel zugeschrieben werden, daß es Geschöpfe, die es hervorgebracht hat und die dem Wesen nach zum Bereich des Guten gehören, nicht derart zu „immunisieren" vermag, daß sie der schädlichen „Infektion" durch das Böse widerstehen.

Das war eine durch vielerlei Erfahrung gestützte These, die schon Platon beunruhigt hatte. Denn wenn es zutrifft, daß das „Gute" von vornherein einen Defekt enthält — dadurch nämlich, daß es vor der Entartung nicht schützt, kann dann das Gute als das absolut Seiende definiert werden? Platon hat dieses Problem mehrmals berührt;[10] insbesondere hatte die unvollendete Trilogie, die durch den Timaios eröffnet werden sollte, die Aufgabe, hierauf eine Antwort zu geben. Am Beispiel des Volkes von Atlantis[11] sollte dargestellt werden, auf welche Weise etwas Werthaftes der Entartung und dem Untergang anheimfallen kann, selbst dann, wenn wie im Beispiel von Atlantis dieser Schöpfung alle erdenklichen Vorzüge, die besten Anlagen und eine vortreffliche Verfassung mitgegeben wurden.

Oft genug hat sich Platon dem Gedanken widersetzt, daß dem Bösen eine eigene Macht zukomme; er ist damit recht eigentlich zum Begründer einer weltbejahenden Haltung[12] geworden, die, ihrer Gegensätzlichkeit ungeachtet, die Stoa ebenso geprägt hat wie den kaiserzeitlichen Platonismus. Indes ist Platon ein einziges Mal bereit gewesen, wenigstens im Bereich des Seelischen dem Bösen annähernd gleichen Rang zuzugestehen wie dem Guten[13]; vor allem zieht er in Betracht, daß das

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[9] Das wäre dann der Fall, wenn man die Metapher „Licht und Schatten" auf diese Frage anwendet, also, aristotelisch ausgedrückt, das Böse als die στέρησις des Guten ansieht. Hierzu nimmt (sicher nicht als erster) Plotin, *Enn.* I 8 [51] 11 ausführlich Stellung.

[10] Neben *Staat* Buch 8 ist vor allem auf den sog. Mythos im *Politikos* 269 C zu verweisen; die Hypothese von der Umkehrung aller Abläufe hat den wohl erkennbaren Zweck, die Gottheit, die die Welt lenkt, von etwaiger Verantwortung frei zu sprechen.

[11] Dies kommt im *Kritias* 120 D - 121 C, also unmittelbar bevor der Text abbricht, deutlich zum Ausdruck.

[12] Was hier gemeint ist, hat H. Jonas: *Gnosis und spätantiker Geist*, ^{2}1, 1954, 141 mit dem Ausdruck „Weltheimischkeit" bezeichnet; dazu H. Langerbeck: *Aufsätze zur Gnosis*, 1967, 17f.

[13] Vgl. *Gesetze* 896 E und 898 C. Diese singuläre Stelle ist von der Mehrzahl der

Böse die Macht besitze, aktiv die Intentionen des Guten zu durchkreuzen und sie aufzuheben.

Fast ist es befremdlich, daß in den Jahrhunderten des frühen und des hohen Hellenismus von der Beunruhigung, die Platon peinigte, nichts zu verspüren ist. Die Stoa hielt unverwandt an dem fundamentalen Axiom fest, daß alles, was der Natur gemäß ist, auch der Vernunft gemäß ist; es kann also aus dem Bereich des Irrationalen oder des Widernatürlichen keine Bedrohung erfolgen, welche die Sinnhaftigkeit aller Ablaufe in Frage stellt. Denn in der Natur kann sich nur verwirklichen, was sinnhaft und somit der Natur gemäß ist; damit ist dem Menschen aufgegeben, aus seinem Tun alles fernzuhalten, was der Natur zuwider ist, positiv ausgedrückt τῇ φύσει ὁμολογουμένως ζῆν.

Mit diesem Axiom hat die Stoa in der Tat ihre Aufgabe, die Menschen zur Besinnung auf den *Lógos* aufzufordern und sie damit von der Angst vor dem Sinnwidrigen — ἀλογία — zu befreien, für lange Zeit hervorragend erfüllt; Seneca, Epiktet, der Kaiser Marc Aurel werden zu Zeugen dafür, welch eine befreiende Wirkung dieses Axiom auch dann noch hatte,[14] als es bereits in Frage gestellt war. Kurz, was man in nicht eben schöner sprachlicher Prägung die „Weltheimischkeit" des Griechentums genannt hat, gilt sicher so für die Stoa Zenons und Chrysipps; sie gilt auch für das, was dem Herzen Platons entsprach; durch vielerlei Beweise hat er eben dies zu sichern versucht. Er hat aber klar gesehen, daß damit die bange Sorge, ob das Böse zu eigener Aktivität fähig sei, nicht ausgeräumt war.[15]

In des Epoche des späten Hellenismus wurde die Gleichung, die Zenon und Chrysipp aufgestellt hatten, unglaubwürdig. Auf dem Felde der Philosophie versuchte Poseidonios die nunmehr notwendigen Folgerungen zu ziehen.[16] Die schmerzhafte Erkenntnis, daß weder

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Platoniker ignoriert worden; einzig Plutarch, *Is.* 48; 370 f setzt sich mit Entschiedenheit dafür ein, daß hier die eigentliche und gültige Meinung Platons ausgesprochen sei; andernorts habe er sich in Verhüllungen geäßert — παρακαλυπτόμενος — hier aber habe er sich κυρίοις ὀνόμασιν, d.h. der Worte in ihrer Grundbedeutung bedient, d.h. er habe eine Lehr-Entscheidung getroffen.

[14] Vgl. M. Pohlenz: *Die Stoa*, I 5, Ende der Vorrede.

[15] Zitate und Stellenangaben zu Poseidonios folgen der Sammlung: *Posidonius. I. The Fragments*, edited by L. Edelstein and I. G. Kidd, 1972.

[16] Vgl. unten S. 96f.

in der Welt im Ganzen, noch unter Menschen, noch im Menschen das Gute und Sinnhafte, so als wäre es selbstverständlich, dominiert, hat das Denken und das Empfinden der späthellenistischen Epoche nachhaltig geprägt.[17] Wahrscheinlich hat das Elend, das in den Slums hellenistischer Großstädte[18] herrschte, die Hilflosigkeit gegenüber Seuchen und Feuersbrünsten, das Ausgeliefert-Sein an die stets feindliche τύχη,[19] eine Bewußtseinslage bewirkt, die mit Recht ein „Zeitalter der Angst" genannt worden ist.[20] Dies muß als der kuturgeschichtliche Hintergrund gesehen werden, wenn man sich der Geistigkeit des ausgehenden Hellenismus zuwendet.

III.

Vor diesem Hintergrund wird die Tragweite verständlich, welche die Frage nach der Seele und ihrem Schicksal für Poseidonios, für die Gnostiker, für Plutarch hatte. Der weltbejahende Optimismus der voraufgehenden Epoche hatte auf eine Eschatologie verzichten können und verzichten müssen; die Philosophie bot ihre Hilfe an, um dieses Leben zu bewältigen, d.h. das τέλος zu erreichen (vgl. oben S. 95). Von einem Fortbestand der Seele konnte nicht die Rede sein; noch

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[17] Einen wesentlichen Anteil daran, daß der frühhellenistische Optimismus in die hier skizzierten Beängstigungen umschlug, hat sicher die „Wissenschaft" der Chaldäer, nach welcher die Planeten einen unausweichlichen Zwang auf die Geschicke der Menschen ausüben. Diesem Aspekt kann hier nicht weiter nachgegangen werden.

[18] Diese Vermutung habe ich in einem zu Neuchatel gehaltenen Vortrag vorgetragen: *Divers aspects de la cosmologie de 70 av. J. Chr. à 20 ap. J.C.*, in *Revue de Théologie et de Philosophie*, 1972, 400-412 = *Platonica Minora* 1976, 89-99, bes. 92. Wahrscheinlich ist aus diesem Ansatz mehr für ein Verständnis der Gnosis und ihrer Ursprünge zu gewinnen als aus den Assoziationen, die sich aus iranischer oder ägyptischer Religiosität anführen lassen.

[19] Wahrscheinlich muß die gesamte Roman-Literatur der Prae-Gnosis oder (um ein neues Kompositum zu bilden) der Para-Gnosis zugeordnet werden: Wieder und wieder werden die Liebenden durch die feindliche τύχη von einander getrennt und den schrecklichsten Gefahren ausgesetzt; da aber die „Helden" dieser Romane (ohne Ausnahme) den „Ruf" der ihnen wohlgesinnten Gottheit vernommen haben und ihm folgen, erlöst die Gottheit sie aus ihren Leiden und gewährt ihnen für immer Schutz gegen die τύχη. Hierzu reichliche Nachweise bei R. Merkelbach, *Roman und Mysterium*, 1962.

[20] Vgl. E.R. Dodds: *Pagan and Christian in an Age of Anxiety*, 1965. Obwohl sich dieses materialreiche Werk auf das 3. Jahrh. bezieht (Untertitel: „from Marcus Aurelius to Constantine") trifft die Schilderung der Hilflosigkeit und des „Geworfen-Seins" (H. Jonas) durchweg auf die späthellenistische Epoche zu.

Panaitios war, ungeachtet seiner Bewunderung für Platon,[21] schlechthin nicht in der Lage, dem Nachweis der Unsterblichkeit, der im *Phaidon* geführt wird, irgend einen Sinn abzugewinnen. Ganz anders Poseidonios: Er stellt sich der Frage, wie sich die Seele vom Bösen befreien kann; und er beantwortet diese Frage zwar im Wortlaut ähnlich der altstoischen Lehre, im Sinne aber ganz erheblich abweichend (F 186 und F 187): Das Vernunftgemäße macht nicht die ganze Seele aus, sondern neben und unter dem zuvor allein gewürdigten, dem *Lógos* zugewandten Seelenteil befindet sich ein unvernünftiger, dem πάθος höriger Seelenteil.[22] Damit war der Dualismus in die menschliche Seele hineinverlegt, und eben damit war der φύσις ein doppelter Aspekt zugeschrieben: Vernunft und Unvernunft. In enger Verbindung damit steht eine weitere Modifikation, die Poseidonios an der herkömmlichen Lehre anbrachte: Die Seele, oder wenigstens ihr vernünftiger Teil, vermag sich vom Körper zu trennen (F 108); das vermag sie im Traum zu tun;[23] aber Poseidonios hegte die Gewißheit, daß die Seele nach dem Tode, wenigstens für einige Zeit (F 110) weiter lebt.[24] Damit drang Poseidonios zu eschatologischen[25] Konzeptionen vor, die zuvor in der Stoa undenkbar waren.

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[21] Vgl. Cicero, *Tusc.* 1, 79 = fg. 83 van Straaten.

[22] Deswegen war Poseidonios genötigt, eine Lehre von den Affekten zu entwickeln, in der er sich weit von Chrysipp entfernte, zugleich aber (vermeintlich) Platon annäherte. Die Entdeckung dieses in den Einzelheiten komplizierten Sachverhaltes ist Max Pohlenz zu verdanken: *De Posidonii libris* περὶ παθῶν, diss. phil. Berlin 1898, veröffentlicht a) als selbst. Schrift, Lpz. 1898, b) *Neue Jahrbücher*, Suppl. 24, 1898, 535-634, c) Teildruck: *Quemadmodum Galenus Posidonium ... secutus sit*, Lpz. 1898. Grundlegend wichtig ist bes. F 152, ferner F 158-169.

[23] Bei diesem Ansatz konnte Poseidonios auf vorwissenschafliche Vorstellungen zurückgreifen, die im Kreise der Pythagoreer und in der Schule des Aristoteles erörtert worden waren.

[24] Plutarch stellt in dem Mythos, der die Schrift *De facie in orbe lunae* (künftig: *fac. i.o.l.*) abschließt, den „zweiten Tod" dar, durch den sich der Geist von der Seele trennt. Mithin wird die Seele nicht als etwas Einfaches, sondern als ein Compositum Geist + Seele vorgestellt — eine Vorstellung, die zur gnostischen Konzeption von Pneûma + Psyché bemerkenswerte Analogien aufweist; vgl. H. Jonas; *Gnosis und spätantiker Geist*, 1954, 186/7.

[25] Poseidonios hat die stoische Lehre, daß alles Seiende materiell ist, nie verlassen; so hat man sich die Seelen nach dem leiblichen Tode als materiell existierende Wesen vorzustellen. Es war ein Mißverständnis, eine Metaphysik des Poseidonios anzunehmen; so Is. Heinemann: *Poseidonios' metaphysische Schriften*, 2 Bde. 1921, Nachdruck 1968. Die strikt eingehaltene Bindung an den Materialismus der Stoa hinderte Poseidonios nicht daran, Aussagen über das Leben und Wirken der Seele(n) außerhalb des Körpers zu machen.

Für Plutarch gab es nicht die mindeste Schwierigkeit, die Vorstellung vom Aufstieg der Seele, von ihrem Schweifen im All, von ihrer Reise durch den Himmel nachzuvollziehen. Plutarchs Eschatologie ist recht eigentlich auf diesen Punkt, ganz speziell auf die innerweltliche Existenz der befreiten Seele gerichtet;[26] es ist dies ein wichtiger Impuls, den Plutarch Poseidonios (nicht eigentlich Platon) verdankt; und es bedarf keines Wortes, um hervorzuheben, daß sich Plutarch damit in bemerkenswerter Affinität zu gnostischen Spekulationen befindet.

Außer den beiden vorstehend genannten Punkten[27] ist noch ein dritter Punkt zu nennen, in dem Plutarch dem Denken des Poseidonios verpflichtet war: Aus der These von der fortschreitenden Entartung der Welt[28] fließt eine Konzeption von der kulturgeschichtlichen (Fehl-) Entwicklung der Menschheit. Weil die Unvernunft — ἀλογία — immer mehr Boden gewinnt, verdunkelt sich ihr Gegenteil, der *Lógos*, mehr und mehr, sodaß er nur noch für wenige Philosophen greifbar und begreifbar wird. Auch die Manifestation des *Lógos* in Kulten, Riten und Gebräuchen wird von den ἀμαθεῖς nicht mehr verstanden, obwohl die kultischen Formen an sich bewahrt, aber verständnislos weiter tradiert werden. Einzig der Kundige, der dazu legitimierte Philosoph, vermag solche Hinweise auf die eigentliche Gültigkeit des *Lógos* zu entschlüsseln und wieder zusammenzufügen. Der Philosoph bewegt sich also gleichsam auf einem Trümmerfeld; jedes Fragment weist auf die Pracht und auf die in sich geschlossene Einheit des verlorenen Ganzen hin.

Vorstehendes mag als knapper Überblick über Impulse, die Plutarch von Poseidonios empfing, genügen.

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[26] Dieses ist das Thema aller vier sog. Mythen, die in Wahrheit Offenbarungsreden sind, gehalten von solchen Menschen, deren Seele einen Einblick auf das gewonnen haben, was der menschlichen Seele nach dem Tode bevorsteht. Anders ausgedrückt: Es sind dies Variationen, zum Teil Berichtigungen dessen, was der Armenier ER im 10. Buche von Platons *Staat* aus dem jenseitigen Bereich berichtet.

[27] Nämlich 1. Das Böse ist wie das Gute, von Natur ein Teil der Seele. Darum ist der Mensch unablässig zur Entscheidung aufgerufen; vgl. F 152, F 186, F 187. 2. Die Seele vermag frei im All zu schweifen, sobald sie sich von ihrem Gebunden-Sein befreit; vgl. F 108 und F 110.

[28] Hierzu wichtig: K. Reinhardt: *Poseidonios über Ursprung und Entartung*, in *Orient und Antike* 6, 1928.

IV.

Wie die Mehrzahl seiner Zeitgenossen bejahte Plutarch den (doppelten) Leitsatz, a) daß alle Hinwendung und Annäherung an die Gottheit — τὸ θεῖον — als Erkennen, also als γνῶσις, bezeichnet werden muß,[29] b) daß alles auf die Gottheit bezogene Wissen sich, weil es die Gottheit will, der direkten und linearen Mitteilbarkeit entzieht.

Zum ersten Teil dieses Leitsatzes (a) ist anzumerken: Voraussetzung für alles Erkennen ist, daß zwischen dem Subjekt und dem Objekt des Erkennens eine Gleichartigkeit besteht.[30] Im Vorgang des Erkennens bestätigt sich mithin die Gleichartigkeit — ὅμοιον, ὁμοιότης. Damit sind alle diejenigen von einer wie immer gearteten γνῶσις ausgeschlossen, die „anders" sind als die Gottheit — nämlich ἀλλότριοι. Da die hervorstechende Eigenschaft des Göttlichen als πρῶτος καὶ κύριος καὶ νοητός[31] definiert wird, sind folgerichtig alle Unverständigen — ἀνόητοι, ἀμαθεῖς, ἀγνοοῦντες — ausgeschlossen.

Daraus folgt die Begründung für den zweiten Teil (b) des obigen Satzes: Die Gottheit will nicht von den ἀνόητοι gekannt werden. Darum teilt sie sich denen, die der Erkenntnis fähig sind, nur in Verschlüsselungen mit,[32] und sie fordert, daß über ihr göttliches Geheimnis nur in Verschlüsselungen gesprochen wird. Auf diesem Felde ist daher publizitäre Geschwätzigkeit verpönt; denn wer Kenntnis — γνῶσις — von der Gottheit hat, der weiß, daß er ihre Absichten nicht durchkreuzen darf. Nicht nur Orakelsprüche, die der Gott zu Delphi erteilt, enthalten eine Aufgabe für den Rat Suchenden[33] — nämlich die Aufgabe, sie in einer Weise, die des Gottes würdig ist, zu entschlüsseln und anzuwenden; sondern durch alle ihre zahlreichen Manifestationen in Natur- und Geisteswelt will die Gottheit eine Erziehung — παίδευσις — der Menschheit bewirken.[34] Denn nur derjenige, der sich in der rechten, des Gottes würdigen Verfassung — διάθεσις — befindet, vermag die Aufgabe zu lösen. Wiederum liegt es an dem ὅμοιον, an der Gleichartigkeit des Menschen mit der Gottheit, wenn es ihm gelingt, sich durch die Lösung der gestellten Aufgabe der Gottheit wieder ein Stück zu nähern.[35] Insofern ist jede Teil-Erkenntnis zugleich Gottesdienst.

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[29] Hierzu ist wichtig die Exposition zu der Schrift *De Iside et Osiride* (abgek.: *Is.*), cap. 1 und 2; 351c-352a; die Gottheit — hier Isis — will, wie sonst Apollon, zur Erkenntnis des Seienden führen.

[30] Statt vieler Belege sei verwiesen auf Albinos, *Did.*, 14; 169, 14-26 Hermann (in der *appendix Platonica* im 6. Band der Hermann'schen Platon-Ausg. von 1853).

[31] So *Is.* 2; 352a.

[32] Um dies andeutend zu bezeichnen, verfügt Plutarch über ein reiches Vokabular: Die Gottheit, oder der von der Gottheit kündende Dichter oder Philosoph (oft: Platon) kann δι᾿αἰνιγμάτων sprechen; es gilt die ὑπόνοια, etwa: den tieferen Sinn einer Aussage aufzufinden; durchweg fordern μῦθοι dazu auf, zu ihrem eigentlichen Sinn vorzudringen; vgl. *def. orac.* 21; 420f-421a, wo sich Kleombrotos (mit der Absicht des Mißbrauches) auf alle diese Lizenzen der Erklärung beruft.

[33] Das war bereits von Herakleitos ausgesprochen worden: B 93 ὁ ἄναξ, οὗ τὸ μαντεῖόν ἐστι τὸ ἐν Δελφοῖς, οὔτε λέγει οὔτε κρύπτει, ἀλλὰ σημαίνει.

In diesen Überlegungen tritt Plutarchs enge Bindung an das delphische Priestertum zu Tage: Nur wer die Forderung Apollons, ἁγνὸς καὶ καθαρός zu sein, erfüllt, vermag das zuvor Verborgene zu erkennen; er muß also eben die Eigenschaft gewinnen, durch die der Gott sich auszeichnet. Somit hat jede Erkenntnis zur Voraussetzung wie zum Ziel, daß ein Gemeinsames mit dem Gott — ὅμοιον — bereits vorhanden, und zugleich durch Erkenntnis neu gewonnen wird: Die Gottheit besitzt ja das Wissen, das der Suchende zu erwerben wünscht. Gelingt diesem die Erkenntnis, dann verringert sich damit der Abstand zwischen Mensch und Gott.

Da der Gott zu Delphi den Menschen, die zu ihm kommen, helfen, sie fördern und erziehen möchte, läßt er an jeden, der das Heiligtum betritt, einen „Ruf"[36] ergehen; dieser Ruf ist in der weithin sichtbaren Inschrift „Erkenne Dich selbst!" — γνῶθι σεαυτόν — enthalten. Nun entwickelt Plutarch[37] hierzu einen Gedanken, der bisher — wenn ich recht sehe — nicht verstanden worden ist: Durch diesen Anruf, so Plutarch, eröffnet der Gott eine Art Dialog; wer die Aufforderung γνῶθι σεαυτόν beherzigt, muß sich Rechenschaft davon geben, daß der Mensch seiner Natur nach nicht zu den seienden Wesen gehört,[38] sondern zwischen Geburt und Tod steht. Dadurch unterscheidet er sich von der unwandelbar seienden Gottheit. Darum soll er dem Gott, dem er sich nähert, zurufen: εἶ— Du bist[39] (womit die Einsicht in die Gegensätzlichkeit Gott / Mensch ausgedrückt wäre). Damit ist dem Menschen eine fundamentale Einsicht in das Wesen des Göttlichen als des wahrhaft Seienden zugestanden; kraft dieser Einsicht besteht ein ὅμοιον, eine Gemeinsamkeit zwischen dem Gott und demjenigen Menschen, der zu dieser Einsicht fähig ist; der erkennende Mensch wird also nicht in die Gottesferne abgedrängt; wer kraft seiner Erkenntnis — γνῶσις — auf den Ruf des Gottes zu antworten vermag, hat Anwartschaft auf Hilfe, ja auf σωτηρία durch den Gott. Dabei ist kennzeichnend, daß Plutarch diese letzte Konsequenz nicht eigens ausspricht; hätte er das getan, er hätte die gebotene εὐλάβεια verletzt.

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[34] In Plutarchs Augen bot die Legende, die vom delischen Problem (Verdopplung des Würfels; Auffindung von $\sqrt[3]{2}$) und seiner Vorgeschichte erzählt wurde, ein lehrreiches Beispiel. Danach forderte der Gott selbst dazu auf, diese mathematische Aufgabe zu lösen: Sein Altar zu Delos, von kubischer Gestalt, war zu verdoppeln. Auf diese Legende, die von Eratosthenes von Kyrene im Eingang seines Πλατωνικός berichtet wurde, kommt Plutarch viermal zu sprechen; sie dient jedes Mal als Beweis für die erzieherische Absicht Apollons.

[35] Vgl. Seneca, *Ep.* 95, 47. Durch jeden Wissenserwerb verringert sich der Abstand des Menschen von der Gottheit, die über alles Wissen verfügt.

[36] So in der Schrift *De E apud Delphos* 17-18; 392 ab.

[37] Vgl. H. Jonas: *Gnosis und spätantiker Geist*, 1954, 120f. mit Anm. Bei Plutarch, *De E apud Delphos* 17; 392a: ἔστιν αὐτοτελὴς τοῦ θεοῦ προσαγόρευσις καὶ προσφώνησις.

V.

Der Wertbegriff εὐλάβεια[40] hat für Plutarch eine geradezu zentrale Bedeutung. Hier darf außer Betracht bleiben, daß dieser Wertbegriff — etwa zu umschreiben mit Vorsicht, Rücksicht, Zurückhaltung —

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[38] Dieser Gedanke ist auch für Philon von Alexandreia von tragender Bedeutung: Der seiende Schöpfer ist, weil seiend, von der Schöpfung, da diese geworden ist, total verschieden. Darum ist Gott dem Erkannt-Werden durch seine Geschöpfe durchaus entzogen; *daß* er sein muß, kann und muß aus der Zweckmäßigkeit der Schöpfung erraten werden; seine ὕπαρξις ist also den Menschen begreifbar, seine οὐσία dagegen nicht; sie ist ἀκατάληπτος. Hier eine Auswahl aus vielen Belegen: *conf. linguarum* 138; *spec. legg.* 1, 48; *de post. Caini* 7; 15-21; 169; *quod deus sit imm.* 62. In der Tat gewinnt der Leser, an den sich Philon wendet, die für ihn notwendige Verbindung mit Gott nicht durch eine philosophische Gnosis, wie sie Plutarch in Aussicht stellt, sondern durch Erfüllung des Gesetzes.

[39] Damit hat Plutarch die ihm angemessen dünkende Antwort auf die Frage gefunden, was der Buchstabe „E" bedeutet, der den Apollon-Tempel schmückte; dieses E muß gedeutet werden als die fundamentale ontologische Aussage: Der Gott ist. Diese Aussage kann derjenige nachvollziehen, der zuvor erkannt hat, was er selbst, als Mensch, ist. Der diametrale Unterschied, der zwischen Gott und Mensch besteht, ist für Philon nicht überwindbar (vgl. vor. Anm.); Plutarch dagegen kann die schrittweise Überwindung in Aussicht stellen.

[40] Plutarch hat dieses Wort mehr als 50 mal verwendet, vorzugsweise in den Biographien; denn es ist ihm jeweils wichtig, seine „Helden" dadurch zu kennzeichnen, daß sie εὐλάβεια bewiesen; so besonders Nikias und Camillus. In der *Vita Bruti* 12 wird Cicero eine γεροντικὴ εὐλάβεια zugeschrieben.

auf vielerlei Bereiche der profanen Welt[41] angewendet werden kann; wohl aber muß von der Verwendung dieses Begriffes im religiösen Bereiche gesprochen werden, also von der εὐλάβεια περὶ τὸ θεῖον. Da allen Wesen, selbst den Tieren,[42] eine Sphäre zukommt, die nicht verletzt werden darf, gilt dies in besonderem Maße gegenüber den Göttern.[43] Und gerade derjenige, der Kenntnis vom Göttlichen erworben hat, weiß eben dadurch, daß die Gottheit keine Profanierung und keine Vulgarisierung will (vgl. oben S. 99). Wer diese Kenntnis hat, nimmt sich darum in Acht — εὐλαβεῖται — die göttlichen Geheimnisse nicht etwa denen gegenüber preiszugeben,[44] welche den erforderlichen intellektuellen und ethischen Rang nicht haben. Insofern ist der Wertbegriff εὐλάβεια in Zusammenhang zu bringen mit dem Schweigegebot, das Mysten auferlegt wurde; in diesem Wertbegriff kommen, wie so oft bei Plutarch, ein intellektueller und ein ethischer Vorzug zur Deckung: Auf der einen Seite ist ein rational begründetes Abwägen erforderlich, um die Extreme des ὑπερβάλλον und des ἐλλεῖπον zu vermeiden;[45] auf dei anderen Seite ist εὐλάβεια auf Rücksicht und auf Takt, d.h. das Bemühen begründet, nicht in eine dem Menschen verschlossene Sphäre einzudringen. Die wertwidrige, dem entgegengesetzte Haltung ist mit *curiositas* zu bezeichnen.

Einerseits ist diese Haltung, von Plutarch wieder und wieder empfohlen und von ihm selbst strikt eingehalten, in hohem Maße kennzeichnend für Plutarchs religiöse Haltung, die allem Missionieren, aller Ausbreitung gewonnenen Wissens schlechthin entgegengesetzt ist.

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[41] Vgl. etwa *coniug. praecepta* 42; 144b; im gleichen Sinne *apophth. Lacon.* 17; 228a; ausführlich *de cap. ex inmic. util.* 3; 87 de. Zurückhaltung im politischen Bereich ist gemeint *Vita Niciae* 35 (Vergleich mit Crassus) 565c; Verwechslung mit Furcht wird zurückgewiesen *virt. mor.* 9; 449a.

[42] Vgl. *soll. anim.* 6; 964a, zitiert von Porphyrios, *de abst.* 1,5; dort geht es um die Frage, ob Fleisch ἀβλαβῶς καὶ μετ' εὐλαβείας verzehrt werden darf.

[43] Bewundernd spricht Plutarch davon, wie sorgsam εὐλάβεια im römischen Kultwesen beachtet wurde: *vita C. Marcii* 25; 225e und 226a; *vita Aemilii* 3; 256c; Numa wird gebührend als der Begründer solcher εὐλάβεια gerühmt: *vita Numae* 22; 75a.

[44] Nach Plutarch, *Is.* 10; 354e befolgten die meisten griech. Philosophen, vor allem Pythagoras, das Vorbild, das ägyptische εὐλάβεια ihnen gab. Ein Beleg dafür, daß man in der Tat äußerst sensibel war, was die Preisgabe religiöser Geheimnisse anlangt, ist der Legende zu entnehmen, die von Numenios berichtet wurde; vgl. Macrobius, *in somn. Scipionis* 1, 2, 19 = Numenios fg. 55 Des Places. Dieser hatte vorwitzig — *curiosior* — das eleusinische Geheimnis profaniert.

[45] Ausdrücklich wird *de audiendo* 13; 44a (vgl. auch 45d) εὐλάβεια als der Mittelwert zwischen zwei Extremen definiert.

Andererseits stellt diese Haltung der εὐλάβεια ein nicht geringes Interpretations-Hindernis dar: Plutarchs Aussagen auf dem Felde des Religiösen machen eben aus dem Grunde den Eindruck des Unzusammenhängenden, des Bruchstückhaften; denn die jeweils krönende Schlußfolgerung darf nicht ausgesprochen werden, weil damit die zuvor verwendeten Verschlüsselungen, Andeutungen, Rätselworte eben doch zu eindeutig-rationaler Klarheit führen würden.

Plutarch macht sich den vielerörterten Satz zu eigen, den Platon Tim. 28C ausspricht;[46] er legt in reich differenzierter Untersuchung dar,[47] inwiefern der forschende Philosoph es kaum wagen darf, über das Göttliche etwas auszusagen; da stellt die ehrfurchtsvolle Zurückhaltung, welche die Philosophen der Alten Akademie übten, geradezu den heimischen Herd dar, von dem alle ausgingen und ausgehen sollten: Da die Gottheit sich nur schwer erschauen läßt — δυσθεώρητος — ist jede Aussage über sie ein Wagnis.

Folgerichtig gibt Plutarch in fast allem, was er hierzu sagt, zwar Vorstellungsbehelfe, macht aber keinen Gebrauch von κύρια ὀνόματα (vgl. oben Anm. 13); damit fordert er den modernen Interpreten dazu heraus, das, was er selbst, Plutarch, im Halbdunkel beläßt, rund heraus zu sagen und damit das Wagnis der Über-Interpretation gegen den Willen des Autors Plutarch zu übernehmen.

Ganz besonders gilt das für die Offenbarungsreden (meist „Mythen" genannt[48]), welche Plutarch in mehrere seiner Dialoge[49] eingefügt hat. Diese Reden sind nicht etwa einer Apokalyptik zuzuordnen, welche das gesamte Weltall darstellt. Auch hier bleibt Plutarch seiner Linie treu: Niemals tritt das gesamte Weltall vor den Blick des Lesers; sondern von den Schleiern, die das Jenseits verhüllen, wird nur soviel gelüftet, wie die Seele, in der niedersten Sphäre des Himmels schweifend, zu erblicken vermag. Plutarch wagt es nicht, der Jenseitsschau nachzueifern, die sich den Seelen im Mythos erschließt, den Sokrates in Platons Phaidros vorträgt. Nie ist bei Plutarch davon die Rede,[50] daß die Seele das Wahrhaft Seiende, also die Ideen erblickt. Sondern in seinen sog. Mythen schließt sich Plutarch in Form und Inhalt an das 10. Buch der Politeia an; das heißt, seine Mythen haben allein das zum Gegenstand, was der Seele nach ihrer Trennung vom Körper widerfährt. Die Abgrenzung, die Plutarch sich auferlegt, wird gen. Socr. 22; 591 a ganz deutlich: Die Stimme, die zu Timarchos spricht, gibt gleich im ersten Satze bekannt, daß sie mit dem Bereiche „oben" kaum Verbindung hat; „dort herrschen andere Götter". Nur für das Reich der Persephone, hernach, 591b, bezeichnet als φθορά, ist diese Stimme zuständig. Damit ist die Sphäre unter dem Monde gemeint, welche die Seele vor ihrer vollständigen Entsühnung nicht verlassen kann.

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[46] Dieser Satz lautet τὸν μὲν οὖν ποιητὴν καὶ πατέρα τοῦδε τοῦ παντὸς εὑρεῖν τε ἔργον καὶ εὑρόντα εἰς πάντας ἀδύνατον λέγειν. Dieser Satz ist von Gegnern und von Anhängern Platons wieder und wieder zitiert und ausgelegt worden (über 20 Belege); so erstmals von dem Platon feindlichen Epikureer bei Cicero, *nat. deor.* 1, 30. Eine kurz gefaßte „Auslegungsgeschichte von *Tim.* 28C" gibt A. Wlosok: *Laktanz und die philosophische Gnosis*, 1960, 252ff. (= Exkurs V). Dort fehlt aus gutem Grunde die hier behandelte Plutarch-Stelle; denn Plutarch (vgl. Anm. 47) spricht ausführlich zum Thema, vermeidet aber jeden wörtlichen Anklang an *Tim.* 28C — ein Beispiel für die Kunst des Nicht-Zitierens.

[47] Plutarch, *ser. num. vind.* 4; 549e-550c.

[48] Die Offenbarungsrede in *fac. i.o.l.* wird dort 26; 940f. als δρᾶμα bezeichnet; und es wird umständlich berichtet, wie diese Kunde (auf Pergamenten, die die Zerstörung Karthagos überdauerten) wieder entdeckt wurde; 942a-d.

[49] Außer dem in Anm. 48 erwähnten Mythos sind zu nennen der Bericht des Timarchos, *gen. Socr.* 22; 590b-592e, ganz am Schluß knapp als μῦθος bezeichnet, und die

So ist es der εὐλάβεια Plutarchs zuzuschreiben, daß er vom wahrhaft Jenseitigen, den Sphären über dem Monde, nur ganz knapp, und nicht in eigener Verantwortung spricht; denn nun vermag er die Fiktion zu benutzen, daß seine Gewährsmänner nur Ungefähres und Unsicheres zu sehen bekommen hätten. Ohne Zweifel weiß Plutarch von sog. Systemen, welche den Bau der Welt, und welche den Auf- und Abstieg von Seelen (Geistern, Dämonen) schildern. Indes sind das für ihn nicht verläßliche Wahrheiten; er macht sie sich nicht zu eigen, sondern er teilt sie, stets mit dem Vorbehalte, er spreche μετ' εὐλαβείας, als Vorstellungshilfen mit.

Rede des Arrhidaios — Thespesios *ser. num. vind.* 22; 563b-33; 568a; dieser Bericht wird c. 22 als μῦθος eingeführt, der die bisherigen λόγοι zu ergänzen habe.

[50] Allerdings renommiert Kleombrotos *def. orac.* 21-22 damit, er habe Kunde von einem Weisen, der am Roten Meer lebte und von dem πεδίον ἀληθείας genaueres erschaut habe als Platon im *Phaidros*, bes. 248B, darüber mitteilt; hiernach wird der Bericht, den Kleombrotos zuvor geheimnisvoll einführte, als ein Plagiat entlarvt; Kleombrotos hat es an der gebotenen εὐλάβεια (vgl. a.O. 420f.) fehlen lassen. Weiteres hierzu in m. Beitrag zur Festschrift für Robert Muth.

VI.

In knapper Raffung teilt „die Stimme" dem an die Oberfläche des Luft-Ozeans entrückten Timarchos mit, welche Reiche — ἀρχαί[51] — oberhalb der Grenze, an welcher sich Timarchos jetzt befindet, bestehen. Die Benennungen, mit denen die vier ἀρχαί gekennzeichnet werden, stellen ihrerseits wieder Verschlüsselungen dar, geeignet, den Laien[52] vom vollständigen Verständnis fernzuhalten. Ein Tarnwort ist vor allem ζωή — das Leben = Bezeichnung der obersten ἀρχή. Gemeint ist der Ort des unveränderlichen Seins, den nachmals die Neuplatoniker das αὐτόζωον[53] nannten. Hierauf folgt κίνησις — die Bewegung: Da die Seele Ursprung aller Bewegung ist,[54] ist damit der Fixsternhimmel und die Sphären der äußeren Planeten gemeint; so wie in der obersten ἀρχή nichts als das reine Sein = unveränderliches Leben herrscht, so herrscht in der zweiten ἀρχή nichts als die reine, mathematisch genaue Bewegung des Himmels und der Planeten. Der Raum zwischen der Sonne und dem Monde (genauer: zwischen den Sphären beider) wird als ἀρχὴ γενέσεως bezeichnet; wieso das zutrifft, läßt sich durch Vergleich mit dem Aufstiegs-Mythos am Schluß von *fac. i.o.l.* erweisen: Von der Sonne geht alles Entstehen aus und kehrt zu ihr zurück. Die menschliche Seele ist an den vierten Bereich gebunden; in diesem Bereich herrscht φθορά — das Vergehen-Müssen. Darum ist dieses dem Entstehen nicht (wie sonst stets als Korrelat) an die Seite gestellt, sondern untergeordnet. Die Sphäre des Mondes stellt die Grenzlinie dar zwischen γένεσις und φθορά[55];

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[51] Ganz konkret sollte man ἀρχή verstehen als „der Ort, an dem (z.B. φθορά) anfängt". Der Mond ist insofern Archeget des Vergehens, da er in jedem Monat dahinschwindet — φθίνει. Mit der überraschenden Konzeption der vier ἀρχαί ist die gängige Vorstellung von den acht Sphären berichtigt und vereinfacht. Jede ἀρχή wird nach einer bestimmten Aktivität benannt; das ist in jedem Falle eine ontologisch wirksame Aktivität.

[52] Vgl. H. Dörrie, *Zum Ursprung der neuplat. Hypostasenlehre*, in *Hermes* 82, 1954, 331-342 = *Platonica Minora* 1976, 286-296; die dort vorgetragenen Vermutungen zum Sinn der vier ἀρχαί müssen durch Obiges berichtigt werden; richtig entschlüsselt waren bereits damals die drei σύνδεσμοι (vgl. S. 106).

[53] Tastend Plotin, *Enn.* III 8 [30] 8, 11-16; in gesicherter Definition Proklos, *In Plat. Tim.* 37D; III 8, 18ff. Diehl.

[54] Platon, *Phaidros* 245D — ein für den gesamten Platonismus gültiger Leitsatz.

[55] Vgl. Anm. 51. Hiermit verbindet Plutarch — ebenso wie in *fac. i.o.l.* — den Gedanken, daß sich die Unterwelt nicht unter den Erdoberfläche befindet; sondern

geläuterte Seelen, denen es gelingt, sich auf den Mond zu retten. gelingt damit die Rückkehr in das Reich der γένεσις.[56]

Plutarch befestigt die Vorstellung von den vier ἀρχαί dadurch, daß er sie mit einer Reihe damals gängiger Assoziationen in Verbindung bringt: Die vier Bereiche könnten ja auseinanderfallen, d.h. die derart vorgestellte Welt könnte aufhören, eine Einheit zu sein, wenn nicht für die Verbindung — σύνδεσμος[57] — gesorgt wäre.

Damit schafft sich Plutarch die Möglichkeit, drei Reihen von je drei Begriffen[58] einzuführen: 1) eine Reihe von Angaben des Ortes (eingeführt mit κατά), wo die Verbindung stattfindet: a) κατὰ τὸ ἀόρατον, d.h. jenseits der Sichtbarkeit;[59] b) καθ' ἥλιον — im Bereich der Sonne; c) κατὰ σελήνην — im Bereich des Mondes.[60]

2) Zugleich werden die Begriffe genannt, welche die Verbindung bewirken, nämlich a) Μονάς b) Νοῦς c) Φύσις. Damit ist die Stufung der überseienden und der seienden Wesen vorweggenommen, wie Plotin sie nachmals lehrte; es war also in Spekulationen, wie Plutarch sie hier, zum Teil nur andeutend, vorträgt, das bereits präsent, was später zum Lehrgehalt der eigentlichen Philosophie werden sollte.

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die Region ewiger Dunkelheit — ἡ Στύξ — befindet sich im Schattenkegel der Erde; darum schaut Timarchos a.O. 590f. in einen von Dunkelheit und Stöhnen erfüllten Trichter, in welcher sich die Bestrafung und Läuterung der Seelen vollzieht. Hier dürfte ein Ansatzpunkt dafür gegeben sein, daß sich Dante das Inferno wie einen Kegel dachte — freilich reicht dieser Kegel bis zum Erdmittelpunkt, ist also nicht, wie Plutarch will, außerhalb der Erde gedacht. Da der Schattenkegel der Erde in regelmäßigen Abständen den Mond erreicht (a.O. 591c), vermag Plutarch zu erklären, wieso geläuterte Seelen den Mond wie ein rettendes Asyl erreichen; analog dazu *fac. i.o.l.* 28; 943 cd.

[56] Was dann weiter geschieht, wird dem Timarchos nicht eröffnet; indes schliessen die Andeutungen, die Plutarch *fac. i.o.l.* 28ff. gibt, unmittelbar an.

[57] Dieses Schlüsselwort hellenistischer Kosmologie hat seinen Ursprungsort bei Platon, vgl. bes. *Tim.* 31C, dazu *Staat* 10; 616C. Nach stoischer Lehre *SVF* II 306, 36ff. = Sextos Emp., *adv. math.* 9, 81 gibt es die folgenden Kräfte, welche den Zusammenhalt in den versch. Bereichen bewirken: ἕξις hält als Kohaesionskraft unbelebte Körper zusammen, φύσις bewirkt den Zusammenhalt der Pflanzen, ψυχή die der lebenden Wesen. Von da wird der Schritt zu der Frage getan, welche Kraft den Kosmos zusammenhält; vgl. *de virt. morali* 12; 451bc.

[58] Im Grunde überfordert diese Kumulierung den Hörer und den Leser, zumal hernach keine dieser Reihen und keiner dieser Begriffe irgendwelche Bedeutung erlangt.

[59] Die äußerste Grenze der Sichtbarkeit ist der Fixsternhimmel; jenseits von diesem beginnt das Unsichtbare; hier grenzen ζωή und κίνησις aneinander.

[60] Es grenzen also im Bereich der Sonne die ἀρχὴ κινήσεως und die ἀρχὴ γενέσεως aneinander, im Bereich des Mondes die ἀρχὴ γενέσεως und die ἀρχὴ φθορᾶς.

3) Endlich werden die drei Schicksalsgöttinnen eingeführt; sie nehmen sitzend ihren Platz an jeder der Verbindungsstellen ein; sie werden als die Töchter (man darf sagen: Hypostasen) der Notwendigkeit — Ἀνάγκη — bezeichnet; sie nehmen also, jede an einer der Verbindungsstellen, die Funktion ihrer Mutter wahr. Ihr Herrschaftszeichen ist der Schlüssel; dieser auffälligen Andeutung ist zu entnehmen: Sie haben an der Grenzstelle die Aufgabe, das Tor auf- oder zuzuschliessen; d.h. ein Auf- oder Absteigen unterliegt der Kontrolle der dort wirkenden μοῖρα.[61]

Unvermerkt[62] hat Plutarch neben den vier ἀρχαί drei weibliche ἄρχοντες konstituiert; unvermerkt hat er sie mit der Funktion ausgestattet, Türhüter — θυρωροί —[63] zu sein, womit eine auffällige (freilich bisher niemandem aufgefallene) Verbindung zu gnostischen Vorstellungen hergestellt ist.

Mit anderen Worten: Jene Offenbarung, die an Timarchos gerichtet ist, erweist sich als so geschickt formuliert, daß ein jeder Leser, gleich welche Voraussetzungen er mitbringt, sich angesprochen fühlen muß; diese Offenbarung ist einer stoisch-poseidonischen Kosmologie ebenso gut konform wie der ontologischen Spekulation damaliger Platoniker; wem etwa gnostische Gedanken über den Aufstieg der Seele vertraut waren, der durfte sich bestätigt fühlen; nur das, was Platon ursprünglich einmal hatte sagen wollen, kommt in dieser Konkordanz zu kurz.[64]

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[61] Es wird also nicht etwa ausgesagt, daß eine jede *Moîra* dafür sorgt, daß in den vier ἀρχαί alles den Gesetzen der Notwendigkeit folgt; dann müßte jeder ἀρχή ein Lenker zugeordnet sein. Vielmehr muß jede ἀρχή als ein in sich autonomer Bereich gedacht werden; jeweils an den Grenzen hat eine Lenkerin darüber zu wachen, daß der Zusammenhalt nicht zerbricht, und daß, wer dazu legitimiert ist, passieren kann. Darum wird jede der drei Μοῖραι als κλειδοῦχος bezeichnet, a.O. 591b.

[62] In der Tat ist die Annäherung an die Vorstellung von den Archonten, welche die einzelnen Sphären regieren, bisher niemandem aufgefallen.

[63] Kelsos (so bei Origenes, *c.C.* 7, 40) tadelt eine christlich-gnostische Vorstellung, nach welcher eine Kontrolle durch bedrohliche θυρωροί überstanden werden mußte; diese waren vermutlich — vgl. a.O. 6, 30 — mit den Archonten der versch. Sphären identisch.

[64] Daß die *Moîrai* Töchter der Notwendigkeit sind, weist auf Platon, *Staat* 10; 617C; dort ist es Ἀνάγκη, welche die Achse der Welt in Drehung versetzt; ihren Töchtern werden alle Schicksale in Vergangenheit, Gegenwart und Zukunft anvertraut. Beide Aspekte sind bei Plutarch gänzlich verschwunden; vor allem sind die *Moîrai* nicht mehr als Spinnerinnen gedacht und darum auch nicht mit den emblematischen Werkzeugen des Spinnens ausgestattet; sie tragen bei Plutarch den Schlüssel.

Nach dieser Konzeption Plutarchs kommt die eigentliche Herrschaft über die Welt der Notwendigkeit — ἀνάγκη — zu; sie ist durch ihre Töchter an den drei entscheidenden Stellen, den σύνδεσμοι, vertreten. Da man durchweg ἀνάγκη als das physisch zwingende Naturgesetz verstand, ist mehrfach erwogen worden, ob man das überall waltende Gesetz nicht als Θέμις[65] bezeichnen müsse. Nun ist es ungemein erhellend, daß in der nicht von Plutarch verfaßten Schrift *de fato*[66] die Weltseele als die Summe der drei Μοῖραι erscheint. Damit ist zumindest die Richtung bezeichnet, die zum vollen Verständnis dessen führt, was Plutarch ausdrücken wollte. Es liegt ihm fern, auf einen transzendenten, außerweltlichen Bereich zu verweisen; von neuplatonischer Ontologie ist er, wie bereits Syrian[67] erkannte, weit entfernt. Wohl reicht Plutarchs Welt noch ein gutes Stück über den Bereich der Sichtbarkeit hinaus; aber dort ist nicht etwa ein transzendentes Sein, geschweige denn ein κόσμος νοητός angesiedelt; sondern dieser Bereich ist durch die vornehmste der *Moîrai*, durch Atropos, mit den übrigen ἀρχαί zu einer Einheit verklammert. Weiter erstreckt sich Plutarch Kosmologie nicht; wahrscheinlich wollte er über Weiteres nichts sagen. Die Stimme jedenfalls, die zu Timarchos spricht, sagt hierzu nichts.

Es dürfte kaum nötig sein, durch Einzel-Nachweise zu bekräftigen, daß diese Weltsicht mit der, die *fac. i.o.l.* vorgetragen wird, nahezu kongruent ist. Nur ist die dort gewählte Verschlüsselung nicht ganz so subtil, — das vermutlich darum, weil das Schlußstück von *fac. i.o.l.* dem Poseidonios um vieles näher steht[68] als die Belehrung des Timarchos in *gen. Socr.*[69]

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[65] Dies zieht Proklos, *In Plat. remp.* II 207, 20ff (vgl. a.O. II 94, 19), bei weitem vor; dafür kann er sich auf Hesiod, *Theog.* 901 berufen.

[66] a.O. 1; 568e; dort wird der εἱμαρμένη κατ' οὐσίαν zugeschrieben, sie sei mit der Weltseele identisch, deren drei Wirkungsgrade durch die *Moîrai* symbolisiert werden. Der Verf. der Schrift *de fato* kennt die einschlägige Stelle im Staat 10; 617D, läßt aber die Zuordnung der *Moîrai* zur Notwendigkeit als ihrer Mutter nur für die εἱμαρμένη κατ' ἐνέργειαν gelten; die eigentliche Vertreterin und Tochter der Notwendigkeit ist Lachesis. Dieses Lehrstück liegt auch vor bei Calcidius in Tim. 144.

[67] Syrian in Arist., *met. M* 4; p. 105, 37ff. Kroll.

[68] Vgl. K. Reinhardt, *Kosmos und Sympathie*, 1926, 325ff. und ders.: Art. *Poseidonios*, *PWRE* XXI 1, 1954, 782ff.

[69] Diese Belehrung hat den „Mechanismus" zum Gegenstand, durch welchen das Daimonion den Menschen, dem es zugeordnet ist, lenkt. Damit wird die Frage be-

Denn dort wird, durchaus einsträngig, das Problem des Aufstiegs behandelt. Es wird (scheinbar) nichts Neues ausgesagt, sondern es wird eine gängige Vorstellung berichtigt und erweitert: Der Mensch ist nicht ein Doppel-Wesen Körper + Seele[70]; zu diesen beiden Komponenten tritt der *Noûs* hinzu. Plutarch läßt nicht erkennen, wie es zur Vereinigung dieser drei Komponenten kommt; er läßt den Berichterstatter, Sulla, nur darstellen, wie diese drei Teile sich von einander lösen; seiner Konzeption liegt die Formel zu Grunde, daß die Erde die Heimstatt der Körper, der Mond die Heimstatt der Seelen, die Sonne die Heimstatt des Geistes ist.

Selbstverständlich war für Plutarch vor allem wichtig, die Notwendigkeit und die Vollständigkeit der Sühne und der Läuterung darzustellen.[71] Weiter bot sich die Gelegenheit, das Wirken der Dämonen zu begründen (a.O. 30; 944cff.); die Dämonen sind nichts anderes als geläuterte Seelen,[72] die als Beschützer und als Helfer in die Geschicke der Lebenden eingreifen — ein für Plutarch zentrales Thema. Indes bleibt alles dieses neben dem beherrschenden Gedanken von marginaler Bedeutung — hoch erwünscht, um weiterführende Assoziationen anzuknüpfen,[73] aber eben doch Beiwerk. Sondern es dreht sich alles um den Gedanken der Läuterung und des nachfolgenden Aufstiegs. Dieser ist an keine Bedingungen geknüpft; er wird nicht durch einen Gnadenakt verliehen, und er wird nicht durch besondere Leistungen verdient; es wird also sorgsam alles fern gehalten, was etwa Angst hervorrufen könnte. Alle Sühne und Läuterung ist an bestimmte Fristen (nicht etwa an Buß-Leistungen) gebunden; danach liegt es an der „Natur"

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antwortet, was es mit dem Daimonion des Sokrates auf sich hat. Was dagegen in fac. i. o.l. der Fremde dem Sulla mitgeteilt hat, soll die Gesetzmäßigkeit des Aufstiegs darstellen.

[70] Diese Lehre ist für Platoniker im *Alkibiades* I; 129 Aff. geradezu kanonisch niedergelegt. Daß Plutarch hier wie auch *de virt. morali* 3; 441d das überkommene Schema erweitert, verdient Beachtung.

[71] Dies ist das beherrschende Thema, das der „Mythos" in *de ser. num. vihdicta* anschaulich behandelt: Der Seele des Arrhidaios-Thespesios werden die Orte der Belohnung und der Strafen vor Augen geführt.

[72] Diese können freilich, ungeachtet ihrer Absicht zu helfen, wieder Fehler begehen, die sie dann aufs Neue sühnen müssen. Zugleich sind es (vorwiegend) Dämonen, die Orakel geben oder bewirken — so wird die Querverbindung zum Problem der Mantik hergestellt.

[73] Eine der Assoziationen besteht darin, daß auch hier die *Moîrai* mit der Aufsicht über die Bereiche von Geist, Seele und Körper betraut werden.

des Geist + Seele-Wesens, ob der Aufstieg des Geistes zur Sonne früher eintritt oder später.[74] Es besteht die beruhigende Gewißheit, daß eine jede Seele zur rechten Zeit den Mond, und daß ein jeder Geist zur rechten Zeit seine Heimat, die Sonne, erreichen wird; hier wird weder ein Mythos noch ein Mysterium verkündet, sondern es wird das Walten eines Naturgesetzes erklärt.

Es könnte sein, daß Plutarch gnostische Aufstiegs-Mythen verändert und damit entschärft hat. Näher liegt es anzunehmen, daß hier Poseidonios' Gedanken über den Aufstieg der Seele widergespiegelt werden — Gedanken, die bereits im Jahrhundert *vor* Plutarch zum Fundament der Gnosis werden sollten. Sicher besteht keine Abhängigkeit Plutarchs vom Denken und von der Denkweise der Gnosis; eine Affinität dagegen ist unverkennbar; unverkennbar dürfte auch sein, daß die offenkundigen Gemeinsamkeiten oft durch das Vorbild des Poseidonios geprägt sind.

Soviel zum bisher untersuchten Themenkreis „Aufstieg der Seele — Himmelsreise der Seele — kosmische Sphären als Stufen des Aufstiegs".

VII.

Eine letzte, auf das Wichtigste sich beschränkende Umschau gilt der Umkehrung der bisher erörterten Frage: Wie tritt das Göttliche in diese Welt ein? Wie übersetzt es sich in diese Welt? Muß es nicht, da es mit dem Unvollkommenen in Berührung kommt, eine Minderung seines Wertes erleiden?

Es sei daran erinnert, daß Plutarch — wie stets — einer systematischen Beantwortung solcher Fragen ausweicht; es liegt nicht einmal ein Mythos vom Abstieg, vom *descensus* der Gottheit in diese Welt vor.

Außerdem muß vorausgeschickt werden, daß sich Plutarch mit der Antwort, die er auf die obige Frage bereit hatte, im Widerspruch zu vielen, wahrscheinlich zu den meisten Platonikern jener Zeit befand. Denn diese[75] waren genötigt, ihre θεολογούμενα so abzufassen, daß die platonisch verstandene Gottheit von jeder Berührung mit Materiellem, ja von jeder auch nur indirekten Rückwirkung freibleibt[76]; von dem wieder und wieder verteidigten Axiom der αὐτάρκεια ließ sich die Forderung nicht trennen, daß die Gottheit in diese Welt nicht abzusteigen habe.

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[74] So *fac. i.o.l.* 30; 944e.

[75] Eine solche Konzeption, welche die Gottheit als das in jeder Hinsicht Absolute definiert, hat Albinos, *Did.* 10; 164,6-165,29 vorgetragen; indes ist diese scharfe Abgrenzung bereits bei Philon zu erkennen, der seinem Gott die Absolutheit des Seins, dem Menschen die Relativität des Werdens zuschreibt.

Nicht so Plutarch. Er hat es an mindestens sechs Stellen, meist halb verdeckt,[76] ausgesprochen, daß er mit der Konzeption eines derart weltabgewandten Gottes[77] nicht einverstanden ist; statt dessen wirkt die Gottheit mit göttlichen Organen in diese Welt hinein. Man dürfte sagen: durch ein solches Wirken zerteilt sich die Gottheit; sie zerfasert sich. Da sie in solcher Zerfaserung nicht mit ihrer vollen Potenz wirkt, vermag sie ihre Intention, das Gute zu verwirklichen, nicht immer durchzuführen; denn sie stößt auf den Widerstand des Unvernünftigen, der ἀλογία — wobei Plutarch schwankt, ob man sich diese als die Passivität der Materie vorstellen muß, die sich (wie jedes Material, das ein Künstler formt) der Formung widersetzt, oder ob man dem Ansatz einer bösen Weltseele den Vorzug geben muß, eines Prinzips also, die Absichten einer oder mehrerer guter Seelen durch aktives Wirken zu durchkreuzen.[78]

Nun hätte eine dezidierte Antwort auf die Frage, ob das Böse aktiv zu werden vermag,[79] ganz wesentliche theologische Konsequenzen gehabt. Denn ein böses Prinzip, das planvoll dem Guten entgegenwirkt, könnte nicht mehr als ἀλογία, d.h. als Abwesenheit von Sinn und Vernunft definiert werden; es müßte zumindest mit Schaden bewirkender Schlauheit ausgestattet sein; Plutarch hat sich weislich gehütet, hierauf einzugehen.

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[76] Plutarch muß gewußt haben, daß er sich im Widerspruch zur herrschenden Richtung befand; daher befleißigt er sich besonderer εὐλάβεια, denn es mußte Anstoß erregen, wenn er die Gottheit mit den Trivialitäten dieser Welt in Berührung treten ließ.

[77] Unumwunden greift Plutarch, *def. orac.* 30; 426d eine an Aristoteles orientierte Gottesvorstellung an, die Gott nur sich selbst anschauen läßt; Plutarch bekennt sich zu einer der Welt zugewandten Gottheit. Nur dann läßt sich begründen, daß die Gottheit das Tun der Menschen belohnt oder bestraft; vgl. *ser. num. vind.* 5; 55oe

[78] Vgl. oben Anm. 13. Plutarch ist darin durchaus folgerichtig: Wenn es eine böse Weltseele gibt — so *Is.* 48; 370f., dann muß diese auch eine böse Schöpfung hervorbringen: εἶναι ... τὴν δὲ ... τῶν ἐναντίων δημιουργόν.

[79] Dagegen stand es zur εὐλάβεια Plutarchs nicht im Widerspruch, Überlegungen anzustellen, ob Dämonen böse sein können: *def. orac.* 16; 419a; sehr gemildert *fac. i.o.l.* 30; 944d. Die Frage muß nach Plutarch bejaht werden.

Während Plutarch Überlegungen meidet, die auf die Eigenschaften des Bösen und auf die Art seiner Aktivität zielen, hat er mit Eindeutigkeit und mit Präzision die ebenso wichtige, komplementäre Frage beantwortet: Erfährt das Göttliche, wenn es in die Welt wirkt, oder gar in die Welt eintritt, eine Minderung seines ethischen Wertes, seiner ἀρετή? Diese Frage hat Plutarch mit Entschiedenheit verneint. Und dieses Nein war offenbar gegen gnostische Tendenzen gerichtet, denen Plutarch entgegentreten wollte.

Die Seele verfügt über den Körper; er ist ihr Werzeug,[80] durch das sie den Umkreis, in dem sie tätig ist, gestaltet.[81] Ist nun etwa die Seele ihrerseits Werkzeug einer höheren Macht? Ja, die Gottheit bedient sich „der Seele".[82] Nun wäre es aber nach Plutarchs Meinung falsch, sich Gott, Seele, Körperwelt als von einander getrennte Seinsstufen — etwa gar Hypostasen[83] — zu denken. Sondern die Seele ist ein Teil des Göttlichen, sie entstammt ihm, sodaß das Göttliche in ihr präsent ist, etwa wie die Substanz des Vaters im Kinde;[84] und zwar ist der λόγος als das Organ zu bezeichnen,[85] durch das die Gottheit in die Welt hinein wirkt. Dieses göttliche Werkzeug nimmt keine Verschlecherung an; wieder und wieder wird der Gedanke zurückgewiesen, die Macht des Bösen reiche so weit, daß eine Pervertierung des *Lógos* entrete.

Eben in dem Zusammenhange — nämlich in der Deutung der auf Isis und Typhon bezogenen ägyptischen Überlieferungen — in welchem Plutarch dem Bösen, verkörpert durch Typhon, eine verhältnismäßig breite Spanne aktiven Wirkens einräumt, eben dort hat Plutarch die Trennungslinie mit beeindruckender Deutlichkeit gezogen.

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[80] Hierfür wichtig *Pyth. orac.* 21; 404bff.; damit wird der Lehrsatz, der aus dem platonischen *Alk. I* (vgl. oben Anm. 70) zu gewinnen war, auf das Verhältnis ausgedehnt, das zwischen der Gottheit und der Seele besteht.

[81] Schon im Referat des Areios Didymos (erhalten bei Stobaios II 49, 8ff. W.-H.) über die Telos-Lehre des Eudoros wird die Aktivität des Menschen zu der Gottes in Analogie gerückt: Der eine ordnet und lenkt seine eigene Lebensführung (wie einen Mikrokosmos), der andere ordnet und lenkt den Makrokosmos.

[82] Neben die Anm. 80 zit. Stelle ist nunmehr zu rücken: *Plat. quaest.* 2; 1001bc.

[83] Hiermit ist der Grund bezeichnet, warum Plutarch sich wohl (vgl. oben S. 105f.) einen in sich gestuften Kosmos denken konnte; daß dagegen die seiende Gottheit derart gestuft sei, daß die Stufen einander ausschließen, war ihm unvorstellbar; Plutarch hat es verweigert, den Übergang von einer Kosmologie zu einer Ontologie zu vollziehen.

[84] So ausdrücklich *Plat. quaest.* 2; 1001b.

[85] Auffällig ist die Übereinstimmung Plutarchs mit Thrasyllos, dessen Zeugnis hierzu bei Porphyrios *In Ptol. harmonica* p. 12,21-28 Düring erhalten ist. Dieser Beitrag zur Logos-Lehre der Platoniker ist behandelt in der Festschrift für P. Trouillard.

Eine Wendung der reich differenzierten Sage hatte den Prozess zum Gegenstand, den Typhon gegen Horos anstrengt: Dieser sei kein legitimer Sohn der Isis;[86] es war also eine δίκη νοθείας zu gewinnen oder zu verlieren. Hier verdient nun die „philosophische" Deutung, die Plutarch auf diese Mythenerzählung anwendet, höchstes Interesse.[87] Nach ihm hat Isis den Horos geboren als Abbild des κόσμος νοητός.[88] Damit repräsentiert Horos die wahrnehmbare Welt. Nun ist die Einrede des Typhon, die στάσις also des Prozesses, gleichfalls „philosophisch" (womit die konkrete Frage nach der Vaterschaft völlig in den Hintergrund tritt). Typhon macht geltend, durch die Berührung mit der Materie habe Horos die Eigenschaft verloren, rein und klar zu sein, wie es dem *Lógos* zukommt; sondern er sei durch Mischung zum Bastard geworden — νενοθευμένος.[89] Hätte Typhon mit seiner Behauptung recht, dann wäre hier (im Sinne der Gnosis) die substantielle Verschlechterung des anfänglich Guten erwiesen.

Hiergegen wird das Zeugnis des Hermes[90] aufgeboten, dank dem Horos als Sieger aus dem Prozess hervorgeht. Hermes bezeugt und weist nach, daß sich die Natur nach dem Vorbild[91] des νοητόν, also der Idee, zum Guten hin umformt — μετασχηματιζομένη — und so die Welt hervorbringt; der Vorwurf, den Typhon erhob, wird ins Gegenteil verkehrt: Nicht der *Lógos* verliert seinen Wert, wenn er die Erschaffung der Welt bewirkt, sondern die Natur — φύσις — erfährt einen Gewinn an Wert, wenn sie sich durch den *Lógos* nach dem Vorbild der Idee umformen läßt. Mit anderen Worten: Die Unverletzlichkeit und Unveränderlichkeit des Göttlichen (Teilaspekt seiner αὐτάρκεια, vgl. oben S. 101)[92] wird dadurch nicht verletzt oder gemindert, daß sich der *Lógos* formend und zeugend in diese Welt hinein begibt. An anderer Stelle deutet Plutarch an, daß Zeus sich nicht in diese Welt hinein begeben würde, wenn er — da allwissend — vorher wüßte, daß er damit an seiner Substanz Schaden nehmen würde. Plutarch bleibt seiner mehrfach vorgetragenen Timaios-Exegese[93] durchaus treu; nach ihr drang der göttliche Impuls in das zuvor ungeordnet und wirr bewegte Chaos ein; dadurch bewirkte er die Formung und die Ordnung jenes Gebildes, das eben darum *Kósmos* heißt.

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[86] Hierüber, zunächst nur referierend, Plutarch, *Is.* 19; 358d.

[87] Plutarch, *Is.* 54; 373bc.

[88] Mit denselben Worten wie Plutarch a.O. beanstandet es Albinos, *Did.* 10; 164, 13 Hermann, daß Menschen die Götter mit Zügen des Konkreten und des Wahrnehmbaren ausstatten; Götter dagegen vermögen das Transzendente εἰλικρινῶς καὶ ἀμιγῶς zu denken. Bei Plutarch streitet es Typhon dem Horos ab ὡς οὐκ ὢν καθαρὸς οὐδὲ εἰλικρινὴς οἷος ὁ πατήρ, λόγος αὐτὸς καθ᾽ ἑαυτὸν ἀμιγὴς καὶ ἀπαθής. Eine auffallende wörtliche Übereinstimmung.

[89] Hier nimmt Typhon die Züge des Verleumders, des διάβολος an.

[90] Gewiß spricht hier nicht der Hermes Trismegistos, der in den hermetischen Offenbarungsschriften das Wort nimmt. Immerhin wird die Beweisführung, die den Prozess entscheidet, dem Hermes verdankt. Als der λογιώτατος θεῶν (so *Is.* 11; 355b) ist er dazu berufen, sein Zeugnis in der δίκη νοθείας abzugeben.

[91] Die Aussage des Hermes lautet a.O. 373b πρὸς τὸ νοητὸν ἡ φύσις μετασχηματιζομένη τὸν κόσμον ἀποδίδωσιν. Hier ist die Praep. πρός so gesetzt, wie in der schulgerechten Darstellung der Dreiprinzipienlehre üblich: πρὸς τὸ παράδειγμα. Das ist bemerkenswert, weil sich bei Plutarch nur wenige Reminiszenzen dieser Art finden.

Mit diesen Gedanken entfernte sich Plutarch weit von der Lehrmeinung anderer Platoniker; diese lehnten es ab, sich die Schöpfung als einen in der Zeit erfolgten Akt vorzustellen,[94] und sie lehnten es ab, der Gottheit Züge einer Persönlichkeit, insbesondere eines personalen Willens, beizulegen. Was diese Punkte anlangt, war Plutarchs θεολογία durchaus anders gestaltet. In der für Plutarch grundlegenden Überzeugung freilich, daß das Gute niemals schlecht werden kann, hielt er unverbrüchlich am Erbe Platons fest.[95] Er hatte offenbar Grund, eben diese Überzeugung anders Denkenden, Schlimmes Fürchtenden gegenüber mit Nachdruck zu verteidigen.

VIII.

Der vorstehende Überblick hat zu mehreren Ergebnissen geführt:

[ ] In der Tat sind bei Plutarch gnostische Spuren nachzuweisen.

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[92] So bes. *de sera num. vindicta* 5; 550cde, dazu 551c; alle die das dort Gesagte beherzigen, gewinnen εὐλάβεια.

[93] Hiervon geht die Argumentation in *de an procr.* aus; vgl. bes. 3; 1013b. Vgl. ferner *de virt. morali* 3; 441d und 12; 451bc.

[94] Vgl. hierzu die materialreiche Arbeit von M. Baltes: *Die Weltentstehung des platonischen Timaios nach den antiken Interpreten*, 2 Teile, 1976 und 1978.

[95] Vgl. *Phaidros* 247A und *Tim.* 29E; hiernach ist φθόνος als das aktiv wirksame Übelwollen aus dem Bereich des Göttlichen ausgeschlossen; vgl. auch *Theait.* 176A.

[ ] Plutarch hat offenbar Kenntnis von mancherlei Formen gnostischer Frömmigkeit, auf die er in verschiedener Weise Rücksicht nimmt:
[ ] In mehreren Fällen schlägt er für solche Leser, die von gnostischen Vorstellungen herkommen, eine Brücke: Sie können ihr Wissen in das Denkmodell, das Plutarch entwirft, einbringen.
[ ] In der Frage: „Kann sich die Gottheit zum Schlechten verändern?" scheint Plutarch den gnostischen Standpunkt zu kennen; er lehnt ihn mit Entschiedenheit ab.
[ ] In mehreren Fällen ist kein sicheres Urteil möglich: Plutarch bekennt sich zur γνῶσις als einem religiös-ethischen Wert. Er postuliert einen Dialog zwischen dem Gott zu Delphi, der den Adoranten „anruft" und dem derart Angerufenen, der Zug um Zug in eine Gleichartigkeit — ὁμοιότης — mit dem Gott emporgehoben wird. Er entwirft (mit geringfügiger Variation) Modelle des Aufstiegs, durch welchen die Seelen in die Sphäre des Mondes und der Sonne gelangen.

Da liegen Formen religiöser Vorstellungen und besonders religiöser Rede vor, die aus der Gnosis wohl bekannt sind. Sicher aber wäre der Schluß zu einfach, ja er wäre einfältig: Alles, was innerhalb der Gnosis bezeugt ist, müsse darum typisch gnostisch, ja ausschließlich gnostisch sein.

Vielmehr ist die Fülle der Formen und Aussageweisen, in denen sich religiöses Denken und Empfinden (antik: φιλοσοφία) äußern konnte, überreich und zudem noch kaum erforscht und durchgearbeitet;[96] das eben läßt sich am Beispiel Plutarchs deutlich machen. Gnostische Frömmigkeit kann sich in gleichen Formen manifestieren wie die Frömmigkeit Plutarchs. Darum darf nicht voreilig geschlossen werden, es bestehe „Abhängigkeit" (vgl. Anm. 5); wohl aber besteht Affinität. Denn die Äußerungen religiösen Denkens und Empfindens sind in den Jahrhunderten von Poseidonios bis Plotin, ja bis zu Proklos[97] von einem ganz bestimmten Stil geprägt; mit Recht hat

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[96] Verwunderlicher Weise sind wichtige Werke, die geradezu Angelpunkte der Religionswissenschaft darstellen, nahezu ohne Blick auf Plutarch abgefaßt worden: E. Rohde: *Psyche*; Ed. Norden: *Agnostos Theos*; A.J. Festugière: *La révélation d'Hermès Trismégiste*; S. Pètrement: *Le dualisme*, etc. Leider liesse sich diese Anti-Bibliographie noch sehr verlängern.

[97] Eine Kennzeichnung dieses Stils ist versucht in *Die Religiosität des Platonismus im 4. und 5. Jahrh. nach Christus*, in *Entretiens de la fondation Hardt* 21, 1974, 257-

O. Spengler seinerzeit betont, daß hier das „magische Zeitalter" beginne. Und es ist eine Zeitlang verführerisch gewesen, alle Äußerungen, die dieses Gepräge tragen, „gnostisch" zu nennen. Damit ist nichts gewonnen, solange nicht die notwendige Trennschärfe gewonnen ist, um innerhalb des weiten Komplexes, der von spätantiker Frömmigkeit geprägt ist, die einzelnen Phänomene von einander zu sondern.

So mag es erlaubt sein, mit diesem Satz zu schließen: Plutarch steht in manchen seiner Äußerungen der Gnosis nahe; in seiner philosophisch-religiösen Entscheidung steht er in radikalem Gegensatz zu ihr. Dazwischen werden verschiedene Positionen teils der Zuneigung, teils der Abweisung erkennbar; diese vielfach differenzierten Sachverhalte μετ' εὐλαβείας darzustellen, war Aufgabe dieser Seiten.

285; und: *Überlegungen zum Wesen antiker Frömmigkeit*, in *Pietas* = Festschrift für B. Kötting, 1980, 3-14.

ODES OF SOLOMON AND PSALMS OF MANI

Christians and Manichaeans in Third-Century Syria

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The 42 Syriac Odes of Solomon have, ever since their discovery and first publication, been one of the most puzzling products of early Christianity. Their poetic language and imagery seems to baffle all attempts to determine their exact character, whereas the apparent lack of a coherent theological doctrine was the main reason for dating these ecstatic hymns of salvation at the end of the first or the beginning of the second century A.D., when the nascent christian faith was not yet exposed to the influence of Greek philosophical thought.[1]

Language and religious symbolism were considered true products of a real oriental christianity that preserved the authentic character of Jesus' preaching and salvation, and the Odes, therefore, have kept all the romantic flavour linked with such "prestige de l'origine". Recent research, however, has made clear that the Odes contain outspoken anti-Marcionite polemics, that they express christological conceptions in a highly symbolic and reflective wording that are based on second-century Antiochene theology with all its philosophical terminology, that they betray the influence of Tatian's Diatessaron and encratitic interpretation of christian tradition, and, therefore, originate in a bilingual culture and most likely are to date to the third century.[2]

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[1] That is the opinion held by the first editor of the Odes, Rendel Harris in: Rendel Harris – Alphonse Mingana, *The Odes and Psalms of Solomon*, 2 Vols, Manchester 1916-1920, II, 61ff.; the last editor J.H. Charlesworth, *The Odes of Solomon.* The Syriac Texts, sec. ed., Missoula 1977, holds the same view, *cf.* J.H. Charlesworth, *The Odes of Solomon — Not Gnostic*, in *CBQ* 31, 1969, 357-369; *idem*, *Les Odes de Salomon et les manuscrits de la Mer Morte*, in *RB* 77, 1970, 522-529; J.H. Charlesworth - R.-A. Culpepper, *The Odes of Solomon and the Gospel of John*, in *CBQ* 35, 1973, 298ff.; M. Lattke, *Die Oden Salomos in ihrer Bedeutung für Neues Testament und Gnosis*, 2 Vols (Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis 25/1.2), 1979, apparently suggests an early date too.

[2] H.J.W. Drijvers, *Die Oden Salomos und die Polemik mit den Markioniten im*

Considering the anti-Marcionite tendency, the encratitic elements and the philosophical terminology, Edessa with its sophisticated culture could very well be their place of origin.

The Coptic Manichaean Psalm-Book has only partly been subjected to systematic research since its publication in 1938.[3] A. Baumstark emphasized its relationship with Syriac christian hymns, the influence of Tatian's Diatessaron, and its strongly christian character: "Man vermag sich des Eindrucks kaum zu erwehren, als seien in das manichäische Psalmbuch geradezu einzelne Texte christlich grosskirchlicher Herkunft in einer mehr oder weniger leichten Überarbeitung oder sogar ohne eine solche übernommen worden".[4] Later research confirmed that view.[5] The Manichaean psalms, therefore, play a paramount rôle in the discussion about christian roots and elements in Manichaeism.[6] Like nearly all original Manichaean writings these psalms were also written in Syriac and later on translated into Coptic, most likely through a Greek intermediary version. Since the Psalm-Book as we have it now dates from the first half of the fourth century, the original Syriac version came into existence in the second half of the third century.

The formal parallelism of the Manichaean Psalms with the Odes of Solomon is striking. Both were originally composed in Syriac and were also known in a Greek version, as is quite understandable in a bilingual cultural area. Part of the Greek version of Ode of Solomon 11

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syrischen Christentum, in *Symposium Syriacum 1976 (OrChrA* 205), 1978, 39-55; *idem. Kerygma und Logos in den Oden Salomos dargestellt am Beispiel der 23. Ode*, in *Kerygma und Logos.* Beiträge zu den geistesgeschichtlichen Beziehungen zwischen Antike und Christentum, Festschrift Carl Andresen, hrsg. v. A.M. Ritter, Göttingen 1979, 153-172; *idem, The 19th Ode of Solomon: Its Interpretation and Place in Syrian Christianity*, in *JTS* 31, 1980, 337-355.

[3] C.R.C. Allberry, *A Manichaean Psalm-Book*, Part II, Stuttgart 1938.

[4] A. Baumstark, review of C.R.C. Allberry, *A Manichaean Psalm-Book*, in *OrChr* 36, 1941, 117-126, esp. 122.

[5] P. Nagel, *Die Psalmoi Sarakoton des manichäischen Psalmbuches*, in *OLZ* 62, 1967, 123-130; E. Segelberg, *Syncretism at Work: On the Origin of some Coptic Manichaean Psalms*, in *Religious Syncretism in Antiquity.* Essays in Conversation with Geo Widengren, ed. by B.A. Pearson, Missoula 1975, 191-203.

[6] *Cf.* A. Böhlig, *Christliche Wurzeln im Manichäismus*, in *Mysterion und Wahrheit.* Gesammelte Beiträge zur spätantiken Religionsgeschichte, Leiden 1968, 202-221; *idem, Der Synkretismus des Mani*, in *Synkretismus im syrisch-persischen Kulturgebiet*, *AAWG* 96, 1975, 144-169.

even has been preserved in a papyrus from Egypt dating from the end of the third century.[7] That the Manichaean Psalms must have been known in a Greek version too becomes clear from the many Greek words that the Coptic has preserved. The Manichaean Psalms as well as the Odes of Solomon were translated from Greek into Coptic, so that five Odes of Solomon found their way into the *Pistis Sophia*, in which they, like the canonical psalms, were interpreted in a gnostic way.[8] The Odes of Solomon and the Manichaean Psalms are thus, each in its own way, exponents of a Syriac hymnology that may go back to Bardaiṣan (154-222 A.D.), but which, very likely, is of much earlier date and which was eventually to find its most mature form with Ephrem Syrus (d. 373 A.D.).[9] It would, therefore, be highly interesting if the Odes and the Psalms were to have some material points of contact, beside their formal ones, in order to get new light on religious developments in third-century Syria, of which so little is known.

'In this connection Ode of Solomon 38 is of special interest as regards its contents and imagery.

1. I ascended to the Light of Truth as into a chariot,
   And the Truth led me and caused me to go.
2. And caused me to pass over chasms and rifts
   And saved me from cliffs and waves.
3. And became to me a Haven of Salvation,
   And set me on the level of immortal life.
4. And He went with me and made me rest and did not allow me to err,
   Because He was and is the Truth.
5. And there was no danger for me, because I walked with Him,
   And I did not err in anything because I obeyed Him.

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[7] M. Testuz, *Papyrus Bodmer X-XII*, Cologny-Genève 1959; *cf.* M. Lattke, *Die Oden Salomos*, Vol. I, 1-23; see also J.A. Emerton, *Some Problems of Text and Language in the Odes of Solomon*, in *JTS* 18, 1967, 372-406.

[8] *Odes of Solomon* 1 (complete?); 5, 1-11; 6, 8-18; 22 and 25; *cf.* A. Kragerud, *Die Hymnen der Pistis Sophia*, Oslo 1967; M. Lattke, *Die Oden Salomos*, I, 187-225.

[9] A. Baumstark, *OrChr* 36, 1941, 125f. already drew attention to Sumerian and Akkadian hymns; *cf.* G. Widengren, *Mesopotamian Elements in Manichaeism (King and Saviour II)*. Studies in Manichaean, Mandaean and Syrian-Gnostic Religion, *UUA* 1946 : 3, *passim*.

6. For Error fled away from Him,
And did not resist Him,
7. But the Truth was proceeding on the right way,
And whatever I did not know He declared to me.
8. All the drugs of Error,
And those pitfalls which are considered the sweetness of death,
9. And the author of the Corruption.
I looked on when the corrupted Bride was adorned
And the Bridegroom who corrupts and is corrupted.
10. And I asked the Truth, Who are these?
And He said to me: This is the Deceiver and the Error.
11. And they imitate the Beloved and His Bride
And they cause the world to err and corrupt it.
12. And they invite many to the wedding feast,
And give them to drink the wine of their drunkenness,
13. So that they vomit up their wisdom and knowledge
and they make them mindless.
14. Then they abandon them
And so they go about like mad and corrupted men.
15. Since there is not heart in them
Neither do they look for it.
16. But I have been made wise so as not to fall into the hands of the Deceivers,
And I rejoiced in myself because the Truth had gone with me.
17. And I was established and lived and was redeemed,
And my foundations were laid on the hand of the Lord,
For He planted me.
18. For He set the root,
And watered it and fixed it and blessed it,
And its fruits will be forever.
19. It penetrated deeply and sprang up and spread wide,
And became full and large.
20. And the Lord alone was glorified
In His planting and His cultivation
21. In His care and in the blessing of His lips,
In the beautiful planting of His right hand

22. And in the existence of His planting,
And in the understanding of His Mind.[10]
Hallelujah.

"This Ode from its first verse is full of difficulties and obscurities" sighed R. Harris, the first editor of the Odes, and R. Murray completely agrees with him in declaring Ode 38 "very obscure".[11] Within the context of this paper it is not necessary to give a full commentary on this hymn, but for its understanding two points are crucial: who is the Light of Truth and who are the corrupted Bride and Bridegroom? R. Harris in his commentary on the Odes suggested that the Odist was attacking the Manichaean church, but rejected that idea because in his view the Odes date from the beginning of the second century A.D. "If it were not for the fact that antiquity has been established for the Odes, both as regards individual compositions, and as a collection, we should have been tempted to regard this attack on the heretical teachers who make men mad, as a conventional Patristic attack on Mani and his followers the Manichaeans". Since it is, however, clear from Ignatius' Letters that heretics had been classed with mad dogs from a very early time, Mani is "only a belated illustration" of that traditional polemical pattern.[12] R. Harris' suggestion is worth reconsidering in the light of the imagery in the Coptic Manichaean Psalm-Book.

As in all other Odes of Solomon, the "I" is the redeemed believer who has gained immortal life, insight into God's saving plans for mankind, true Wisdom so that he cannot err, and who has become in a sense identical with Christ. The believer becomes a son of God, born of God (cf. John 1, 12f.) like the only begotten Son.[13] The central terms in the first eight verses of this Ode: Light, Truth, immortal Life, the right way, rest, suggest the theological climate of St John's Gospel, so that the Light of Truth undoubtedly denotes Christ.[14] The Light of Truth is actually a combination of St John 1, 5: And the Light shineth in the darkness, and St John 1, 14: ... the only-begotten of the Father, full of grace and truth (cf. St John 1, 17; 14, 6; 16, 13). This Light of Truth guides the believers to eternal life to which He himself went (cf. St John 13, 31ff.) and guides them in truth by His Spirit of Truth (cf. St John 16, 13: Howbeit when he, the Spirit of Truth, is come, he will guide you into all truth, for he shall not speak of himself, but whatsoever he shall hear, that shall he speak; and he will show you things to come). The gaining of immortal life is symbolized as a dangerous journey in a chariot that stands for the Light of Truth, and at the same time as an ascension to the Light. The symbol of the chariot is not uncommon in the Odes of Solomon; it occurs in Ode 23, 11 to denote Christ's earthly journey during which he made manifest God's glory, and goes back to the symbolism of God's chariot or merkabah that is mentioned in Ez. 1 and Ps. 68, 18.[15] The symbolism of waves and haven of salvation might go back to the story of the crossing of the Red Sea, which is a very common symbol for the journey from death to life, from danger to salvation. Remarkable is the occurence of the Greek word κίνδυνος to denote the danger that threatens man on his journey to Light and Life. It also occurs in Ode 39, 8 in a context that reminds of the crossing of the Red Sea which symbolically stands for the Way to the eternal life:

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[10] My translation differs in various points from that given by J.H. Charlesworth, *The Odes of Solomon*, who often misunderstood the meaning of the text; *cf.* G.J. Reinink, *JSJ* 5, 1974, 64-68.

[11] R. Harris, *The Odes and Psalms of Solomon*, II, 394; R. Murray, *Symbols of Church and Kingdom. A Study in Early Syriac Tradition*, Cambridge 1975, 133.

[12] R. Harris, *The Odes and Psalms of Solomon*, II, 395.

[13] That becomes clear from *Ode* 41,7; *Ode* 36; *Ode* 10,1ff.; *Ode* 28; the usual division of these Odes between Christ and the Odist respectively as singers of the different parts of these Odes is, therefore, not in accordance with the theology of the Odes in general; see my forthcoming monograph on the Christology of the Odes of Solomon (*Subs. CSCO*).

> put on the name of the Most High and know Him,
> And you shall cross without danger (κίνδυνος)
> Because rivers shall be obedient to you.

In the New Testament κίνδυνος only occurs in Rom. 8, 35 and II Cor. 1, 10ff., where it indicates a danger that separates man from Christ.

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[14] *Cf.* J.H. Charlesworth - R.A. Culpepper, *The Odes of Solomon and the Gospel of John*, in *CBQ* 35, 1973, 307, quoting *Ode* 18, 6 (*cf.* 11, 11, 19; 15, 1f.) and comparing it with St John's Gospel 1, 5.

[15] *Cf.* Drijvers, *Kerygma und Logos in de Oden Salomos*, 165ff.

Guided by the Truth the believer is shown an anti-church, a false imitation of the Beloved and His Bride. The Beloved is the Beloved Son, i.e. Christ as He is called at His baptism in the river Jordan (Matth. 3, 17 par.). The term is also to be found in Ode 8, 22 with exactly the same meaning. His Bride symbolizes the Church according to Rev. 21, 9-10. True insight into the erroneous character of this corrupted Couple of Bride and Bridegroom (cf. Matth. 25, 1-13) brings the believer great joy and he therefore praises God's planting. God's planting is a very common symbol in Syriac literature that goes back to the Gospel and Revelation of John (cf. John 15 and Rev. 22) and Old Testament texts like Is. 5 and Ps. 80.[16] When this planting, which at the same time is the tree of life, is called the planting of the Right Hand, the Church of Christ is meant, since Christ in the Odes of Solomon is commonly denoted as the Right Hand (Ode 8, 6, 20; 14, 4; 18, 7; 19, 5; 22, 7; 25, 2, 9); the term goes back to the christological interpretation of Ps. 110, 1.[17] In this planting, i.e. in Christ's Church the knowledge of God's plans ("the understanding of His Mind") is extant and can be attained, and in this way the last verse of the Ode is linked with the first, because the Light of Truth reveals and embodies God's Will and Thought.[18]

It is noteworthy that the believer is identified, as it were, with Christ and the earthly continuation of His incarnation, the Church. The assembly of believers, the sons of God (cf. John 1, 12-13) continue the earthly existence of the Son of God, who guides them in truth.

In this way the relation between and the identity of the Odist and the Light of Truth is clarified in broad outlines. But who are the corrupted Bride and Bridegroom? The wording and imagery of Ode 38 contain some hints that this corrupted Couple disguises Mani and the Manichaean church. All the symbols and images in Ode 38 have exact parallels and counterparts in the Manichaean Psalm-Book, and they often give the impression that they are used on purpose in order to attack related concepts in Manichaean doctrine.

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[16] *Cf.* R. Murray, *Symbols of Church and Kingdom*, 95 ff.

[17] J. Daniélou, *Théologie du Judéo-Christianisme*, Tournai 1958, 282 ss.; *idem*, *Études d'exégèse judéo-chrétienne* (*Les Testimonia*), Paris 1966, 42-49: La session à la droite du Père.

[18] *Cf. Ode* 9, 3-5; 16, 8, 9; 6, 19; 17, 5 and 23, 5-6; Drijvers, *Kerygma und Logos in den Oden Salomos*, 158 ff. for more parallels.

The Light of Truth, undoubtly a title of Jesus in the Syriac Ode of Solomon which teaches his believer the truth and protects him from error, has a counterpart in the Spirit of Truth, which denotes Mani in the Coptic Bema Psalms, the first section of the Psalm-Book.

Ps. CCXXIII (9, 3-10):

> Let us worship the Spirit of the Paraclete.
> Let us bless our Lord Jesus who has sent to us
> the Spirit of Truth. He came and separated us from the Error
> of the world, he brought us a mirror, we looked, we saw the Universe in it.
> When the Holy Spirit came he revealed to us
> the way of Truth and taught us that there are two
> Natures, that of Light and that of Darkness, ...[19]

Just as the Light of truth, Jesus, leads his believer on the way of Truth to immortal life, so does the Paraclete-Spirit:

Ps. CCXXVII (22, 6-10):

> This is the way of Truth, this is the stairway
> that leads to the height, that will lead us up to the Light.
> From the beginning the First Man is this way and Jesus the Dawn and
> the Paraclete-Spirit they have summoned thee,
> o Soul, that thou mayest ascend to the height by it.[20]

Ode 38 describes the way of Truth to salvation as a journey in a chariot, which is the divine Truth itself, to the haven of salvation. The opening verses of this Ode seemingly contain a contamination of two different sets of symbolism; on the one hand the image of a journey in a chariot through a waste land, on the other hand a voyage by boat on a dangerous sea to a safe haven. The symbolism of ship and haven, which is very frequent in patristic literature, is rather rare in the Syriac area. It occurs, but incompletely, with Aphraates and several times in the Acts of Thomas, next to this single instance in the Odes of Solomon. It is, however, very frequent in the Manichaean Psalms and in Manichaean literature in general.[21] The journey of the soul to the world of Light is often compared to a voyage by ship to a haven in Manichaean texts. Some quotations from the Manichaean psalms may illustrate the use of that symbolic complex, especially in the Psalms to Jesus.

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[19] On Mani as the Paraclete see O. Klíma, *Manis Zeit und Leben*, Prag 1962, 234ff.; 365ff.; on the Manichaean Bema-Feast *cf.* C.R.C. Allberry, *Das manichäische Bema-Fest*, in *ZNW* 37, 1938, 2-10 = *Der Manichäismus*, hrsg. v. G. Widengren, Darmstadt 1977, 317-327; J. Ries, *La fête de Bêma dans l'Église de Mani*, *REAug* 22, 1976, 218-233. *Cf.* Allberry, *Psalm-Book*, 20, 21-24.

[20] *Cf. Psalm-Book* 25, 3; 31, 23-24.

Ps. CCXLV (52, 16-18):

> Come to me my Saviour (σωτήρ), the haven of
> my trust. Bestir thyself, o soul that watchest in the chains
> that have long endured, and remember the ascent into the
> air (ἀήρ) of joy.

Ps. CCXLIX (58, 14):

> I traversed (?) all places in haste, I found no haven save Christ.[22]

Ps. CCLIII (63, 13-14), where the soul speaks:

> Lo, the fight (ἀγών) I have finished; lo my ship I have brought to the shore, no storm has overwhelmed it, no wave has seized it.[23]

In the rather badly preserved Ps. CCLXII even the same Greek word for haven is used as in Ode 38 i.e. λιμήν, 77, 14-16:

> ... his ship into the harbour (λιμήν) ...
> the helmsman on high, his ....
> ... fashion it, that thou mayest make the voyage of the holy ones.[24]

In Ps. CCLXXV (95, 8) Jesus is called "haven of Light" and another text from the ψαλμοὶ Σαρακωτῶν calls Him "a ship, blessed are we if we sail upon it" (166, 11). The symbolism is fully elaborated in another of the ψαλμοὶ Σαρακωτῶν (151, 31 - 152, 5):

> The ship of Jesus has come to port, laden with garlands and gay palms.

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[21] *Cf.* H. Rahner, *Symbole der Kirche*, Salzburg 1964, 239-564 and R. Murray, *Symbols of Church and Kingdom*, 250; *Acts of Thomas* (ed. W. Wright), 206, 19 (transl. 178); 322, 12-13 (transl. 288); Aphraates, *Dem.* XIV, 684, 4-5; for the Manichaean use of this symbolism see: V. Arnold-Döben, *Die Bildersprache des Manichäismus*, Arbeitsmaterialien zur Religionsgeschichte 3, Köln 1978, 63-70. *Cf. Keph.* 8 and Böhlig, *Der Synkretismus des Mani*, 148 f. on ὄχημα; *idem*, *Probleme des manichäischen Lehrvortrages*, in *Mysterion und Wahrheit*, 230 f.

[22] *Cf. Psalm-Book* 60, 24 f.; 66, 9; 83, 25 ff.; Arnold-Döben, *Die Bildersprache des Manichäismus*, 68-70.

[23] *Cf. Psalm-Book* 70, 3 ff.; 73, 7; 147, 34 ff.

[24] *Cf. Psalm-Book* 77, 21; 78, 23 f.; 139, 24.

> It is Jesus who steers it, he will put in for us until we embark. The holy ones are they whom he takes, the maidens are they whom he ... Let us also make ourselves pure that we may make our voyage ... The ship of Jesus will make its way up to the height. It will bring its cargo to the shore and return for them that are left behind.

The Odist explicitly states that he does not risk any danger (κίνδυνος) since he is companied by the Light of Truth. It is noteworthy and may not be mere coincidence that the same Greek word is used to describe the situation of man in the beginning at the creation of the world, during his earthly lifetime and after his death when he crosses over to the land of immortal life;

Ps. CCXXXVIII (39, 6-9):

> Let us bear up, my brethren, in fortitude, and let us ...
> and let us make away with the second danger (κίνδυνος) ...
> from the beginning we were rescued from the first, so ...
> ... we shall pass over and cross the last also.[25]

The imagery of Bride, Bridegroom and the Wedding-Feast is very common in Manichaean literature to denote the Manichaean Church.[26] Actually the Manichaeans are the only gnostics who used that symbolism often in combination with the parable in Matth. 25. Mani himself is called the Bridegroom of his Church; so Ps. CCXXXVII (37, 25-32):

> Let us all sing together unto Mani, the man of God
> on the holy perfect day, and let us be glad and
> learn the mysteries of the life of the Saviour (σωτήρ) Jesus
> and make festival and render glory to the Sage, the Paraclete.
> Light your lamps (λαμπάς) and ....
> And keep watch on the day of the Bema for the Bridegroom
> of joy and receive the holy rays (ἀκτίς) of Light.[27]

cf. 154, 5-6:

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[25] *Cf.* Allberry's note p. 39: The three dangers seem to be (I) the cosmic danger in the beginning, when the Dark threatened to defeat the Light, from which we were redeemed; (II) the danger in this present life, our corruption by the body and its lusts; (III) the danger that at the last assize we may be condemned and be bound for ever in the Bolos.

[26] Arnold-Döben, *Die Bildersprache des Manichäismus*, 78-85; Widengren, *Mesopotamian Elements in Manichaeism*, 109-122.

[27] See J. Ries, *La fête de Bêma dans l'Église de Mani*, in *REAug* 22, 1976, 218 ff.

> The Bride is the Church, the Bridegroom is the Mind (νοῦς) of Light.
> The Bride is the soul, the Bridegroom is Jesus.[28]

When Ode 38 emphasizes that the false Bride and Bridegroom cause the world to err and make men drunken, then this wording gives the impression that the Odist is perverting Manichaean statements about their own church; e.g.

Ps. CCXLVIII (56, 15-25):

> Come, my Lord Jesus, the Saviour (σωτήρ) of souls, who hast saved me from the drunkenness and Error (πλάνη) of the world (κόσμος). Thou art the Paraclete whom I have loved since my youth: Thy Light shines forth in me like the lamp (λαμπάς) of light: thou hast driven away from me the oblivion of Error (πλάνη)
>
> ……
>
> Christ and the church I have distinguished from the deceit (ἀπάτη) of the world (κόσμος).[29]

The whole passage in Ode of Solomon 38 that describes the false Church seems to contain more hidden clues pointing to Mani, especially in stressing the madness he causes so that people become mindless and even do not have a heart. That fits very well with the traditional word-play on Mani's name that often is connected with Greek μανία and μανικός: Eusebius, Theophania IV, 30: ... that madman of yesterday and of our own times, whose name became the titular badge of the Manichaean heresy; Cyril of Jerusalem, Cat. VI, 19: Thou must hate all heretics, but especially him who even in name is a *maniac*, who arose lately under the emperor Probus.[30]

The explicit mention of the *smmn' dṭywt`* = drugs of error in vs. 8 may also contain a hidden allusion to Mani's profession of physician and his miraculous healings. Moreover *smmn'* = drugs is a hapax in the Odes only occuring here.[31] In contradistinction to Mani's healings the Odist states that these drugs which seems to be sweet only lead to death and not to eternal Life.

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[28] *Cf. Psalm-Book* 159, 1-3.

[29] On error and drunkenness in Manichaeism *cf. Psalm-Book* 8, 22-25; 9, 3-9; 26, 11 ff.; 193, 25; Ephrem Syrus, *Hymni contra Haereses* (ed. Beck, *CSCO*, S 76-77, Louvain 1957) 24, 4-7: Die falschen Lehrer aber ... glichen sich der Schönheit des Bräutigams an, um die Braut mit seiner Schönheit zu fangen; *cf. Hymn* 47, 3-4; *Ode of Solomon* 33 refers to the same opponent, also called the Corruptor, and should, therefore, be considered a second instance of polemics with the Manichaean church.

[30] Quoted by R. Harris, *The Odes and Psalms of Solomon*, Vol. II, 395; the word-play occurs with Titus of Bostra, *Contra Manichaeos Libri quattuor*, ed. P. A. de Lagarde, Hannover 1924^2, 70, 33; 72, 2; and Serapion of Thmuis, ed. R. P. Casey, III, 9-23 *et al.*; *cf.* E. Beck, *Ephräms Polemik gegen Mani und die Manichäer im Rahmen der zeitgenossischen griechischen Polemik und der des Augustinus*, (*CSCO Subs.* 55), Louvain 1978, 1 ff.

The description of God's planting i.e. His Church in the last part of Ode 38 also deserves some attention. This Ode is the only one of the whole collection that uses this derivate of the root *nṣb* = to plant, namely *nṣbt'* = planting to denote the church. This use has exact parallels in the Manichaean Psalm-Book:

Ps. CCLXI (75, 28-30):

> I have known the way of the holy ones, these
> ministers of God who are in the church, the place wherein the
> Paraclete planted the tree of knowledge.[32]

Psalm of Thomas (218, 15-19):

> I went forth to plant a garden beyond
> the confines of this world, choosing and planting in it the plants
> that grew in the Living ones. I will give orders to the gardener:
> Attend to my trees, my new plants.[33]

Ode of Solomon 38, therefore, attacks the Manichaean church by using well-known Manichaean imagery like 'haven', 'danger', 'drugs', 'Bride and Bridegroom', 'drunkenness', 'planting' etc., which for the greater part occur only in this Ode and not in the other hymns of the collection. It also refers to traditional elements in polemics with the Manichaeans, such as the word-play with 'mad' and offers a very sophisticated example of christian anti-heretical literature which twists and perverts the central ideas of its opponents. The area and time in which the Odes of Solomon originate know only two heretical organisations of importance, Marcionites and Manichaeans. Although both built a solid ecclesiastical structure, only the Manichaeans come into consideration as the target of Ode 38 considering the whole phrasing and the use of images also known with Mani's followers. Since Mani got his second revelation on April 19 A.D. 240, this offers a terminus post quem for the dating of the Odes of Solomon.[34] A date around 275 A.D., therefore, seems to be likely and possible taking into account the doctrinal elements in other Odes of the collection that seem to refer to christological controversies in the second half of the third century.[35]

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[31] *Cf.* the text *M 566 I*: ... 'I am a doctor from Babylon'; *Psalm-Book* 46, 1-47: Lo, the great physician has come ... A skilful one is he in his work; his mouth also is sweet in its words. He knows how to cut a wound, to put a cool medicament upon it ... see L. J. R. Ort, *Mani.* A religio-historical description of his personality, Leiden 1967, 95ff.; *Psalm-Book* 152, 22-23 and Arnold-Döben, *Die Bildersprache des Manichäismus*, 97-107.

[32] *Cf. Ode of Solomon* 11, 18-21 and Arnold-Döben, *Die Bildersprache*, 25-30.

[33] *Cf.* G. Widengren, *Mesopotamian Elements in Manichaeism*, 18-30.

Ode of Solomon 38 is, therefore, the oldest anti-manichaean document known so far, having been written during or shortly after Mani's lifetime in one of the central regions of his mission, the bilingual Syrian area. Taking into account language and substance of this Ode it was in all likelihood composed in the city of Edessa, which had an important Manichaean congregation to which Mani addressed one of his letters. Fragments of this epistle have been preserved in the Cologne Mani Codex which itself goes back to a Syriac original.[36]

The concealed manner of polemic in Ode 38, which is only understandable for insiders with a substantial knowledge of christian and manichaean doctrine and symbolism that seem to have so much in common, throws a new light on the relations between Christians and Manichaeans in third-century Syria. On the one hand it might be an indication of a weak position of the 'orthodox' group which did not make possible any open controversy with the Manichaeans in which chapter and verse were given. On the other hand the differences between Manichaean and 'orthodox' Christian seem to be so small that they are only intelligible for the learned circles in which the Odes of Solomon seem to originate. For the rest these differences are hardly conceivable especially for the general public. Christians and Manichaeans had a common fund of religious symbolism and language to express views on the world and salvation that in the long run became radically opposite, but that had a lot in common in the missionary situation of Manichaeism in an area with a variety of Christian groups and doctrines such as Edessa in the third century.

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[34] L. Koenen, *Das Datum der Offenbarung und Geburt Manis*, in *ZPE* 8, 1971, 247-250; A. Henrichs-L. Koenen, *Ein griechischer Mani-Codex*, in *ZPE* 5, 1970, 119 ff.

[35] See *e.g. Ode* 41, 13-15:

> The Son of the Most High appeared
> in the perfection of His Father.
> And Light dawned from the Word
> that was before time in Him.
> The Messiah is truly one
> And He was known before the foundations of the world,
> That He might give life to souls for ever by the truth of His name.

[36] A. Henrichs-L. Koenen, *Ein griechischer Mani-Codex*, in *ZPE* 5, 1970, 108 ff.; A. Henrichs-L. Koenen, *Der Kölner Mani-Kodex (P. Colon. inv. nr. 4780)*. Edition der Seiten 1-72, in *ZPE* 19, 1975, 64, 8-65, 18.

It has usually been assumed that the christian elements in Manichaeism reached Mani through a gnostic filter. Marcion and Bardaiṣan were made responsible for Mani's knowledge of christian tradition.[37] Such a restricted view on the relations between both groups seems hardly tenable in the light of the foregoing. It is rather more in agreement with the historical situation and development during the third century in the Edessean area to assume that Mani and Manichaeism heavily drew upon the whole of christian tradition and literature extant in that time without any restriction to a supposedly gnostic strain.[38] The Coptic Manichaean Psalm-Book and the Syriac Odes of Solomon both originate in the same area and the same time and demonstrate the common background that both share. The Manichaean Psalms are truly Manichaean products and do not give the impression of being revised Christian hymns as Baumstark thought. The Odes of Solomon refer to Christian concepts that may be labelled orthodox, and oppose heretical views of Marcionites and Manichaeans. Their common symbolism and imagery make clear how vague and narrow the dividing-lines between the various groups really were.

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[37] A. Böhlig, *Christliche Wurzeln im Manichäismus*, in *Mysterion und Wahrheit*, 208ff.; *idem*, *Der Synkretismus des Mani*, 158ff.; K. Rudolph, *Gnosis und Manichäismus nach den koptischen Quellen*, in *Koptologische Studien in der DDR*, *WZ Halle* 1965 (Sonderheft), 158; *cf.* P. Nagel, *Die apokryphen Apostelakten des 2. und 3. Jahrhunderts in der manichäischen Literatur. Ein Beitrag zur Frage nach den christlichen Elementen im Manichäismus*, in *Gnosis und Neues Testament*, Berlin 1975, 149ff.

[38] A more comprehensive study of these relations is planned by the present author.

ELEMENTS GNOSTIQUES DANS L'ŒUVRE DE MACROBE

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Il peut paraître étonnant de rechercher dans l'œuvre d'un écrivain latin du V-ème siècle les traces d'une gnose pratiquement disparue en Occident, mis à part le Manichéisme que Macrobe ignore totalement; il ne reconnaît, comme maîtres à penser, que Cicéron et Platon dont l'accord fondamental lui paraît un dogme infrangible, ainsi que Plotin et Porphyre, fidèles continuateurs de l'authentique philosophie platonicienne. Nous croyons avoir montré ailleurs qu'au fond il réussit assez bien à concilier son *Commentaire au Songe de Scipion* avec la meilleure orthodoxie néo-platonicienne.[1] Pourtant l'œuvre de Porphyre, source immédiate qu'il utilise le plus fréquemment, charrie encore, comme de gros blocs erratiques, des thèmes, des concepts et des images typiquement (sinon exclusivement comme nous le verrons) gnostiques; la chute de l'âme, l'oubli de sa condition première, son voyage à travers les sphères, autant de thèmes fondamentaux qu'on trouve aussi bien dans le *Commentaire* que dans les traités gnostiques. On sait que, sur ces points, la science de Macrobe remonte le plus souvent à Numénius.[2] Or ce dernier est indiscutablement à la charnière de la gnose naissante et d'un platonisme en pleine mutation. Il y a près de cinquante ans déjà, H. C. Puech avait bien montré ce qu'a de structurellement gnostique la pensée de Numénius.[3]

Aussi Macrobe est-il souvent cité à titre de source par les auteurs traitant de la gnose.[4] Mais cela n'a pas forcément la signification attendue; en étudiant autrefois le dossier astrologique du *Commentaire* (Macrobe est, parmi les auteurs non spécialistes de cette science, l'un des plus cités par le grand historien de l'astrologie grecque, A. Bouché-Leclerq), nous nous sommes aperçu que Macrobe n'attachait que peu d'importance à cette science qui lui fournissait seulement des exemples pour illustrer ses propos, mais dont les dogmes le laissaient indifférent sinon franchement sceptique.[5] Le cas de la gnose est évidemment assez différent: il ne s'agit plus d'une science (et même d'une technique) mais d'une certaine conception du monde, d'une vision de la réalité d'autant plus trompeuse qu'elle s'exprime à travers les mêmes thèmes, les mêmes mythes, que les conceptions adverses. Au début du siècle, déjà, W. Bousset avait bien senti la contradiction entre les deux courants qui traversent l'Hermétisme, l'un platonicien et optimiste, l'autre gnostique et fondamentalement pessimiste, ce que le P. Festugière devait magistralement mettre en valeur par la suite.[6] Macrobe serait-il parfois, inconsciemment à coup sûr, plus gnostique qu'il ne paraît?

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[1] *Macrobe et le néo-platonisme latin à la fin du IV^e^ siècle* (EPRO 58), Leiden 1977; cf. notre conclusions, 645-651.

[2] Nous sommes avec Dodds et De Ley, contre Beutler et Elferink, pour une attribution «longue» d'*In Somn.* 1, 12 à Numénius (*ibid.*, 546-562); cf. le C. R. de J. P. Culianu, in *Aevum* 53, 1979, 190-193.

[3] *Numénius d'Apamée et les théologies orientales au second siècle*, in *AIPO* II (*Mélanges Bidez*), 1934, 745-778, repris dans *En quête de la Gnose, I: la Gnose et le Temps*, Paris 1978, 25-54, et particulièrement 50 et 52.

[4] Ainsi H.C. Puech, *Numénius d'Apamée*, 48, n. 3, H. Jonas, *The Gnostic Religion*,

On pourrait croire qu'avec d'aussi bons maîtres que Plotin et Porphyre il a échappé à la tentation de la gnose, tentation toujours vivante, en quelque sorte inhérente à la structure même de l'esprit humain. Mais ici les choses se compliquent un peu. Sans doute Plotin a-t-il parfaitement pris conscience de l'abîme qui séparait du pessimisme gnostique la pensée grecque classique (le Cosmos est, comme son nom l'indique, une admirable création dont l'harmonie révèle la main de Dieu); le célèbre traité II, 9 l'exprime bien dans son titre: «Contre ceux qui disent que le démiurge du Monde est méchant et que le Monde est mauvais»; mais Plotin avait d'abord assez bien accueilli les gnostiques dans son école et il en reste des traces dans la partie de son œuvre antérieure à ce traité qui prononça une rupture définitive.[7] De fait,

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Boston 1958, 58, 158; W. Bousset (*Hauptprobleme der Gnosis*, Göttingen, 1907, 362-364) mettait déjà en parallèle *In Somn.* 1, 12 et l'extrait du traité hermétique *Poimandrès* dont nous parlerons plus loin.

[5] *Macrobe et le néo-platonisme*, 455-59.

[6] W. Bousset, C.R. de Kroll in *Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeigen*, 1914, 697-755; A.J. Festugière, *La révélation d'Hermès Trismégiste*, 4 vol. 1944-54; la question est clairement exposée dans *Hermétisme et mystique païenne*, Paris 1964, 28-87.

[7] H.C. Puech, *Plotin et les gnostiques* in *Entretiens sur l'Antiquité classique*, vol. 5, Vandœuvres-Genève 1957, 161-190, art. remanié dans *En quête de la Gnose*... I, 83-116: cf. plus spécialement 101 sq.

il n'a jamais totalement levé la contradiction entre une vision optimiste de l'animation du monde, et une vision plus «gnostique» de la chute — et de la perte — des âmes dans le monde.[8] «Après tout, — comme le rappelle pertinemment H. C. Puech — la problème initial de Plotin est le même que celui des gnostiques et de son époque : le salut de l'âme ou du «moi» qu'il convient de retrouver dans sa vérité, de ressaisir dans son intégrité, et de libérer du monde».[9]

Ce sera encore, bien entendu, le problème de Macrobe.

En second lieu, il semble que Porphyre, surtout après la mort de son maître, ait été moins sensible au danger gnostique et plus perméable aux influences orientales, souvent teintées de gnose. Même s'il ne faut pas prendre au pied de la lettre l'affirmation péremptoire de Proclus : «De cette façon de penser est le philosophe Porphyre et il eût été bien étonnant en effet qu'il s'éloignât dans ses dires de la doctrine de Numénius»,[10] il est indiscutable que la pensée du philosophe d'Apamée l'a fortement marqué, et les traces de cette influence sont encore bien visibles chez le commentateur du *Songe de Scipion.*

Délaissant, en principe, la recherche des sources (que nous pratiquerons cependant à l'occasion), nous voudrions essentiellement, par une analyse de type phénoménologique et non plus historique, montrer comment Macrobe réagit lorsqu'il se trouve en présence de thèmes proprement gnostiques dont il sent confusément le danger ; se laisse-t-il aller au courant qui l'entraîne vers une vision gnostique du monde, ou est-il capable alors de résister à cette déviation hérétique, soit en s'aidant de ses maîtres, soit en faisant appel à ses propres forces, «*adjecto si quid post illos aut sentire fas erat aut audere in intellectum licebat*».[11]

Le *Commentaire* tourne presque entièrement autour de l'âme et du monde, ou plus exactement de la destinée de l'âme dans le monde, thème typiquement gnostique mais qui n'appartient pas exclusivement à la gnose. Il n'est pas question de reprendre ici notre étude d'autrefois, mais de relever à ce sujet quelques aspects saillants des contacts de Macrobe avec la gnose.

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[8] E. Bréhier, *La philosophie de Plotin*, Paris 1928, 65.

[9] *En quête de la Gnose*, I, 103.

[10] *In Tim.* 1, 77, 22-24 Diehl = Fest. 1, 113 ; sur Numénius et Porphyre, cf. la mise au point du P. Des Places dans son édition des fragments de Numénius. *Collection des Universités de France*, 26-28.

[11] *In Somn.* 2, 15, 2 ; la déclaration vise ici Aristote et non les Gnostiques : «*ut ex ingenio meo vel Aristoteli resistam, vel adsim Platoni ...*».

Que l'âme soit radicalement étrangère au monde, qu'elle vienne de plus loin encore que les sphères du Cosmos et que son incorporation ressemble à sa venue dans un tombeau ou dans une prison, en un mot que la vraie vie soit «là-bas», alors que ce que nous appelons ici la vie n'est que la mort, voilà une affirmation qui court à travers tout le *Commentaire*. «Si descendre dans les enfers c'est mourir, et si vivre c'est être avec ceux d'en haut, on discernera facilement ce qu'on doit tenir pour la mort de l'âme, ce qu'on doit tenir pour sa vie, quand on aura établi où sont les enfers, en sorte que l'âme lorsqu'elle y est enfouie, meurt et lorsqu'elle en est loin jouit de la vie et existe véritablement, à ce qu'on croit».[12] Reprenant l'affirmation du grand Scipion qui du haut du ciel explique à son petit-fils la destinée des âmes: «parties d'ici elles reviennent ici (*hinc profecti, huc revertuntur*)», Macrobe déclare que «les âmes qui habitent le corps comme des étrangères (*peregrinae*), au sortir du corps retournent pour ainsi dire à leur patrie».[13] Le commentateur du *Songe de Scipion* est déjà loin de son modèle cicéronien; il n'exprime toutefois que des idées propres à toute l'antiquité tardive.

Pourtant d'autres affirmations prennent une coloration plus caractéristique. Ainsi la chute de l'âme est provoquée par une sorte d'appétit malsain de la matière pour laquelle elle éprouve du haut du ciel un désir secret: sous le poids de ces «pensées terrestres», peu à peu elle glisse vers les enfers.[14] Le P. Festugière rapproche justement ce passage d'un autre texte mis expressément sous l'autorité de Numénius par Eusèbe, où le deuxième/troisième Dieu, oublieux de l'Intelligible et de lui-même, entre en contact avec le sensible «parce qu'il s'est tendu avec désir vers la matière»;[15] le caractère gnostique est ici plus net, mais il est encore visible dans le fragment cité par Macrobe.

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[12] *In Somn.* 1, 10, 7: «*si ad inferos meare mors est, et vita est esse cum superis facile discernis quae mors animae, quae vita credenda sit, si constiterit qui locus habendus sit inferorum, ut anima dum ad hunc truditur, mori, cum ab hoc procul est, vita frui et vere superesse credatur.*»

[13] *In Somn.* 2, 17, 14: «... *quae corpus tanquam peregrinae incolunt cito post corpus velut ad patriam revertuntur* ...».

[14] *In Somn.* 1, 11, 11: «... *pondere ipso terrenae cogitationis paulatim in inferiora delabitur* ...». Leemans, suivi par Dodds, attribuait aussi la fin du c. 11 à Numénius (fr. 47); nous pensons qu'il a, en gros, raison (cf. n. 2); mais la chose importe peu ici, puisque Macrobe reprend tout à son compte («*secundum hos ergo quorum sectae amicior est ratio*...»).

L'*ivresse* de la matière provoque alors dans l'âme un *oubli* funeste de sa *vraie* nature (c'est-à-dire de sa condition première): «Donc l'âme, quand elle est entraînée vers le corps ... commence à ressentir le premier flux de la matière, s'épanchant sur elle, et c'est ce qu'a noté Platon dans le Phédon, lorsqu'il représente l'âme entraînée vers le corps tremblant d'une *ivresse* nouvelle, voulant faire entendre qu'elle a bu un flot de matière qui l'entraîne, imbibée et alourdie ... et là aussi l'Oubli, compagnon de l'ivresse, commence à envahir secrètement désormais les âmes ...».[16] Il s'agit bien, ici, d'images caractéristiques, éclairées sans doute d'une référence à Platon, mais exprimant un thème fondamental de la gnose, magnifiquement illustré par le *Chant de la Perle*, et qu'on retrouve aussi en bien d'autres endroits de la littérature gnostique.[17]

A cette âme oublieuse de soi et de son origine, le salut ne peut venir que de la connaissance qui lui permettra un jour de rejoindre la voûte céleste et qui, dès maintenant, lui assure la béatitude: «Et pour l'âme, tant qu'elle se sert du corps, la sagesse parfaite consiste à reconnaître d'où elle est née, de quelle source elle est venue ... or pour l'homme il n'y a qu'une connaissance de soi, c'est-à-dire lorsqu'il retourne ses regards vers les premiers principes de son origine et de sa naissance».[18] Cette connaissance de soi va jusqu'à la reconnaissance de sa propre divinité. Macrobe fait un sort particulier au «*scito te deum esse*» de

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[15] Leemans fr. 20 = Des Places fr. 11 (A.J. Festugière, *La révélation* ... 3, 91).

[16] *In Somn.* 1, 12, 7-8: «*anima ergo cum trahitur ad corpus ... silvestrem tumultum id est* ὕλην *influentem sibi incipit experiri; et hoc est quod Plato notavit in Phaedone animam in corpus trahi nova ebrietate trepidantem, volens novum potum materialis alluvionis intelligi, quo delibuta et gravata deducitur ... et comes ebrietatis oblivio illic animis incipit latenter obrepere* ...».

[17] Cf. H. Jonas, *The Gnostic Religion*, 65-73.

[18] *In Somn.* 1, 9, 1-3: «... *et animae, dum corpore utitur, haec est perfecta sapientia ut, unde orta sit, de quo fonte venerit, recognoscat ... homini autem, ut diximus, una est agnitio sui, si originis natalisque principii exordia prima respexerit* ...» Macrobe s'inspire ici librement de Plotin (peut-être aussi de Numénius?). H.C. Puech note à juste titre la résonnance gnostique de ce genre d'affirmation qu'il met en parallèle avec le texte célèbre du valentinien Théodote (*Excerpta ex Theodoto* 78,2): «La gnose: qui étions-nous, que sommes-nous devenus? Où étions-nous? Où avons-nous été jetés? Vers où nous hâtons-nous? ...» (*En quête de la Gnose*, I, 257-58, n. 2).

Scipion : «et telle est la conclusion du présent ouvrage, rendre clair que l'âme est non seulement immortelle mais qu'elle est un dieu».[19] Nous avons insisté autrefois sur ce qu'avait de provocant une telle affirmation rendue plus abrupte encore par le heurt du féminin et du masculin : «*animam ... esse deum*»; Platon, Plotin ne parlent que du caractère divin (θεῖον); sans doute Macrobe est entraîné par le «*te deum esse*» de Cicéron, mais ce qui n'était chez ce dernier que clause de style devient article de foi pour lui. Je serais d'avantage frappé aujourd'hui par la conformité de cette conception avec le système gnostique de l'âme parcelle de Dieu; encore une fois, il ne s'agit pas d'accord volontaire et conscient; mais il est intéressant de voir comment Macrobe va ici bien au-delà de la pensée de Platon et de Plotin.

Quand il parle de l'âme et de sa destinée, il recourt donc à des expressions typiquement gnostiques, à des thèmes, à des images non moins caractéristiques; probablement d'ailleurs sous l'influence lointaine de Numénius dont les traités porphyriens charrient encore maint élément gnosticisant. Mais on doit constater que ces affirmations ne contredisent nullement la pensée platonicienne. Elles se situent dans cette frange commune à la gnose et au moyen platonisme, même si elles rendent parfois une sonorité plus gnostique que platonicienne.[20]

Il est clair d'ailleurs que, sur le problème central de l'animation du monde, Macrobe s'inscrit dans la tradition optimiste qui s'exprime si nettement dans le traité V, 2 de Plotin intitulé : «De la génération et de l'ordre des choses qui viennent après le Premier».[21] Le traité de Plotin dont s'inspire ici Macrobe (à travers Porphyre, ou avec l'aide de Porphyre) appartient à la première période de la production du maître de Porphyre (cf. *Vita Plotini*, 4,40), c'est-à-dire à l'époque où celui-ci était encore sous l'influence stoïcienne. Le caractère optimiste de cette vision (l'âme descend dans le monde pour parfaire la création) se retrouve dans le texte de Macrobe, avec la menace qui pèse toujours sur l'âme : si elle oublie son créateur et se laisse fasciner par sa propre création, elle risque la chute et la dégradation. Nous avons souligné autrefois que cette contradiction entre l'animation du monde et la destinée de l'âme individuelle se trouvait déjà chez Plotin lui-même. L'âme universelle, il est vrai, risque moins de se laisser séduire par la matière que les âmes individuelles. Il faut noter aussi que Macrobe considère que le péché des âmes individuelles consiste *dans la chute* (c'est-à-dire dans l'abandon à la fascination exercée par la matière).[22]

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[19] *In Somn.* 2, 12, 5 : «*et haec sit praesentis operis consummatio ut animam non solum immortalem, sed deum esse clarescat*», cf. *Macrobe et le néo-platonisme*, 534-35.

[20] L'expression «littérature platonico-gnostique» qu'emploie à ce propos le P. Festugière (*La révélation*, 3, 91) est tout à fait juste; c'est dans l'expression littéraire que platonisme et gnose se rejoignent le plus.

[21] Cf. *In Somn.* 1, 14, 5 où Macrobe suit d'assez près le traité de Plotin mais en incorporant des éléments porphyriens.

Pourtant Macrobe n'a pas une claire conscience du danger gnostique : il sait que l'âme est divine, que sa vie sur terre est en réalité la mort, mais ses maîtres platoniciens lui ont appris que même sur terre l'âme avait un rôle important à jouer et qu'elle ne peut se soustraire à sa mission par une mort volontaire.[23] C'est sur la question cruciale de la nature du monde dans lequel l'âme s'incarne, et plus spécialement du Cosmos à travers lequel elle descend jusqu'à son corps terrestre, que la répulsion de Macrobe pour une conception pessimiste du monde s'exprime le plus nettement. Reprenons le texte capital cité plus haut (*In Somn.* I, 11-12), inspiré par Numénius.

La «démonisation» du cosmos est, on le sait, un aspect capital de la transformation que la gnose fait subir à la vision du monde.[24] Or celle-ci est déjà largement amorcée chez Numénius : dès lors que les sept sphères planétaires ne sont plus le domaine du divin et de l'immuable, puisque l'âme y commence sa corruption et sa déchéance. Voyons maintenant comment Macrobe décrit, lui, la chute de l'âme.

Avant d'entamer le récit de la chute proprement dite, il rapporte une curieuse division des Platoniciens sur le problème de la localisation des Enfers : en effet, dit-il, si tous les Platoniciens sont d'accord pour soutenir que les Enfers ne commencent pas avec le corps, mais avec une certaine partie du monde, «sur les limites de cette partie du monde ils ont émis des opinions divergentes et se sont partagés en trois sectes» : les premiers divisent le monde en deux, une partie «active» et immuable qui va jusqu'à la lune, une autre soumise au change-ment et passive qui s'étend de la lune à la terre; les seconds distinguent trois couches successives, dans lesquelles on retrouve chaque fois les quatre éléments, terre, eau, air, feu, ce qui aboutit à placer leurs frontières respectivement à la lune et à Mars; une troisième secte, enfin, partage le monde en deux, mais englobe les sept sphères planétaires dans la partie inférieure, seule la sphère des fixes constituant le monde supérieur.

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[22] Cf. la distinction opérée par le P. Festugière (*op. cit.*, 83sq.).

[23] Le traité 1, 9 (*Sur le suicide*) est à la source des développements d'*In Somn.* 1, 13.

[24] Bibliographie trop abondante pour être citée ici; se reporter au tout récent article de J.P. Culianu, *Démonisation du Cosmos et dualisme gnostique*, in *RHR* 1979, 3-40. L'auteur insiste sur la part prépondérante des influences juives tardives dans ce processus. On pourrait peut-être penser que Numénius a parfois servi de véhicule à ces influences.

De ces trois sectes, la seconde ne nous intéresse pas ici.[25] Dans la première et la troisième on reconnaît, en revanche, des doctrines radicalement opposées sur la nature du monde. La première opinion en effet, remontant peut-être au-delà de Platon, a été en tout cas fortement marquée par l'Aristotélisme et s'est imposée à la physique des Grecs; elle conçoit le monde céleste comme un univers divin et harmonieux où les mouvements apparemment désordonnés des planètes ne sont qu'une combinaison de mouvements circulaires parfaits.[26] Seul le monde infralunaire est soumis «à la génération et à la corruption» pour reprendre les expressions d'Aristote, et l'incorruptibilité des astres, garantie par l'éternité de leurs mouvements, témoigne de leur divinité.

La troisième opinion, au contraire, en rabaissant les sept planètes dans le domaine infernal (lorsqu'il emploie le mot *inferos* Macrobe vise bien non seulement l'infériorité topographique mais aussi le séjour des morts — en l'occurrence des âmes incarnées), présuppose que le mouvement de «démonisation» du Cosmos est déjà entamé et de fait, c'est dans les sphères planétaires que les âmes commencent à revêtir leur corps de mort.[27] C'est à l'avis de cette secte que se range Macrobe, avec tous les néoplatoniciens influencés sur ce point par Numénius.[28]

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[25] Pythagoriciens, comme le suggère un texte parallèle de Proclus? cf. *Macrobe et le néo-platonisme*, 548.

[26] J.P. Culianu (*art. cit.*, 12) ne croit pas à l'origine pré-aristotélicienne de cette partition du Cosmos. On trouve dans Géminus (*Elementa* 1) une vigoureuse affirmation de cette divinité des planètes qui commande la régularité de leurs mouvements.

[27] *In Somn.* 1, 11, 12: «... *sensim per tacita detrimenta et longiorem simplicis et absolutissimae puritatis recessum in quaedam siderei corporis incrementa turgescit*; *in singulis enim sphaeris quae caelo subjectae sunt aetheria obvolutione vestitur, ut per eas gradatim societati hujus indumenti testei concilietur et ideo totidem mortibus quot sphaeras transit, ad hanc pervenit quae in terris vita vocitatur.*» On notera l'expression: «autant de morts que de sphères ...».

[28] Plotin, Porphyre, Proclus etc ... Il faudrait voir, évidemment, dans quelle mesure chacun d'eux est conscient des implications de cette partition, vaste étude que nous ne pouvons aborder ici.

Or nous possédons un certain nombre de textes parallèles décrivant de façon analogue à celle de Macrobe (I, 12) la descente de l'âme à travers les sphères, depuis l'écrit hermétique *Poimandrès* jusqu'aux commentaires de Servius et de Proclus.[29] Aucun de ces textes ne s'accorde exactement avec l'autre, mais les différences sont le plus souvent secondaires et peuvent s'expliquer parfois assez simplement; nous pensons que la doctrine de Proclus et de Macrobe remonterait à Numénius (et à travers lui plus haut encore, peut-être).[30]

Quelles sont les qualités qu'acquiert l'âme lors de sa descente à travers les sphères (ou qu'elle abandonne lors de la remontée)? Le *Poimandrès* est nettement pessimiste : il s'agit en fait de vices; citons les plus remarquables : dans la deuxième sphère (celle de Mercure), l'âme abandonne les «industries de la malice», dans la troisième (Vénus) «le mensonge du désir», dans la quatrième (Soleil) «l'ostentation du commandement», dans la cinquième (Mars) «l'audace impie et la témérité présomptueuse», les «appétits illimités» dans la sixième (Jupiter) et le «mensonge qui tend des pièges» dans la dernière (Saturne). Il est évident que les planètes du *Poimandrès* sont gouvernées par les détestables archontes de l'imagerie gnostique qui ne peuvent communiquer à l'âme que leurs propres vices.[31]

Servius, neutre dans le texte complet (*Ad Aen.* 11, 51) est franchement pessimiste dans le texte incomplet (*Ibid.* 6, 127) : «torpeur» (Saturne), «désir du pouvoir absolu» (Jupiter), «colère» (Mars), «passion» (Vénus), «cupidité» (Mercure). Proclus (*In Tim.* III, 355 Diehl) emploie à peu de chose près les mêmes termes que Macrobe donne en grec avant de les traduire en latin : θεωρητικόν (Macrobe ajoute λογιστικόν), πολιτικόν (Macrobe : πρακτικόν), θυμοειδές, φωνητικόν (Macrobe : ἑρμηνευτικόν), ἐπιθυμητικόν, αἰσθητικόν, φυτικόν, mais il tend dans le premier texte (*In Tim.* I, 148 Diehl) à donner des explications plus pessimistes, «l'irascible menant à la vie ambitieuse et chargée d'honneurs ...» Les traductions de Macrobe sont au contraire toutes optimistes, l'âme n'acquiert dans ces sphères «infernales» (c'est lui qui le dit!) que des qualités; voici l'équivalent latin qu'il donne des termes grecs : (de Saturne à la Lune) «*ratiocinationem et intelligentiam, vim agendi, animositalis ardorem, sentiendi opinandique naturam, desiderii motum, pronuntiandi et interpretandi*» (très remarquable pour un Mercure qui donnait la «fourberie» dans le *Poimandrès*, et «la passion du lucre» chez Servius), et enfin «*naturam plantandi et augendi corpora*».[32]

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[29] Pour ne citer que les plus importants : *Poimandrès*, 1, 25-26 : Hermès Trismégiste éd. Nock. Festugière, 1, 15-16; Proclus, *In Tim.* 1, 148, 1-6 = Fest. 1, 199 et *In Tim.* 3, 355, 13-15 = Fest. 5, 237; Servius, *Ad Aen.* 6, 127 (ne concerne que les 5 planètes, à l'exclusion de la lune et du soleil), et 11, 51. L'ordre des planètes importe peu à notre propos : Macrobe et le *Poimandrès* suivent l'ordre «chaldéen», Proclus l'ordre «égyptien», Servius un ordre que nous avions qualifié un peu vite d'«aberrant» (p. 560) : il s'agit tout simplement de l'ordre des jours de la semaine comme nous l'a fait remarquer J. P. Culianu (C. R. *cit.*).

[30] Cf. notre communication au Colloque sur la Sotériologie des Cultes orientaux dans l'Empire Romain (Rome, Sept. 1979) : *Sotériologie et systèmes planétaires* (à paraître) et celle de J. P. Culianu : *L'ascension de l'âme dans les mystères et hors des mystères* (à paraître).

[31] Bonne analyse et tableaux synoptiques dans la thèse de J. P. Culianu, *Expériences de l'extase et symbolisme de l'ascension de l'Hellénisme à l'Islam*, (dactylographiée, 1980), 132-148.

En schématisant un peu, on pourrait dire que Macrobe exprime ici une métaphysique platonicienne, néo-platonicienne plus précisément, dans le cadre d'une cosmologie gnostique héritée de Numénius. Il est évident qu'il n'en a pas conscience nettement, d'autant qu'il ignore ce qu'est la gnose; mais il sent confusément le danger d'une attitude gnostique et rien ne lui répugne tant que la «démonisation du Cosmos», c'est-à-dire l'existence d'un pouvoir maléfique quelconque dans les sphères planétaires. De cette répugnance, nous avons une preuve manifeste dans sa réaction aux dogmes de l'astrologie.

Au chapitre 19 du livre I, après avoir donné toutes les explications astronomiques jugées utiles à la compréhension du système planétaire présenté dans le *Songe de Scipion*, il s'arrête sur ces deux expressions de Cicéron : «Vient ensuite l'éclat salutaire et heureux pour le genre humain de l'astre que vous dites de Jupiter puis celui rougeoyant et horrible pour la terre que vous attribuez à Mars».[33] C'est là, bien évidemment, une théorie astrologique : «Si quelqu'un cherche plus avant la raison pour laquelle les *généthlialogues* reconnaissent à des êtres divins une certaine malveillance — au point qu'un astre puisse être dit maléfique — comme c'est le cas pour les astres de Mars et de Saturne tandis qu'ils tiennent pour notoire la bienveillance de Jupiter ou de

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[32] *In Somn.* I, 12, 14.

[33] Cicéron, *Somn. Scipionis* 4, 2 : *deinde est hominum generi prosperus et salutaris ille fulgor qui dicitur Jovis, tum rutilus horribilisque terris quem Martium dicitis.*

Vénus, *alors qu'il n'y a qu'une seule nature chez les êtres divins* ...».[34] Pour répondre à cet interlocuteur imaginaire, Macrobe fait appel à deux arguments; le premier, emprunté aux *Harmoniques* de Ptolémée — probablement par l'intermédiaire d'un commentaire de Porphyre:[35] ce sont les rapports numériques (sc. la nature des «aspects») des planètes avec les deux luminaires (Soleil et Lune) qui les rendent bénéfiques; Vénus et Jupiter sont donc plus favorables que Mars et Saturne de par leur position et non de par leur nature.[36] Le second fait appel au traité II, 3 de Plotin «Sur l'influence des astres», dont il cite le titre et résume très succinctement mais exactement la doctrine: les astres ne sont que des *signes* qui annoncent parfois des malheurs mais n'en sont jamais la *cause*; si l'astrologie a quelque efficacité, cela n'entache en rien la divinité des astres, «quand par l'un sont annoncés des ennuis, par l'autre des évènements heureux».[37]

On doit observer que Macrobe utilise ici les deux textes, de Ptolémée et de Plotin, à des fins différentes de celles pour lesquelles ils ont été composés. Ptolémée analyse simplement les rapports numériques qui régissent les positions des astres et permettent ainsi la connaissance de l'avenir, Plotin s'efforce de sauver l'unité de la volonté divine par-delà les caprices apparents des astres; Macrobe qui n'accorde à l'astrologie qu'un crédit assez relatif[38] veut avant tout disculper les planètes dites «malfaisantes» pour sauver la divinité de toutes les planètes, car les dieux ne sauraient être méchants. Il ne s'agit donc pas pour lui de fonder le principe ou les modalités de l'astrologie, mais de nier la méchanceté des astres, même dans l'hypothèse où l'astrologie aurait quelque valeur. Ainsi lorsque sa conception optimiste — hellénique — du Cosmos se heurte aux conceptions pessimistes de l'astrologie ou de la topographie céleste des gnostiques, il tranche sans hésiter pour l'optimisme grec: le monde est beau, harmonieux et les astres divins ne peuvent être méchants.

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[34] *In Somn.* 1, 19, 20: *causam si quis forte altius quaerat unde divinis malivolentia, ut stella malefica esse dicatur — sicut de Martis et Saturni stellis existimatur — aut cur notabilior benignitas Jovis et Veneris inter genethlialogos habeatur cum sit divinorum una natura* ...

[35] *Macrobe et le néo-platonisme*, 454-59.

[36] *In Somn.* 1, 19, 21-26.

[37] *In Somn.* 1, 19, 27.

[38] Cf. n. 5.

Les thèmes et les images gnostiques qu'on rencontre dans le *Commentaire au Songe de Scipion* remontent donc essentiellement à Numénius à travers Plotin et surtout Porphyre. Mais c'est un Numénius déjà à demi neutralisé que connaît Macrobe, car Plotin, si réelle qu'ait été sur lui l'influence du philosophe d'Apamée, avait compris le danger que recélait pour la pensée occidentale et grecque son dualisme trouble et oriental; sur bien des points, comme le note justement H. C. Puech, il avait réagi fortement. Macrobe n'innove donc pas, en refusant à son tour de se laisser entraîner par les sciences gnostiques. Mais la sincérité de sa réaction n'en est pas moins évidente, d'autant qu'il ne semble pas éprouver de méfiance à l'égard de la personne de Numénius. Il ne cite son nom que deux fois : dans les *Saturnales*[39] et surtout au début du *Commentaire* lorsqu'il rapporte le songe au cours duquel Numénius se vit reprocher par les déesses d'Eleusis, fardées comme des prostituées, d'avoir dévoilé leurs secrets : il le définit comme «un philosophe particulièrement curieux des mystères cachés»,[40] ce qui, à ses yeux, est un compliment, même si cet excès de curiosité a pu irriter les déesses. Vraisemblablement, il voit en lui à travers ce qu'en dit la *Vita Plotini*[41] un des maîtres, anciens et pour cela prestigieux, de Plotin. Aussi n'a-t-il aucun mal à accepter sa partition du Cosmos tant que ses implications dualistes et pessimistes n'apparaissent pas. Mais lorsqu'il s'agit de se prononcer sur la nature des planètes, au risque de se contredire, il rejette catégoriquement l'idée que ces astres puissent faire preuve de quelque méchanceté, car «la nature des dieux est unique» et cette nature ne peut être que bonne. Sur l'essentiel donc (l'incarnation de l'âme, l'animation du monde et la beauté du Cosmos) Macrobe reste attaché au meilleur platonisme : le démon gnostique, subrepticement introduit par Numénius, est exorcisé.

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[39] *Sat.* 1, 19, 65, à propos du nom d'Apollon *aut ut Numenio placet quasi unum et solum.*

[40] *In Somn.* 1, 2, 19 : *Numenio denique inter philosophos occultorum curiosiori ...*

[41] *Vita Plotini,* 1, 14 et 17.

SAMARITAN DEMIURGICAL TRADITIONS AND THE ALLEGED DOVE CULT OF THE SAMARITANS

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(Utrecht)

Gilles Quispel, a prime champion of the theory that Gnosticism has its main roots in the Jewish religion,[1] has asserted that the concept of the Gnostic demiurge was forerun by Jewish ideas about the creative agency of the hypostasized divine Name and of the Angel of the Lord, who was the possessor of the Tetragrammaton.[2] It has now become possible to vindicate this hypothesis and thereby remove the most serious obstacle to the theory of the derivation of Gnosticism from the Jewish religion, for the idea that the Angel of YHWH, even the hypostasized Name, is the creator of the body of man can be ascertained in the literature of the Samaritans, a branch of the Jewish people.[3]

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[1] In emphaty with the definitions worked out at the Messina Colloquium, I use the term "Gnosticism" for the movement constituted by the so-called Gnostic systems of the first centuries of our era, and take "Gnosis" as a phenomenological term indicating the knowledge of divine secrets reserved for an elite; see U. Bianchi, ed., *Origini* (SHR, XII), Leiden 1967, XXff. For a criticism of the definitions, see K. Rudolph, *Randerscheinungen des Judentums und das Problem der Entstehung des Gnostizismus*, in *Kairos* 9, 1967, 105ff.; *Gnosis und Gnostizismus, ein Forschungsbericht*, in *TR* 36, 1971, 13ff.

[2] See *De Joodse achtergrond van de Logos-Christologie*, in *Vox Theologica* 25, 1954, 48ff.; *Christliche Gnosis und jüdische Heterodoxie* in *ET*, 14, 1954, 481ff.; *The Jung Codex and Its Significance*, in H.-Ch. Puech, G. Quispel & W.C. van Unnik, *The Jung Codex*, London 1955, 35ff.; *Het Johannesevangelie en de Gnosis*, in *NTT*, 11, 1957, 173ff.; *L'Evangile de Jean et la Gnose*, in F.M. Braun, ed., *L'Evangile de Jean* (RB, III), Bruges 1958, 197ff.; *The Origins of the Gnostic Demiurge*, in P. Granfield & J.A. Jungmann, eds., *KYRIAKON. Festschrift Johannes Quasten*, Münster Westf. 1970, 271ff.; *Jewish Gnosis and Mandaean Gnosticism*, in J.-E. Ménard, ed., *Les textes de Nag Hammadi* (Colloque du Centre d'Histoire des Religions, Strasbourg, 23-25 octobre 1974) (NHS, VII), Leiden 1975, 117ff.; *The Demiurge in the Apocryphon of John*, in R. McL. Wilson, ed., *Nag Hammadi and Gnosis* (Papers read at the First International Congress of Coptology, Cairo, December 1976) (NHS, XIV), Leiden 1978, 23ff.

[3] See my dissertation for the Doctor's degree, *The Name of God and the Angel of the Lord*, 1981, prepared under the auspices of Professor Quispel. The principal

One of the objects of the present essay is to follow up this insight by giving a new interpretation of two enigmatic texts — one Jewish and one Samaritan — concerning *Gen.* i.1 in Samaritan rendering.

Abraham ibn Ezra, in the introduction to his *Commentary on the Book of Esther*,[4] says that the Cutheans, that is, the Samaritans, substitute the name of their deity Ashema for that of Elohim in *Gen.* i.1 (כאשר עשו הכותים שכתבו תחת ברא אלהים ברא אשימא). It is clear that the 12th century Jewish theologian here bases himself on II *Kings* ch. xvii, where it is told that Ashema from Hamath in northern Syria was among the deities brought into Samaria by the Assyrian colonists after the fall of the Kingdom of Israel in 722/21. All the scholarly comments on ibn Ezra's notice which I have seen agree that he (deliberately) mistook שמה, the Samaritan equivalent to the Jewish השם, "the Name", a substitution for the Tetragrammaton, for the name of this deity. But *Gen.* i.1 in the Samaritan as well as in the Jewish version of the Pentateuch reads "Elohim", not "YHWH". G. Kretschmar — no doubt rightly — maintains that "es muss aber auch ein aktueller samaritanischer Brauch vorliegen," and queries whether the Samaritans could substitute *Šemâ* also for Elohim.[5] But there is no evidence for this, and the Samaritans in fact are free to write even the Tetragrammaton as well as the divine name of Elohim.

The Samaritan Targum *Gen.* i.1 reads: בקמאותה טלמס אלהה ית שומיה וית ארעה.[6] The word טלמס is strange; it does not mean to "create". Th. Nöldeke connected it with طلسم, an Arabism of τέλεσμα, and

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material and argument are found in my essay, "Gnosticism and Samaritan Judaism," to be published in W. Haase, ed., *ANRW*, II.22 (Religion: Gnostizismus und Verwandtes), Tübingen 1981. At the International Conference on Gnosticism, held at Yale University, March 28-31, 1978, I presented my findings in a research paper, *The Origin of the Concept of the Demiurge*, read in the section on Judaism and Gnosticism. In my research paper, *Gen. i.26 and ii.7 in Judaism, Samaritanism, and Gnosticism*, read in the Judaism section at the XIVth IAHR Congress, held at the University of Manitoba, Winnipeg, August 17-21, 1980, I argued that the Jews at one time shared the halakha about the angelic assistance in the creation of man.

[4] See J. Zedner, ed., *Abraham Aben Ezra's Commentary on the Book of Esther*, London 1850.

[5] *Zur religionsgeschichtlichen Einordnung der Gnosis*, in *ET*, 13, 1953, 59, n. 16.

[6] A. Brüll, ed., *Das samaritanische Targum*, I (Genesis), Frankfurt am Main 1873, 1 (The complete text of the Targum has been reprinted in a one-volume edition which appeared in Hildesheim & New York in 1971.)

suggested that the Samaritans thought of the creation as having been effected by some kind of magic.[7] But such a view of the creative act cannot be found in Samaritanism, and I shall try to give a defensible explanation of this version of *Gen.* i.1, which actually bears upon ibn Ezra's report on the Samaritans' rendering of the verse.

The word *ṭlms* also leads into the problem of the alleged dove cult of the Samaritans, and the further object of this article is to offer a new interpretation of this puzzle in the history of Hellenistic religions. Again, I shall focus on two traditions, one Jewish and one Samaritan. The text which contains the earliest testimony to the Jewish tradition that the Samaritans worship a dove image is found in *Ḥullin* 6a, in a section dealing with the Cutheans, the Samaritans. The reason why R. Meir, a *tanna* of the 2nd century C.E., proscribed them is said to have been as follows: "Because they [the rabbis or the Samaritans?] found a figure of a dove on Mt. Gerizim, and they [*viz.*, the Samaritans] worshipped it."

The Samaritans themselves corroborate the tradition of a bird image on their holy mountain. The Samaritan *Book of Joshua*, an Arabic work from the 13th century claiming to have been translated from a Hebrew original and certainly incorporating ancient traditions, relates that the Romans prevented the Samaritans from ascending Mt. Gerizim. "And the Romans placed upon the summit of the Mount a talisman (طلسم *telesma*), and this was a brazen bird; and it used to turn round with the sun howsoever it revolved, and it was so that if a Samaritan did go up, the bird would screech out: "Hebraeus!" And then they would know that there was a Samaritan on the Mount, and would come to kill him. And the children of Israel continued in distress until Baba Rabba arose [...]" (ch. 50).[8] It is then related that Baba Rabba, the great Samaritan revivalist of the 4th century C.E., devised a plan of how his nephew should destroy the copper bird, the *ṭlsm*. Then the MS. breaks off.

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[7] See his recension of S. Kohn, *Samaritanische Probleme*, Breslau 1868, in *Juedische Zeitschrift fuer Wissenschaft und Leben*, VI, 1868, 209.

[8] Th. W. J. Juynboll, ed. & trans., *Chronicon Samaritanum, arabice conscriptum, cui titulus est liber Josuae*, Leiden 1848, 34 (text) and 192 (Latin translation); O.T. Crane, trans., *The Samaritan Chronicle or the Book of Joshua the Son of Nun*, New York 1890, 131.

Abu'l Fatḥ, a 14th century Samaritan chronicler, supplies us with the happy ending of the story, which he says that he has read in "an old chronicle in Hebrew in which mention is made of a story about Baba Rabba."[9] In the version of Abu‘l Fatḥ, the adversaries of the Samaritans are the Christians, while the *Book of Joshua* jumps from the time of Hadrian, that is, the 2nd century (see ch. 48), to that of Baba Rabba (see ch. 50) — by way of a prophecy about the latter spoken by his grandfather (see chs. 48f.) — and mixes the Romans and the Christians. It is said that the bird talisman was on Mt. Gerizim for twenty years before it was removed (see ch. 49), but it is also narrated that this took place "when the rule passed away from the children of Israel and the Romans reigned" (ch. 50),[10] by which we obviously must understand the occupation by the Romans.

The brass bird does not belong in a Christian environment, but evidently alludes to the Roman eagle and symbolizes the occupational power. The Samaritans joined in the Hadrianic wars, and the Roman emperor consequently punished them and erected a temple to Zeus Hypsistos on Mt. Gerizim. There still can be seen traces of a fortified position by which the Romans prevented the Samaritans from approaching the mountain. The temple of Hadrian was destroyed in the latter part of the 5th century by the Christian emperor Zeno, who built a church on the site; thus, there was no Christian church on Mt. Gerizim in the time of Baba Rabba, as both chronicles assert. Finally, the time of the 2nd century being the historical setting of the Samaritan story about the bird talisman corresponds to the date of the earliest testimony to the rabbinic tradition about a Samaritan cult of a dove image on Mt. Gerizim.

It has been noted that the word for the Roman copper bird occurs with metathesis in place of the word ברא in the Samaritan Targum *Gen.* i.1. S. Kohn suggested that this is due to the fact that a later copyist commuted a marginal gloss which he did not understand for a word in the text; and this is entirely plausible, since the Targum contains many examples of such an occurrence. According to Kohn, the gloss in the margin — made by an Arabic speaking copyist — intended to remind that the Samaritans were wrongly accused of assigning the creation to Ashema, thereby exploiting their idea that the tradition about the brass bird was the source of the Jewish allegation that they worshipped the image of a dove on Mt. Gerizim.[11] It is indeed possible that the tale of the copper bird has played a part in the Jewish fabrication, for the Jewish and the Samaritan traditions about a bird image on Mt. Gerizim hardly are unrelated, and the Samaritan story does not have the appearance of being a refutation of the Jewish accusation. But why do the Jews insist that the bird image was that of a *dove*? The Talmuds tell that the images of the deities brought into Samaria by the Assyrian colonists in fact were bird images, but the dove is *not* said to be among the birds being represented (see Bab. *Sanh.* 63b; Pal. *Ab.Zar.* 2a). Vicious allegations about religious dissenters and rivals are common, but they usually contain a kernel of truth, although this is being warped.[12] It is also not at all clear why the word for the brass bird is cited in the Samaritan Targum *Gen.* i.1, for ibn Ezra does not say that Ashema is a dove deity, and the Jewish tradition does not say that the dove idol worshipped by the Samaritans is the symbol of the demiurge.

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[9] E. Vilmar, ed., *Annales Samaritani Abulfathi*, Gotha 1865, 139. A translation has been put at my disposal by Father Paul Stenhouse, MSC, of Sydney University, who is preparing a critical edition with a translation and a commentary.

[10] Juynboll, *loc. cit.*; Crane, 130.

R. Ronzevalle has identified Ashema with the Syrian goddess who was the daughter of Hadad and Atargatis, and whose name appears in inscriptions as Σημέα, Σίμα, Σίμη, *Sima*, and *Sime.*[13] The initial a- of the former name merely is the well-known *aleph protheticum.*[14] This deity actually had the dove as attribute. Lucian, describing the temple of the great goddess in Hierapolis, says that, between the statue of Zeus, that is, Hadad, and that of Hera, that is, Atargatis (עתרעתה),

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[11] See *Zur Sprache, Literatur und Dogmatik der Samaritaner*, Leipzig 1876, reprinted Nendeln, 1966, 164f.

[12] The Jewish allegation that the Samaritans paid divine honours to images of Jacob and Joseph apparently is based upon the fact that the well of Jacob and the grave of Joseph were important cult centres at the foot of Mt. Gerizim. That the Samaritans also worshipped the idols that Jacob had hidden under the oak at Shechem is an averment having its ground in the simple fact that the Samaritans insisted that Shechem was *the* holy place, while the story in *Gen.* ch. xxxv easily is taken to mean that Shechem was polluted and replaced as a shrine.

[13] See *Inscription bilingue de Deir el-Qalaʿa*, in *RA*, 4th series, II, 1903, pp. 29ff.

[14] It is met with in variant forms of several divine names, for instance, ארצא and רצא, ארשף and רשף, אסכן and סכן, *etc.*

there was a golden image "which had no proper shape" and whose sex was undeterminable. He reports that the Syrians themselves merely called it σημήιον, "Token," while others disagreed over whether it indicated Bacchus, Deucalion (a Greek Noah figure), or Semiramis. The reason for its being taken to indicate Semiramis is given as follows: "And a golden dove stood on its head, and so they devised that it was the token of Semiramis. And it does a journey twice a year to the sea in order to fetch that water which was mentioned before" (*De dea Syria* 33).[15]

The last statement refers to an earlier paragraph, where Lucian relates that the people of Hierapolis twice a year bring water into the temple and pour it into a little hole in the floor. Some said that this had been ordained by Deucalion, who had built the temple for the great goddess over this hole, into which the waters of the Flood disappeared; while others said that Semiramis, the daughter of Derketo, another name of the great goddess (though Lucian erroneously denies that she is identical with Hera, that is, Atargatis), made the temple and thus gave the ordinance (see 13).

This rite has been compared to a passage by Pseudo-Melito, relating that Sime (or Simi), the daughter of Hadad, was charged to draw water from the Euphrates and cast it into a well in Hierapolis in order to quell a demon who used to arise from the deep and attack passers-by.[16] It is thus probable that Lucian's "Token" rests upon a misunderstanding of the name of this deity, whose image was standing between those of her father and mother in the Hierapolis temple: the *sēmēion* is really the name of Sime.[17]

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[15] A.M. Harmon, ed. & trans., *Lucian*, IV (Loeb), Cambridge, Mass., & London 1925 and reprints, 388.

[16] See W. Cureton, ed. & trans., *Spicilegium Syriacum*, London 1855, 44f. Pseudo-Melito writes the name with an initial ܣ and not with ܫ , but Ronzevalle, 36f., points out that the name occurs with *š*- as well as with *s*- in the different dialects.

[17] The first to make this identification appears to have been F.C. Movers, *Die Phönizier*, II/3, Berlin 1856, 137, n. 47. Lately, it has been refused by R.A. Oden, Jr., *Studies in Lucian's De Syria Dea*, Missoula 1977, 115ff., who sees the evidence of Pseudo-Melito as very late and totally worthless. But, in the first place, Oden does not cite the evidence of Diodorus Siculus, which indicates that the *sēmēion* imports the name of Derketo's daughter or at least that Derketo had a daughter with some such name as Sima and the dove as her symbol; see below. Secondly, although Oden may very well be right in accepting the view that the name of Ashema simply

Those who identified the statue as the idol of Semiramis would seem to be right. Ronzevalle plausibly suggests that this name is a compound of שימא and the root idea of רום, "high," *etc.*[18] Semiramis as well as the statue were associated with a dove, for Lucian says that doves were holy to the people in Hierapolis because Semiramis once had turned herself into a dove (see 14). Obviously, Semiramis must be the deity signified by the statue which had the image of a dove on its head.

Diodorus Siculus, in his great historical work, corroborates this identification of the *sēmēion* by relating a legend about how Semiramis, the daughter of Derketo and a certain young man, was noursihed by doves when growing up by a lake near Ascalon (see II.iv.2ff.).[19] When passing away, she "turned into a dove and flew in the company of many birds which alighted on her dwelling. And this, they say, is the reason why the Assyrians worship the dove as a god, thus deifying Semiramis" (II.xx.2).[20] Moreover, Diodorus says that the name of Semiramis, which was given her by Σιμμας (*sic*!), the keeper of the royal herds, is "a name slightly altered from the word which, in the language of the Syrians, means "doves," birds which, since that time, all the inhabitants of Syria have continued to honour as goddesses" (II.iv.6).[21] The name of Simmas, the name-giver of Semiramis, and the Assyrian word *summatu*, which means "dove", the symbol of

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denotes the deified "name" of the godhead, it must be noted that it had become an *independent* entity and that the name thus is proof of the existence of a deity with some such name as Sima; see below, p. 155f.

[18] See *op. cit.*, 40.

[19] Philo, in a fragment preserved by Eusebius (*Praep. ev.* VIII.xiv.50), reports that doves have been sacrosanct to the people of Ascalon from a remote period. R. Dussaud, in Part II, *Les religions des hittites et des hourrites, des phéniciens et des syriens*, in *Mana*, 1 (Les anciennes religions orientales)/II, 2nd ed., Paris 1949, 394, says that Diodorus relates that Derketo bore Semiramis with Simios, and this is repeated by H. Ringgren, in his chapter, "The Religion of Ancient Syria," in C.J. Bleeker & G. Widengren, eds., *Historia Religionum*, I (Religions of the Past), Leiden 1969, 208. But Derketo's lover actually is unnamed. J.A. Montgomery, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Books of Kings*, ed. by H.S. Gehman, Edinburgh 1951, 475, says that Diodorus reports that Simios was the son of Derketo, who also was known by the name of Simi. This is all wrong.

[20] C.H. Oldfather, ed. & trans., *Diodorus of Sicily*, I (Loeb), Cambridge, Mass., & London 1933 and reprints, 416.

[21] *Ibid.*, 360.

Semiramis, and is observed to resemble her name, show that Semiramis really is identical with Σίμα, *etc.*, or אשימא.

Thus, the Jewish allegation that the Samaritans worshipped a dove image on Mt. Gerizim actually is an impeachment that they shared in the cult of the young deity of the Syrian triad, whose cult had been imported into Samaria as early as the 8th century B.C.E. according to the Biblical record.[22] The reason for the citing of the name of the brazen bird in the Samaritan Targum *Gen.* i.1 obviously was that the Samaritans took the allegation that they worshipped a dove simulacrum to be a misunderstanding of the copper bird account and knew that Ashema, whose name was said to occur in their version of this verse, was a dove deity. But, since Ashema was no demiurge, what would have occasioned the mistake of ibn Ezra? There evidently were other constituents making up the Ashema figure assertedly venerated by the Samaritans than those to be drawn from Syrian mythology.

It is generally agreed that the account in *Am.* viii.14 that some Northerners used to "swear by the guilt of Samaria" must be emended to conform to the oaths of the people of Dan and Beersheba, who are said to have sworn by divine names. Since the name Ashimat (Ashema) can be changed into the word for "guilt," אשמת, merely by taking out the *yod*, many scholars think that the people actually swore by "Ashimat (or Ashema) of Samaria." This would mean that Ashema was worshipped by the people of the city of Samaria some forty years before the fall of Israel, and the strengthening of her cult by the arrival of colonists from Hamath would be a likely development.

J. Wellhausen surmised that the saying originally contained the name of the deity of Bethel, but was changed by a redactor to apply to the whole of the Northern Kingdom (cp. *Hos.* x.8, "the sin of Israel," חטאת יש׳; II *Kings* x.29, "Jeroboam's sins"; I *Kings* xii.28ff.; II *Kings* xvii.21), for which the name "Samaria" never is used by Amos.[23] This theory was reinforced when the Elephantine papyri were discovered and evidenced that the Jews of the military colony on the island of

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[22] This was suggested already by J. Selden, *De dis Syris* (*Syntagmata* II), 2nd ed., Leipzig 1662, at the end of chapter iii.

[23] See *Die kleinen Propheten* (Skizzen und Vorarbeiten, 5), Berlin 1892, 3rd ed. 1898, reprinted 1963, *ad loc.*

Elephantine at the lower end of the first cataract of the Nile had a deity by the name of Ashembethel; thus, Th. H. Robinson emended "the guilt of Samaria" to אשם־ביתאל.[24] Bethel and Dan were made the official sanctuaries of the Northern Kingdom (see I *Kings* xii.26ff.), and the former place was hallowed by the memory of Abraham and Isaac long before Jeroboam established a sanctuary there (see *Gen.* xii. 8; xxviii. 10ff.; xxxv. 1ff., 14f.; cp. *Judg.* xx. 18, 26ff.; xxi. 2f.; I *Sam.* x. 3). The sanctuary in Samaria, erected at a later date by Omri as the political centre of Israel, does not seem to have been so important, and we do not hear about a cult there after Jehu destroyed its bull idol (see II *Kings* ch. x). Amos stood forth in Bethel and prophesied there until he was despatched (see *Am.* viii. 10ff.). In several passages, he condemns the cult of Bethel (see iii. 14; iv. 4; v. 5). When Amos turns against Samaria, he is reproaching social unjustice, not religious practices (see iii. 9ff.; iv. 1; vi. 1).

The sanctuary at Bethel survived the Assyrian invasion, for one of the deported priests was sent back in order to instruct the people of the land in the worship of YHWH at Bethel (see II *Kings* xvii.28). The shrine at Bethel became a serious rival to the temple on Sion; and particular prominence is given to Josiah's dismantling of the altar and high place of Bethel in his scheme of reform (see II *Kings* ch. xxiii), which extended to "the cities of Samaria" (II *Chron.* xxxiv.6), areas being part of the Assyrian empire. Bethel continued to be Jewish in the succeeding centuries, and it is therefore not surprising that the Elephantine colonists, who apparently emigrated from the environs of Bethel in the 6th century, called themselves "Jews" as well as "Arameans." The unorthodox elements of their religion and their disregard for the prohibition to worship in other places than in Jerusalem can be accounted for by the resurgence of the cult of Bethel some time after Josiah's reform, as is evidenced by excavations.[25] Since Bethel was situated north of the pre-exilic border, it was not destroyed by the Babylonians, and the inhabitants probably did not have to go into exile.[26]

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[24] See Th.H. Robinson & F. Horst, *Die zwölf kleinen Propheten*, Tübingen 1936, 3rd ed., 1964, *ad loc. Am.* viii.14 as well as II *Kings* xvii.30, mentioning Ashema from Hamath, were cited in the discussion about the identity of Ashembethel right from the beginning; see E. Sachau, ed. & trans., *Aramäische Papyrus und Ostraka aus einer jüdischen Militär-Kolonie zu Elephantine*, Leipzig 1911, XXV, 85; E. Meyer, *Der Papyrusfund von Elephantine*, 2nd ed., Leipzig 1912, 58.

[25] See W.F. Albright, *Archeology and the Religion of Israel* (The Ayer Lectures of the Colgate-Rochester Divinity School for 1941), 2nd ed., Baltimore 1946, 172f.

The frequent substitution of the divine name "Bethel" for that of YHWH in the Elephantine papyri is one of the indications that the colonists came from circles having allegiance to the cult at Bethel, for Bethel was a popular name of El, *the* god or God, in the religion of the Canaanites, and was adopted by the northern tribes as a name of YHWH (see *Jer.* xlviii.13; cp. *Am.* v.5).[27] Of particular interest is a papyrus containing a list of names of persons having contributed money to Yahu, Anathbethel, and Ashembethel (see 22.123ff.).[28] The goddess Anathbethel occurs in another papyrus as Anathyahu (see 44.1ff.), and the three divine names in Papyrus 22 can be paraphrased as YHWH, Anath of God, and Ashem of God. We obviously have to do with an Israelite counterpart to the Syrian triad of Hadad, Atargatis, and Sima. The initial a- in the name of Ashembethel is the well-known *aleph protheticum* which is also found in the name of

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When the temple of the Elephantine colonists was destroyed at the instigation of Egyptian priests, the colonists complained to the sons of the Persian governor of Samaria as well as to the authorities in Judah. This shows their awareness of a relationship with the land of the northern tribes. A. van Hoonacker, *Une communauté judeo-araméenne à Éléphantine, en Égypte* (The Schweich Lectures for 1914), London 1915, 82ff., thought that the colonists were "Samaritans," but others have seen them as pre-Deuteronomistic Judaeans or Judaeans not heeding Josiah's religious policy (cp. *Jer.* vii.18; ch. xliv); see, of late, E.G. Kraeling, *The Brooklyn Museum Aramaic Papyri*, New Haven & London 1953, 42ff.; B. Porten, *Archives from Elephantine*, Los Angeles & London 1968, 8ff. Although it may be true that "one cannot deny that, for the greater part, the mercenaries must have come from Judah," the religion of these colonists unmistakenly "hints at a worship of north Israelite origin" (G. Widengren, in his chapter "The Persian Period," in J.H. Hayes & J. Maxwell Miller, eds., *Israelite and Judaean History*, London 1977, 533). For this orientation of the religion of the Elephantine colonists, see the massive work by A. Vincent, *La religion des Judéo-Araméens d'Éléphantine*, Paris 1937.

[26] See W.F. Albright, *The Biblical Period from Abraham to Ezra*, New York 1963, 86, 92f. According to one reading of *Zech.* vii.1ff., there were priests in action at Bethel when the Judaeans returned from the Babylonian exile.

[27] See O. Eissfeldt, *Der Gott Bethel*, in *ARW* 28, 1930, 1ff.; J.P. Hyatt, *The Deity Bethel and the Old Testament*, in *JAOS* 59, 1939, 81ff.

[28] See A.E. Cowley, ed. & trans., *Aramaic Papyri of the Fifth Century B.C.*, Oxford 1923, reprinted Osnabrück 1967, 65ff.

Ashema, for the former name occurs without the *aleph* in the theophorous personal name שמשלך found in another papyrus (see 26.8).[29]

The name of Ashem-Bethel seems to designate a male deity, while Ashema or Sima is a goddess. But there was much change of the sex of Syrian deities.[30] In some inscriptions from a temple founded by Hierapolitans in Delos, the Syrian triad is cited as Hadad, Atargatis, and Asclepios.[31] The Greek god Asclepios was identified with Eshmun, אשמן, a Phoenician-Punic god of the type of Adonis.[32] The endings -an, -on, and -un are frequent affixes in Phoenician male deity names, as is -a in female deity names,[33] and the name of Eshmun actually is found as אשם in Carthagian theophorous names.[34] Moreover, it occurs without the initial prothetic vowel both in citations of variant forms of the name of the god and in theophorous personal names.[35] The name obviously is a masculine form of the name of the young god of the Syrian triad.

In an inscription from the beginning of the 3rd century C.E. from Chefr Nebo, near Aleppo, in northern Syria, we read: Σειμίω καὶ Συμβετύλῳ καὶ Λέοντι θεοίς πατρώοις.[36] Since these deities are called θεοίς πατρώοις, they obviously are constituting the Syrian triad. Σειμιος is a masculine form of Σημέα or Σίμα (Σιμη), and apparently designates the father of the young deity in this inscription. Λεων must represent Atargatis, who often is depicted as mounted upon lions.[37] Συμβετυλως must be the young god, who is called Eshmun, Simios, or Asclepios in other contexts; his name corresponds to that of Ashembethel, for *Sym-* no doubt reproduces the Aramaic שום (also *Šym*, vocalized by *qibbuṣ*), which had replaced the Canaanite-Hebrew form *Šem.*[38]

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[29] See H. Grimme, *Die Jahotriade von Elephantine*, in *OLZ* 15, 1912, 14f.; M. Lidzbarski, *Ephemeris für semitische Epigraphik*, III/4, Giessen 1912, 260ff.

[30] See R. Dussaud, Art. *Simea und Simios*, in *PWRE*, 2nd Series, III/A.1 (1927), 137ff. This is obviously the reason why several scholars say that the *sēmēion* standing between the statues of Hadad and Atargatis in Hierapolis indicated their son, Simios.

[31] See P. Roussel & M. Launey, ed. & trans., *Inscriptions de Délos*, Paris 1937, Nos. 2224, 2248, 2261, 2264.

[32] See W.W. Grafen Baudissin, *Adonis und Esmun*, Leipzig 1911, reprinted Osnabrück 1971, 219ff.

[33] See Lidbarski, *loc. cit.* Eshmun and Ashema were connected quite early by scholars; see the references in Grafen Baudissin, 215, n. 3.

[34] See Grafen Baudissin, 203, 216. Several scholars detect the name of Eshmun in Ashembethel; see the citings by Vincent, 655.

[35] See Grafen Baudissin, 203, 205f., 211; Lidzbarski, *loc. cit.*

[36] It was discovered and published by V. Chapot, *Antiquités de la Syrie du Nord*, in *BullCorHell* 1902, 182. See also Lidzbarski, *op. cit.*, II, Giessen, 1908, 323; III/4, 247; Vincent, 664.

[37] Lucian describes her status in Hierapolis as mounted upon lions (see *De dea*

The Jewish allegation that the Samaritans venerated Ashema obviously is based upon the smart memory of the worship of this deity at the main cult centre of the Northern Kingdom. But is it merely a malicious anachronism that the Northerners who established the cult on Mt. Gerizim at some time between 400 and 200 B.C.E. and became known as the Samaritans preserved this cult?[39] The Samaritans claim to be descendants of Ephraim and Manasseh, and Bethel was in fact an old Ephraimite town. "Phinehas, son of Eleazar and the grandson of Aaron" is said to have ministered as Israel's high priest in Bethel before the Ark was moved to Shiloh (see *Judg.* xx.26ff.); and the Samaritans claim that their priesthood descends from Phinehas and that it continued uninterrupted in the north when Eli, a descendant of Aaron's grandson Ithamar, moved to Shiloh and thereby created the great schism in the history of Israel. The Samaritans in fact call Mt. Gerizim "Bethel", taking it to be a place name, and thereby identifying it as Bethel in the Bible, as well as understanding it to mean "House of God." This may be taken to indicate that Bethel traditions were transferred to Shechem between the destruction of Bethel in the latter part of the 6th century, after which it only was thinly resettled, and its final depopulating by the end of the 3rd century B.C.E.

If the Samaritans really continued the reverence of the deity Ashem(a), it obviously would be in a refined form; for the Samaritans as we known them from their literature and cult practices are certainly not polytheists. It even is a question whether the religion of the Elephantine colonists can be described as polytheistic. W. F. Albright has championed the theory that the divine names occurring in Papyrus

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Syria 31). For representations on coins, see the introduction by J. E. Garstang in H. A. Strong, trans., *The Syrian Goddess*, London 1913, 21.

[38] See Grimme, 14f.; Lidzbarski, III/4, 247, 260ff.; cp. Cowley, xix; Vincent, 663ff.; Montgomery, *loc. cit.*; Kraeling, 90.

[39] Critical scholarship has known for a long time that but a small percentage of the population of Israel was carried away. Even if Josephus is right that priests expelled from Jerusalem founded the cult on Mt. Gerizim (see *Ant.* XI.302ff.), northern traditions certainly clustered at Shechem.

22 actually denote hypostasized aspects of God.[40] This is suggested by the fact that the head of the list says that the contributions were made "for Yahu the God (ליהו אלהא)," though Anath and Ashem also were given somewhat of the total amount of money. In the same year as the list of the contributors was drawn up, that is, in 419, the colonists received the famous Passover letter from the Persian king, exhorting them to celebrate the feast (which may have been the Mazzoth only) according to the orthodox rules (see Pap. 21). Thus, the colonists were not excluded as heathens by the Jewish authorities who obviously were the inciters of the writing.

M.-J. Lagrange suggested that the name of Ashembethel was the deified divine name, שם,[41] and H. Grimme and M. Lidzbarski even would detect the idea of the divine *Šem* in the names of Ashema, Eshmun, and Symbetylos as well as in the name of Ashembethel.[42] Albright cites that even the form אשם occurs in the sense "name" in Aramaic inscriptions,[43] and translates Anath-Bethel as "Sign of (the Active Presence of) God" or "Will of God" and Ashem-Bethel as "Name of God." These figures, then, would be divine hypostases within the meaning of the definition of a hypostasis as given by H. Ringgren: "... eine oft nur halb selbständige göttliche Wesenheit, die eine mehr oder weniger durchgeführte Personifizierung einer Eigenschaft, einer Wirksamkeit oder irgendeines Attributs einer höheren Gottheit darstellt."[44] Ashem may be the "Name" of God which has become a more or less independent entity,[45] possibly through assimilation of some deity whose name contained the root *šem*, or he may be an originally strange deity which has become domesticated and identified as the hypostasized Name of Bethel, YHWH.[46] An example of the latter process is found in the name "Astarte שם בעל" in a Phoenician inscription and the Ugaritic texts.[47] Baal obviously had a consort who could be viewed as the manifestation of the power of his "name", his very being.

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[40] See *The Evolution of the West-Semitic Divinity ʿAn-ʿAnat-ʿAttâ*, in *AJSLL* 41/2, 1925, 92ff.; *Further Observations on the Name ʿAnat-ʿAttah*, *ibid.*, 41/4, 1925, 283ff.; *Note on the Goddess ʿAnat*, *ibid.*, 43/3, 1927, 233ff.; *Archeology*, 174; *From the Stone Age to Christianity*, 2nd ed., Anchor paperback edition, New York 1957, 373. Already Cowley, 76, perpended this possibility.

[41] See *La secte juive de la Nouvelle Alliance au pays de Damas*, in *RB*, 1912, 135, n. 1, and 587.

[42] See Grimme, *loc. cit.*; Lidzbarski, III/4, 246ff., 260ff. The etymology is widely accepted.

[43] See G. A. Cooke, ed. & trans., *A Text-Book of North-Semitic Inscriptions*, Oxford 1906, 60, No. 61, lines 16 and 21; C. C. Torrey, *The Zakar and Kalamu Inscriptions*, in *JAOS* 35, 1915, 363.

[44] Art. Hypostasen, *RGG*, III, 3rd ed., Tübingen 1959, 504.

[45] "So werden verschiedene Aspekte der Gottheit, die die Fülle und den Reichtum des göttlichen Wesens darstellen, als selbständige Grössen veranschaulicht und von der

It even is possible that a hypostatization is to be detected in the emended text of *Am.* viii.14, for the parallelism with the oaths of the people of Dan and Beersheba would seem to demand that also the people of Bethel (or Samaria) swore by a name pertaining to YHWH and not by the name of another deity. The people of Dan obviously swore by YHWH, who was worshipped there in the image of a bull (see I *Kings* xii.29). The people of Beersheba did not swear by the "way," דרך (even if this word could denote the cult as a whole and not merely the pilgrimage route), and most scholars emend to "your Dod," דדך, literally, "darling" or "kin," a proper divine name which also was used as an epithet of the deity and even applied to YHWH in Israel (cp. the theophorous name דודוהו = דודיהו in II *Chron.* xx.37). Another possibility is to translate "by the power of Beersheba," since *drkt* appears as "dominion" or "power" in Ugarit.[48] This expression would denote the power of YHWH, who was worshipped in Beersheba (see *Gen.* xxi.33). The people of Bethel (or Samaria) honoured the Name of God. If Amos really was attacking a cult of foreign gods, we should expect a far more pronounced rebuke.

Like the people of Bethel in earlier times, the Samaritans hypostasized *Šemâ*, "the Name". In the great midrashic work of the 4th century

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Gottheit mehr oder weniger abgetrennt als eigene Wesenheiten, ja sogar als besondere Gottheiten aufgefasst" (Ringgren, *loc. cit.*).

[46] "Eine reichere mythologische Gestaltung gewinnt eine Hypostase durch Zusammenstellung mit früher existierenden Gottheiten, von denen sie konkrete Züge übernimmt. Anderseits können in einer synkretistischen Religion verschiedene Götter als Hypostasen oder Offenbarungsformen *eines* grossen Gottes aufgefasst worden" (*ibid.*, 505).

[47] See Cooke, 30, No. 5, line 18; H. Donner & W. Rölling, ed. & trans., *Kanaanäische und aramäische Inschriften*, I (Texte), Wiesbaden 1962, 3, No. 14, line 18; II (Kommentar), Wiesbaden 1964, 23; C.H. Gordon, ed. & trans., *Ugaritic Textbook*, II (Texts) (AO, 38/2), Rome 1965, 194, No. 127, line 56, and 197, No. 137, line 8; III (Glossary-Indices) (AO, 38/3), 491, No. 2426.

[48] See J.L. Mays, *Amos*, London 1969, *ad loc.*

theologian Marqa, it is possible to chalk up a midrash upon *Gen.* ii.7 — a Biblical passage which speaks of Adam being created from the dust of the earth and given the breath of life by YHWH Elohim — in which the establishing of the body is ascribed to YHWH and the imparting of the spirit to Elohim (see *Memar Marqa* IV.2).[49] In the unpublished catechism *Malef*, the creation of the body of Adam from the earth is ascribed to the Angel of the Lord, while the infusion of the spirit into this corpus is a work assigned to God (see Answer 16; 3a-b).[50] Thus, the Tetragrammaton bears upon the Angel of the Lord, in whom the Divine Name is said to have been put already by the Bible (see *Ex.* xxiii.20 f.).

The Samaritans even knew the personal name of the Angel of YHWH. The high priest Abisha ben Pinḥas of the 14th century says: "Kebala is the mystery of the Name, like my secret is the Name YHWH."[51] The name Kebala obviously is derived from *Num.* iv.20, as J. H. Petermann was told by a Samaritan priest.[52] This passage gives the prohibition with regard to the Kohathites, certain temple officials, that "they shall not enter lest they see כבלע את־הקדש ומתו." "The Samaritans translate את as 'within or with', and therefore translate the verse: 'lest they see Kebalaʿ within the sanctuary and die'. The word Kebalaʿ is a hapax legomenon and was therefore misunderstood by them; thus a new angel was created."[53] Since the Samaritan Targum does not translate this word, but only transliterates it, I would conclude that the idea of this angel predates the time of Marqa, who often quotes from the Targum.

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[49] See J. Macdonald, ed. & trans., *Memar Marqah* (BZAW, 84), Berlin 1963, 86 in vol. I (The Text) and 139 in vol. II (The Translation).

[50] See E. C. Baguley, ed. & trans., *A Critical Edition, with Translation, of the Hebrew Text of the Malef*, Ph. D. Dissertation of the University of Leeds, 1962, 234 (text) and 5 (translation).

[51] A. E. Cowley, ed., *The Samaritan Liturgy*, two volumes paginated as one, Oxford 1909, 511, line 23.

[52] See *Reisen im Orient*, I, Leipzig 1860, 283.

[53] M. Gaster, *The Samaritans* (The Schweich Lectures for 1923), London 1925, 78. In a letter to me, Professor Simeon Lowy, formerly of Johannesburg, now of Leeds, endorses this explanation and adds that Prohibition 208 of the *613 Commandments and Prohibitions of the Samaritans* "could also mean that they were prevented to enter the sanctuary where they could meet this angel. Consequences of such desecration would be death."

Since the root idea of בלע is "swallow," *etc.*, it is very possible that the word denotes the "covering up" of the Holy of Holies, that is, the veil separating the Debir from the Hekal. The Samaritans at least took it in this sense, thus personifying the veil; for it is said in a liturgical composition: "The Name of God is the covering veil [before the Holy of Holies], and the Name of God of the Heavens is Kebala."[54] The name "God of the Heavens" is known from the Bible to emphasize God's transcendentality; and the Angel who is his Name and resides in the house of worship is the intermediator.

It is not necessary to explain the Samaritan idea of the Angel abiding in the temple and even being the personified veil as a borrowing from Jewish or Jewish-Christian sources. The Samaritans identified the Angel of the Lord with the Glory in the Prestcodex, which presents the Glory as manifesting itself at the door of the Tent of Meeting (see *Ex.* xxix.42f.) and even filling the Tabernacle (see *ibid.* xl.34f.). In the *Memar Marqa*, we read: "The Glory said: "The Great Name is within me, and I do not shun him who is rebellious in action. When a man deviates, I forfeit him; and thus it is said of me: "For he will not pardon your transgression, since My Name is in him" [*Ex.* xxiii.21]" (III.5).[55] Further, the Samaritans had a Biblical precedent for the idea of the Name of God dwelling in the house of God in the teaching of *Deuteronomy*, an originally northern source inculcating that the Name resides in the house of worship (see x.11; *et passim*), while God himself remains in heaven (see iv.36; xxvi.15).

Since the Samaritans identified Mt. Gerizim and Bethel, it is probable that the Angel who is the hypostasized Name has one of his roots in the older figure of Ashem-Bethel, a hypostasis of God. We must also remember that *Gen.* xxxi.13, which comes from the Elohist, a northern source, says that the Angel of the Lord calls himself האל בית־אל. As is known, this construction is difficult to explain, but the Samaritans inevitably would take it to mean that the Angel of the Lord was the hypostasis of God abiding at Bethel, which they understood to be their house of God as well as Mt. Gerizim.

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[54] Cowley, 430, lines 16f. It is known that the Jews had the idea that an angel guarded the temple but left when it was destroyed by Titus (see II *Bar.* vi.7; Josephus, *Bell.* VI.v.3; Tacitus, *Hist.* V.13). Moreover, Jewish tradition seems to have regarded the veil as the vesture of the angel or even as the angel himself. *Test. Levi* x.3 calls the veil to be rent ἔνδυμα, a word which normally denotes only a garment. *Ps.-Clem. Rec.* I.41 says: "The veil was rent, as if it were lamenting over the imminent disaster." Melito says outright that "the angel was rent (περιεσχίσατο)" (*Hom. Pasch.* 98). In Christian tradition, this angel was replaced by the Holy Spirit, who is said to have left Jerusalem and spread over the earth by the destruction of the temple (see *Test. Benj.* ix.4; *Did. Apost.* XXIII.v.7). On this theme, see M. de Jonge, *The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*, Assen 1953, 124.

[55] See Macdonald, I, 69 and II, 111.

We can see that the later Jewish tradition that John Hyrcanus found the image of a dove, the symbol of Ashema, in the Samaritan temple really is a (deliberate) misunderstanding of the Samaritan idea that Kebala or the Glory, that is, the Angel of the Lord who is the hypostasized *Šemâ*, had his abode in the house of worship. The destruction of their temple just after 130 B.C.E. did not mean so much to the Samaritans as the devastation of the temple on Sion meant to the Jews, for the Gerizim temple was in reality a substitute for the desert Tabernacle, which had been erected on Mt. Gerizim but hidden by God when Eli disrupted the cult there. Thus, the Samaritans did not teach that the Angel left the temple, as did the Jews when *their* temple was destroyed, but built an altar and continued to worship on Mt. Gerizim. The Angel who is the hypostasized Name remained, since the Tabernacle still was hidden there. The Jews, however, charged the Samaritans with an Ashema cult.

As already mentioned, the Angel of the Lord, the hypostasized Tetragrammaton, created the body of man. But the Name was also responsible for the creation of the whole world. The anthropogonic midrash by Marqa actually is interrupting an obscure and lengthy exposition of *Gen.* i.1, "In the beginning Elohim created," which is interpreted by the statement in *Deut.* xxxii.3a, "For, in the Name of YHWH, I will proclaim," so that בשם יהוה is taken as a code for בראשית. This midrash, which is too long to be quoted and deciphered here, takes "beginning" as an allegory for the Tetragrammaton and reads: "By means of the Name YHWH, Elohim created." That this is an interpretation which is congenial with Samaritan cosmogonic concepts is shown by several other passages where the Tetragrammaton appears as the demiurgic agent. Thus, for instance, Marqa in his *Memar* says: "H is the Name by which all creatures arose" (IV.2).[56] The letter ה, of course, is a well-known abbreviation of the Tetragrammaton.

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[56] See *ibid.*, I, 86 and II, 140.

If ibn Ezra came across some such Samaritan exposition of *Gen.* i.1, this could have provoked his fabrication that the Samaritans substituted the name of their deity Ashema for that of Elohim in this Biblical verse. Since Ashema was no demiurge, this is at least a better explanation than falling back on the old opinion that this 12th century assertion simply is a calumny. The doctrine of angelic intermediating was of concern especially to the Dositheans, Samaritan dissidents, whose teaching were only partly approached by Baba Rabba, under whose scheme of unification Marqa wrote.[57] Both Samaritan and Christian sources tell that the Dositheans made many changes in the text of the Pentateuch and even had exegetical writings of their own. Dositheism was not entirely absorbed before the 14th century, which is the time when the individual angel names, like that of Kebala, begin to bloom in the liturgy. Simon Magus, the alleged father of the Gnostic heresy, was a pupil of Dositheus, the head of the laicising movement among the Samaritans, and the concept of the Gnostic demiurge apparently has its roots in the Dosithean teaching that God created matter through the intermediary of the Angel of the Lord, the hypostasized Name.

The Samaritans in their Targum *Gen.* i.1 cited the name of the brazen bird image which once had been put upon their holy mountain with a view to the tradition that Ashema was a dove deity, since they wanted to remind that ibn Ezra's accusation was based upon the charge that they worshipped a dove simulacrum on their mountain. Nevertheless, the Jewish allegation obviously found a certain base in the old northern veneration of Ashem(a) as the hypostasis of the Divine Name, with which the Samaritans identified the Angel of the Lord, who dwelled on the holy mount and was assigned with the work of the creation.

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[57] See J. Bowman, *The Samaritan Problem*, trans. by A. M. Johnson, Jr., Pittsburgh 1975, 54 with n. 74 on p. 134. This work, being a translation of Bowman's *Samaritanische Probleme* (Franz Delitzsch Vorlesungen, 1959), Stuttgart 1967, contains a bibliography of the works on the Samaritans by Bowman, who has demonstrated that Samaritanism developed through a dialectical process in which the priestly party and the laicising circles were interacting.

CHARGES OF "IMMORALITY" AGAINST VARIOUS RELIGIOUS GROUPS IN ANTIQUITY

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1. *Examples of the Charges*

In the early Roman empire the classical case of immorality under the guise of religion was provided by the Bacchanalia, investigated and suppressed in the year 186 B.C. According to Livy, the rites of initiation included wine and feasting. They were held at night and therefore darkness concealed "the promiscuous matings of free men and women", as well as occasional murders. "The force of this evil spread from Etruria to Rome like the contagion of a pestilence."[1] Cicero, recommending the abolition of nocturnal rites, notes examples of abuses among the Greeks and appeals to "the strictness of our ancestors in matters of this kind" as shown by "the ancient decree of the senate with respect to the Bacchanalia and the investigation and punishment conducted by the consuls with the assistance of a specially-enrolled military force."[2] At the time when Pompeii was destroyed, the younger Pliny was at Misenum, reading and making extracts from Livy — only three years before he left for Syria as a military tribune.[3] We cannot be sure, of course, that he read about the Bacchanalia. Something like Livy's account seems to have been in his mind when he investigated the activities of Bithynian Christians around the year 110.[4] He told Trajan that ex-Christians had testified that they indeed used to meet before dawn for religious purposes. They took an oath, "not for any criminal purpose" but for upholding morality. Later in the day they would meet again "to take food of an ordinary, harmless kind", though when Pliny banned political societies they had given up the second meeting. The ancient Bacchants too had taken an oath, but to commit crimes; they had feasted at their orgies and aroused widespread suspicions. Pliny's suspicions about the Christians were allayed, but he still asked Trajan if they should be punished for their presumed crimes.

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[1] Livy XXXIX, 8-18.

[2] Cicero, *De leg.* II, 36-37.

[3] Pliny, *Ep.* VI, 20, 5.

[4] Pliny, *Ep.* X, 96. Indirect? Cf. G. W. Clarke (n. 20 below), 207 n. 106.

Other foreign religions were naturally suspect. While precincts of Egyptian deities were being demolished at Rome in 48 B.C., "a shrine of Bellona was unwittingly destroyed and in it were found jars full of human flesh."[5] It was known that before Romanization devotees of deities in Africa and Gaul practised human sacrifice.[6] And early in the first century of our era the anti-Jewish author Apion related that when Antiochus Epiphanes entered the temple at Jerusalem he found a captive Greek who was being fattened for a Jewish sacrifice. The Jews were going to taste his flesh and swear an oath of hostility against Greeks.[7] Josephus insisted that "no unmentionable mysteries took place, no repast was served" inside the temple.[8] These stories do not prove that anything or nothing of the sort took place. They merely suggest that Greeks and Romans were likely to believe the worst about foreign cults. Revolting against Trajan in about 115, Jews "in the region of Cyrene ... were destroying both the Romans and the Greeks."[9]

> They would eat the flesh of their victims, make belts for themselves of their entrails, anoint themselves with their blood and wear their skins for clothing; many they sawed in two, from the head downwards; others they gave to wild beasts, and still others they forced to fight as gladiators. In all, two hundred and twenty thousand persons perished.

The figure is surely exaggerated, but this proves nothing about the atrocities.

On the other hand, we can surely recognize malicious slander in what Tacitus wrote, about a decade before the revolt.[10] Since "the Jews regard as profane all that we hold sacred" and "permit all that we abhor", it was easy enough to call many of their customs "base and abominable" and based on "depravity". Their loyalty toward one another is only the reverse of their hate and enmity (*hostile odium*) toward all others.

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[5] Dio XLII, 26, 2.

[6] T. D. Barnes, *Tertullian*, Oxford 1971, 15-18.

[7] Josephus, *C. Ap.* II, 91-96.

[8] *Ibid.*, II, 107.

[9] Dio, LXVIII, 32, 1-2.

[10] Tacitus, *Hist.* V, 4-5.

> They sit apart at meals and they sleep apart, and although as a race they are prone to lust, they abstain from intercourse with foreign women.

So far little has been mentioned except exclusiveness. Now Tacitus ventures into creative fiction. "Among themselves nothing is unlawful". According to Theodor Reinach this is the only example of the accusation in antiquity.[11] Not quite — the Christian Justin insists that any Jew who sees an attractive woman and desires her can add her to his harem of four or five wives.[12] But while Meleager of Gadara complains of a Jewish competitor who has stolen his girl that "love burns hot even on cold Sabbaths," this is a comment on Sabbath observance, not on Jewish lust.[13]

It need hardly be said that Jewish writers reciprocated the slanders. In all the early books of the *Sibylline Oracles* there are denunciations of Roman homosexuality and prostitution, apparently, as Geffcken suggested, giving a lead to the Christian apologists.[14] On the other hand, when Philo discusses sexual matters he does not seem to claim that Greeks are worse than Jews. He treats the question as one for individual self-control.[15] Josephus attacks ancient Greeks in his apologetic work.[16]

Shortly after Pliny's encounter with the Christians, Tacitus was moving ahead to complete his *Annals* and in relation to the reign of Nero and the fire at Rome in the year 64 he had to discuss the same group. Since as we have seen he disliked Jews, and since he knew that Christianity had come from Judaea, his attitude could be predicted. Since it was popularly supposed that Nero had set fire to part of the city for the sake of urban redevelopment, specifically to provide land for his palace the Golden House, he was eager to find scapegoats — "people hated for their crimes whom the mob called Christians". Syme has pointed out "the mixed character of the situation" with "false charges of incendiarism and the genuine dislike incurred by the Christians."[17] After Christ's legal condemnation,

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[11] *Textes d'auteurs grecs et romains relatifs au judaïsme*, Paris 1895, 307 n. 1.

[12] Justin, *Dial.* 134, 1.

[13] *Anth. Pal.* V, 160.

[14] J. Geffcken, *Die Oracula Sibyllina*, Leipzig 1902, 57-58 (note on III 185).

[15] E.g., *Dec.* 121-31; *Spec.* III,8-82; cf. Josephus, *C. Ap.* II, 199-203.

[16] Josephus, *C. Ap.* II, 273-75.

> the pernicious superstition was checked for a moment, only to break forth again, not only in Judaea, the source of this evil, but in the capital itself, where everything from everywhere, horrible or shameful, flows together and is celebrated.

The Christians were convicted primarily for what Tacitus had already assigned to the Jews: hatred of the human race.[18]

What may have been merely popular accusations against the Christians were given semi-official sanction in a speech perhaps delivered before the Senate by M. Cornelius Fronto, suffect consul in 143 and teacher of rhetoric to Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus. Fronto died about 166, so he was a contemporary of the Christian Justin Martyr. It is not clear when he delivered his anti-Christian remarks, which have survived on a page of the *Octavius* of Minucius Felix.[19]

Fronto begins with what looks like an echo of Pliny's report to Trajan. "They come together for a feast on a regular day with all their children and sisters and mothers, persons of both sexes and every age." He then gives an account quite different from Pliny's exoneration of Christian behavior. "After much feasting, when the banquet has grown hot and the passion of impure lust and drunkenness has been kindled, a dog tied to the standing lamp is incited to jump and bound by tossing a little cake to it beyond its tether. Thus when the tell-tale light has been overturned and put out, in the shameless darkness they embrace one another with unspeakable lust, as chance brings them together. If not in fact, yet in guilt, all are alike incestuous, since whatever can result in the acts of each is sought by the wish of all." Fronto's own comments owe much to Latin poetry,[20] as one would expect in a rhetorician's speech.

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[17] R. Syme, *Tacitus*, Oxford, 1958, II, 533.

[18] Tacitus, *Ann.* XV 44.

[19] Minucius Felix, *Oct.* 9, 8 (translation based on C. R. Haines, *Marcus Cornelius Fronto*, Loeb Library, 1920, II, 283-85).

[20] For this passage Van Wageningen notes Ovid, *Met.* VI, 588; *Am.* I, 6, 60; cf.

A clue to the origin of the accusations is probably given in what Tertullian says about the Christian society and its common meals. Pagans, he says, are indignant when Christians use the name "brothers" among themselves (all the more, one would suppose, with "sisters," since Martial insists on its questionable associations[21]) and apparently also because of the name given the common dinner — *agape*.[22] Greeks and Romans who disapproved of public kissing were not likely to favor the Christian practise of the "holy kiss."[23] And Dio Chrysostom offers the following suggestions in regard to "a Tarsian peculiarity" and other peculiarities as well. "Do you not know that, while the charge of doing some forbidden thing, something in violation of nature's laws, in most cases rests only on suspicion, and no one of the masses has really seen anything at all, but, on the contrary, it is in some dark and secret retreat that the wretched culprits commit their heinous deeds all unobserved, yet such symptoms of their incontinence as the following reveal their true character and disposition: voice, glance, posture; yes, and the following also, which are thought to be petty and insignificant details: style of haircut, mode of walking, elevation of the eye, inclination of the neck, the trick of conversing with upturned palms."[24] Presumably such suspicions could have influenced attitudes toward Christians.

Gnostic sects, with their peculiar mythology and ethics, not to mention their disdain for popular religion and morality, were natural targets for accusations of immoral behavior. Their predecessors at Corinth appear through a glass but rather brightly in what the apostle Paul writes to them. One of them is virtually committing incest with his father's wife and the Corinthian "spirituals" are proud of it (1 Cor. 5:1-2). Some of them argue that in Christianity sexual taboos went

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G.W. Clarke, *The Octavius of Marcus Minucius Felix*, New York 1974, 225, note 125. Perhaps there are also echoes of Pliny, *Ep.* X, 96, 7, or behind that passages like Livy XXXIX, 8, 5-6 and 13, 8-10.

[21] Martial II, 4; cf. X, 65; Tibullus III, 1, 26, etc.

[22] *Apol.* 39, 8. 16.

[23] E.g., Plutarch, *Cat. mai.* 17, 7; *Coniug. praec.* 13, 139E. On the kiss cf. K. Thraede, *Ursprung und Formen des 'heiligen Küsses' im frühen Christentum*, in *JAC* 11/12, 1968-1969, 124-80.

[24] Dio, *Or.* XXXIII, 52; cf. C. Bonner, *A Tarsian Peculiarity*, in *HTR* 33, 1940, 1-11.

out with dietary taboos. "Food is meant for the stomach and the stomach for food," and similarly sexual activity is perfectly natural and, indeed, lawful (6:13). Paul has to criticize their approval of prostitution; at any rate, they must have regarded it as a matter of indifference (6:15).[25] Real Gnostics in the second century, according to Clement of Alexandria, advocated treating women as common property and in what they called an "agape" practised what they preached. They thought of sexual intercourse as a "mystical communion" and justified their pursuit of it by calling themselves "sons of the first God" and "lords of the Sabbath."[26]

The efforts of more orthodox Christian moralists to dissociate themselves from the Gnostics begin with the work of Justin, apparently in his lost treatise *Against All Heresies*, composed before 150. In his major *Apology* he speaks of those who, instigated by demons, proposed themselves as gods after Christ's ascension; he refers to Simon, Menander, and Marcion although only Simon seems to have considered himself divine. Obviously he is following the earlier treatise to which he refers at the end of this section. And in it he probably included the suggestion that the authorities should investigate these sects to determine whether or not they practised the overturning of the lamp, promiscuous intercourse, and meals of human flesh. In any event, he makes the suggestion in the *Apology*.[27]

The same idea is expressed by Justin's admirer Irenaeus, who more reasonably suggests that the Carpocratians are responsible for the bad repute of Christians generally.[28] It is odd that he takes a hesitant sentence almost unchanged from Justin when he should have deleted it. Justin had written, "If they practise those fabled disreputable activities, we do not know." Irenaeus said it thus: "If the godless and immoral and abhorrent activities are practised among them, I should nòt be confident"[29] — yet he has just stated it as a fact! Clement too blamed the Carpocratians.[30] So did Epiphanius, though he probably never met any of them.[31] When he was a young man in Egypt he did encounter some beautiful Gnostic women who tried to lead him astray. His response was to inform the local bishops who expelled about eighty of them from whatever city it was.[32]

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[25] For Cynic parallels cf. A. Oltramare, *Les origines de la diatribe romaine*, Lausanne 1926, 50-51; Dio, *Or.* VI, 17-20; Diogenes Laertius VI, 69; Galen, *De locis affectis* VI, 5 (VIII, 419 Kühn); Athenaeus IV, 158F; "Diogenes," *Ep.* 42 in A.J. Malherbe, *The Cynic Epistles*, Missoula, Mont. 1977, 172-73. For Stoic parallels cf. H. von Arnim, *Stoicorum veterum fragmenta*, I, 250-57 (Zeno); 583-85 (Cleanthes); III, 743-56 (Chrysippus). The "Cynicizing" ideas were expressed in treatises "on the [ideal] state," later disavowed by some Stoics but treasured by opponents.

[26] Clement, *Str.* III, 6-10. 27.30.

[27] Justin, *Apol.* I, 26, 7.

[28] Irenaeus, *Adv. haer.* I, 25, 3 = Hippolytus, *Ref.* VII 32, 6.

We do not know how Gnostics responded to the accusations. The Valentinians surely rejected them with vigor. Clement is aware that they were concerned with "acts of spiritual union,"[33] even though Irenaeus insisted that pregnancy sometimes resulted.[34] As for ordinary or orthodox churchmen, Justin claimed that "many men and women have reached the age of sixty or seventy, disciples of Christ from childhood and constant in purity."[35] From the outside the physician Galen reiterated his statement. Christians included "not only men but also women who refrain from cohabiting all through their lives; and they also number individuals who, in self-discipline and self-control in matters of food and drink, and in their keen pursuit of justice, have attained a pitch not inferior to that of genuine philosophers."[36] Galen's condescension lends credence to his remark. There is no reason to examine Christian morality as a whole at this point.

By the time Origen wrote against Celsus two new points could be made about the old accusations. First, he could ascribe the "malicious rumor" to "the Jews" who spread it soon after the beginning of the Christian movement — with such effectiveness that even in Origen's time there were those persons who refused even to speak to Christians.[37] The notion that Jews believed such stories (and presumably spread them) was already set forth by Justin in his *Dialogue with Trypho* (10, 1), but he was willing, as Origen was not, to let Trypho call the stories popular but unworthy of belief. Trypho's criticism of Christian morality is not that it is so scandalous but that it is so difficult (10, 2). Origen simply takes the old slander about the Jews and uses it against slanders about the Christians. His second point is not altogether consistent with the first. "These allegations are now condemned even by the multitude and by people entirely alien to our religion as being a false slander against the Christians."[38] Perhaps a new era has dawned.

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[29] Irenaeus, *Adv. haer.* I, 25, 5; Hippolytus, *Ref.* VII 32, 8, omits.

[30] Clement, *Str.*, III 10, 1; cf. M. Smith, *Clement of Alexandria and a Secret Gospel of Mark*, Cambridge, Mass. 1973, 273.

[31] Epiphanius, *Pan.* XXVII, 3, 3-5; see also S. Benko, *The Libertine Gnostic Sect of the Phibionites according to Epiphanius*, in *VC* 21, 1967, 103-19.

[32] Epiphanius, *Pan.* XXVI, 17, 4-9.

[33] Clement, *Str.* III, 29, 3.

[34] Irenaeus, *Adv. haer.* I, 6, 3.

[35] Justin, *Apol.* I, 15, 6.

[36] R. Walzer, *Galen on Jews and Christians*, Oxford, 1949, 15-16.

[37] Origen, *C. Cels.* VI, 27.

Following Origen, Eusebius claims that "with the passage of time the slanders against the whole teaching were extinguished ... so that no one has dared to allege shameful calumny or any such slander against our faith such as our opponents in past times were accustomed to use."[39] In dealing with heresies in the past, however, he does not hesitate to put the blame for the slanders on them. The rites of the Simonians are "so full of shameful acts and unspeakable conduct that they cannot be mentioned by decent men."[40] The words we have rendered "shameful acts" and "unspeakable conduct" ordinarily refer to modes of sexual intercourse when viewed abusively. Eusebius follows this pattern, also found in the Christian apologists of the second century. In a later passage on the Carpocratians he uses just the same terms.[41] Apparently he is relying primarily on Irenaeus. In addition, he mentions the sect of the Nicolaitans as practising "unrestrained license"; this comes from Clement of Alexandria.[42] Finally, when he retells the story about Pliny and the Christians, relying on a Greek version of Tertullian's *Apology*, he paraphrases and adds items to show that the Roman governor Pliny attested the virtue of the Christians he knew. Pliny said they did nothing contrary to the laws; they could not practise adultery; they did nothing immoral.[43] These points, not made in Pliny's letter or by Tertullian, are stressed by Eusebius himself. He wants to show that there never was anything to the slanders, and that a Roman governor knew it.

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[38] Origen, *C. Cels.* VI, 40.

[39] Eusebius, *H.E.* IV, 7, 14.

[40] Eusebius, *H.E.* II, 13, 7.

[41] Eusebius, *H.E.* IV, 7, 9.

[42] Eusebius, *H.E.* III, 29, 2; cf. N. Brox, *Nikolaos und Nikolaiten*, in *VC* 19, 1965, 23-30.

[43] Eusebius, *H.E.* III, 33, 1.

Presumably there actually was little if anything to them, but their persistence shows the danger of conducting religious or political controversies on the basis of hearsay.

2. *Justin's "Second" Apology and the Charges*

We have seen the ways in which charges were passed around without much discrimination. In the case of Justin's so-called "Second" *Apology* there is something to be learned from a consideration of the charges and counter-charges in relation to the apologist's probable sources. We shall also try to explain some of the peculiarities of the contents of this little book.

In its last two chapters Justin finally indicates his purpose in writing. He wants the emperors to "subscribe" to his petition and declare Christians innocent of the charges levelled against them.[44] The charges, he indicates, are related to what one could find in the teaching of Sotades, Philaenis, Archestratus, Epicurus, and some of the poets. This odd conglomeration of names obviously comes from a source hostile to Epicurus, for he is being associated with two authors often regarded as obscene plus one writer on gastronomy. Sotades was famous for his abusive verse; in the fourth century Athanasius, intentionally missing his name and calling him Sosates, could use him as a foil against Arius.[45] Philaenis, now better known from an Oxyrhynchus papyrus with fragments of her work, wrote about procedures in sexual intercourse.[46] Archestratus' "Pleasant Living" was a gourmet's or perhaps a gourmand's, guide. Why put these works together? The answer is plain : first Clearchus of Soli, then the Stoic controversialist Chrysippus, denounced Philaenis and Archestratus together.[47] Justin knows nothing about the history of the controversy. He is obviously following Chrysippus, who as cited by Athenaeus "always put Archestratus on the same level with Philaenis"[48] — and did so in opposition to Epicurean hedonism, in his treatise *On pleasure and the good.*[49] There was obviously some justification for the juxtaposition in view of such fragments praising sensuous pleasures as those assembled by Athenaeus in the twelfth book of his *Deipnosophistae.*[50]

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[44] On "subscription" cf. F. Millar, *The Emperor in the Roman World*, Cornell 1977, 244-52, 563.

[45] Fragments in L. Escher, *De Sotadis Maronitae reliquiae* Darmstadt, 1913; note Quintilian's criticism (I, 8, 6).

[46] P. Oxy. XXXIX, 2891; cf. notes in *ZPE* 12, 1973, 183-95; 196; 13, 1974, 281-82.

[47] Possibly even before Clearchus; cf. F. Wehrli, *Die Schule des Aristoteles*, 3: *Klearchos*, ed. 2, Basel, 1969, 68-69.

Part of Justin's response to the Graeco-Roman accusations against the Christians, then, is a *tu quoque* which does not greatly advance the interchange of ideas but served as a model or at least a predecessor to later apologists like Tatian, Theophilus, and Tertullian. It is worth noting that some of its substance comes from a treatise several centuries old.

Perhaps this is not altogether surprising. Charges and countercharges of this sort have a long history. Felix Jacoby, writing on Diagoras of Melos, commented that "they were quick in these times [fifth century B.C.] at calling a man impious, almost as quick as they were at charging him with disgusting sexual habits."[51] Old ideas and old literature were fused in the name-calling in which early Christians and their opponents indulged.[52]

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[48] *Deipn.* VIII, 335B(-E).

[49] *SVF* III, 197-200. Justin's mention of Sardanapalus and Epicurus (II, 6, 3) could come from the same work; cf. Athenaeus, *Deipn.* 335F-336B, also H. Usener, *Epicurea*, Leipzig, 1887, lxxiii.

[50] Athenaeus, *Deipn.* XII, 546E-547A.

[51] F. Jacoby, *Diagoras* ὁ Ἄθεος (ADAW 1959, Nr. 3), 44, note 198.

[52] For the part played by similar charges (with better justification) in "Diocletian's general justification of his eastern campaigns", see the stimulating article *The Relativity of Moral Codes: Rome and Persia in Late Antiquity* by Henry Chadwick in *Early Christianity and the Classical Intellectual Tradition*, ed. W. R. Schoedel and R. L. Wilken (Théologie Historique 53), Paris 1979, 135-53.

THE PROBLEM OF THE ANTI-GNOSTIC POLEMIC IN RABBINIC LITERATURE

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A

The celebration of Professor G. Quispel's 65th birthday is a suitable occasion for reviewing the often-discussed subject of how much the Rabbis of Talmudic times actually knew about the Gnostic heresies of their time and how, if at all, they reacted to those heresies. One need not repeat here the fact that the scholarly world owes a great debt to Professor Quispel for his share in purchasing, publishing and interpreting the Gnostic texts discovered at Nag Hammadi. Professor Quispel was one of the first scholars that recognized — to use a happy phrasing of Elaine Pagels — that "Most of the writings (discovered at Nag Hammadi) use Christian terminology, unmistakably related to a Jewish heritage".[1] Yet, however closely related the Gnostic terminology and ideas were to the Jewish heritage, there is nothing new in the statement that they maintained a hostile attitude towards that heritage. Thus, it is only natural to assume that the Rabbis could not afford hiding in trenches without taking up the challenge and responding in the strongest terms. One's expectations from the Rabbis are even greater, when one realizes that the Gnostic writers not only used Jewish material in their writings but virtually inverted its meaning and significance. The Jewish material used by the Gnostic writers derived from Scripture, the Targums and the Midrash at large, and one is definitely justified in assuming that the Rabbis could not indifferently watch their own religion misused and turned against itself.

Furthermore, it has been argued by the present writer that in using the Jewish sources for anti-Jewish purposes, the Gnostic writers were aiming at certain Jewish and/or (Jewish)-Christian circles with whom they found themselves to disagree, in order to point out to them how inconclusive, nay wrong, their religious tradition was.[2] From a Gnostic or Christian-Gnostic point of view, the Jewish tradition upon which Christianity rested and out of which it grew had to undergo a substantial inversion of values (*Umdeutung*) before it could be incorporated into the new spiritual framework. Thus, Christianity was believed by the Gnostics to handle its Jewish background in a manner that did not seem radical enough to the Gnostic writers. Needless to say, under such circumstances the Rabbis were called upon to react in the strongest terms possible. The questions which we shall try to answer here in this respect are: Did the Rabbis live up to what one justifiably expects from them? And if so, how did the Rabbis react to the Gnostic challenge?

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[1] E. Pagels, *The Gnostic Gospels*, New York 1979, xix.

Indeed, these questions are most fascinating ones and they have been dealt with frequently in modern scholarship. However, as we shall see, telling as the answers to those questions may be about the nature of the Judaism — and possibly also of the Gnosticism — of that period, they are not as easy and clear cut as scholars sometimes assume. Admittedly, there is a relatively great number of utterances in Rabbinic writings which seem to be reports of arguments which the Rabbis had with heretics. Heretics are frequently referred to in Rabbinic writings as *Minim*, but who are those *Minim* and how can they be identified? There are almost as many answers to these questions as *Minim* mentioned in Rabbinic writings.[3] In addition, there are a number of utterances in Rabbinic literature which take up in a polemical manner such subjects as the alleged existence of two or more powers in heaven, the creation of the world with the help of or by angels, the questions of the existence of evil and the relevance of the Law. Now, the question may be asked: Do those utterances reflect a live situation in which the Rabbis actually argued against real Gnostic opponents, or were those utterances rhetorical means of disputation? Of course, one may argue, the alternatives do not make a real difference; yet, it is of high historical importance to know whether a polemical utterance reflects a real act of disputation or a mere method of diatribe. A diatribe in our case means that the polemics is used for internal purposes, while disputations would reflect a situation in which Jews and Gnostics met to pluck one another's feathers. In fact, both possibilities seem to possess likelihood, although it appears that diatribe is the more outstanding feature of those utterances.

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[2] See the writer's article *Aspects of the Jewish-Gnostic Controversy* in the forthcoming *Proceedings of the Yale International Conference on Gnosticism* (1981).

[3] For a brief review of the problem see A. Segal, *Two Powers in Heaven*, Leiden 1977, 4ff.

However, the distinction between real historical documentation and mere literary convention is not as solid as one may wish. In assessing what the Rabbis thought and said — and under what circumstances they did so — we mostly rely on the Rabbinic texts themselves. We now know that even from a purely text-critical point of view the rabbinic material that is available to us has to be handled very carefully. Comparative textual criticism, based mainly on the study of manuscripts, more often than not brings with it great surprises. The best that we can now say is that a certain view quoted from the mouth of a certain Rabbi does not necessarily reflect what the Rabbi himself thought or said but what his thoughts or sayings were made to sound like in this or that document as it is preserved in this or that edition or manuscript. Examples to that effect cannot be given here, but all those who are engaged in a systematic study of the Rabbinic texts are aware of and familiar with the problem and its skepticistic consequences. In line with what has just been said one has to consider the possibility that some of the views expressed by the rabbis have been reformulated in order to fit the views and lines of thought — even the ways of expression — of later generations. Some views were censured or even suppressed, so that from a historical point of view the best that can be said about the rabbis, their views and their polemical activities, is that one has always to enhance one's critical judgement with historical skepticism.

If one compares the rabbinic utterances and the writings of the Church Fathers in which a polemic is undertaken against the Gnostic sects of the time, one immediately realizes the great difference between the two. The Church Fathers used direct and open polemics against their Gnostic adversaries. They even named some of them by name, while the Rabbinic utterances are rather vague and too general to be used as a guide for a clear understanding of the nature of their polemic and its actual address. The Rabbinic utterances need interpretation, and their anti-Gnostic tendency is therefore not as self-evident as is sometimes assumed. There is hardly a saying in Rabbinic literature which looks as an anti-Gnostic polemic but which cannot at the same time be interpreted as entailing opposition to yet other heretical streams of thought and belief. Since many of the polemical utterances in rabbinic literature are anti-dualistic, some think that they are anti-Gnostic, while others maintain that they are anti-Iranian. In other words, one should not approach the subject of the rabbinic polemic against the Gnostics without being aware of the intrinsic problems involved in the study of the subject. Several scholars are to be credited for realizing the rather ambiguous state of affairs involved in the study of the subject-matter. However, there are still many scholars who too easily accept the rabbinic evidence at its face value. The extent to which one can adhere to some of these views will be discussed below.

B

The first scholar who undertook a systematic study of the relationship between Gnosticism and Judaism was the Jewish historian H. Grätz.[4] Grätz divided his study into several parts. In the "Introduction" to his book he maintained that the Gnosticism of the early Christian period did not leave untouched the Judaism of the period, and that, in fact, in the time of Hadrian, that is, the generation of Rabbi ʿAqiva and his students, Gnosticism actually influenced Judaism to such a degree that one can find Gnostic ideas in the rabbinic writings of the period.[5] Grätz went as far as coining the term "eine jüdische Gnosis", which almost a century later suggested a direction to G. Scholem in his studies of Merkavah mysticism.[6] In short, Grätz seeks to prove that

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[4] H. Grätz, *Gnosticismus und Judenthum*, Krotoschin, 1846 [Republished Westmead 1971].

[5] See *ibid.*, 6.

[6] See G. Scholem; *Major Trends in Jewish Mysticism*, [3]London, Thames & Hudson, 1955, 40-79: "Merkabah Mysticism and Jewish Gnosticism"; Idem, *Jewish Gnosticism, Merkabah Mysticism and Talmudic Tradition*,[2] New York 1965; Idem, *Ursprung und Anfänge der Kabbala*, Berlin 1962, 15-20: "Literatur der Hekhaloth und jüdische Gnosis"; Idem, *Kabbalah*, Jerusalem 1974, 21-22: "Jewish Gnosis and the *Sefer Yeẓirah*". Scholem's position was challenged by D. Flusser, *Scholem's recent book on Merkabah Literature*, in *JJS* 11, 1960, 59-68; by H. Jonas in: *The Bible in Modern Scholarship*

(a) there is an actual Gnostic influence on the Judaism of the Mishnaic period; (b) the mystic wisdom (mystische Weisheit) of the Tannaim has a strong affinity to Gnosticism; (c) *Sefer Yeẓirah* contains an indirect but strong polemic against a radical anti-Jewish Gnosis and this at the same time that the book shows certain material affinities with Gnosticism.

According to Grätz, all the rivers flow into the same sea and terms like *Sefarim Ha-Ḥiẓonim*, *Sifrei Minim* and *Zemer Yevani* used in rabbinic writings — all have one thing in common : preoccupation with what Grätz calls "gnostische Themata". Grätz's interpretation is arbitrary, and it can easily be shown in the case of each one of those terms that a Gnostic identification raises more problems than it solves. For instance, the *Sefarim Ha-Ḥiẓonim* mentioned in *Mishnah Sanhedrin* x, i, received a number of interpretations in the writings of the Tannaim and Amoraim themselves. Thus we find contradicting exegetical remarks in the Palestinian and Babylonian Talmuds. According to *Talmud Yerushalmi*[7] the *Sefarim Ha-Ḥiẓonim* include books like those of *Ben Sira* [= Ecclesiasticus] and the hitherto unidentified books of Ben La'ana (or : Ben La'aga), while the Babylonian Talmud (100b) interprets the term either as *Sifrei Minim*[8] or as the Book of Ben Sira. Now, there are at least two different explanations of the *Sifrei Minim*. According to the one, they were heretical books, and according to the other they were Jewish sacred writings copied by heretics for their own use.[9] However, there is no indication whatsoever in the Jewish sources as to the exact identity of those *Minim* themselves. Heretics they obviously were, but less obvious is the exact nature of their heresy. And if, as the *Babylonian Talmud Ḥagigah* 15b reports, 'Elish'a ben 'Avuyah was bursting with *Sifrei Minim*, one may well assume that his heretical library was not as mono-thematic as those, who consider Elisha ben Avuyah's apostasy to be the Gnostic heresy, think it was.

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ed. J.Ph. Hyatt, London, 1966, 286-93; and I. Gruenwald, *'Knowledge' and 'Vision'*, in *Israel Oriental Studies* 3, 1973, 63ff.

[7] *Yerushalmi Sanhedrin* (ed. Venice) 28a.

[8] Some editions read : *Sifrei Zedokim-* which is a "correction" introduced by the Christian censor of the Basel Edition.

[9] See further, I. Gruenwald, *Jewish Apocalyptic Literature*, in *ANRW* II/19, Berlin 1980, 89ff.

Considering the case of Elisha ben Avuyah, who has become the archetype of the Jewish heretic or apostate, it should be noticed that both the Palestinian and the Babylonian Talmuds relate a number of anecdotes the purpose of which is to illustrate his unorthodox views and behaviour. However, there is not even one single case among those reported in the Talmuds which in any significant way comes close to a Gnostic view or heresy. Kurt Schubert, for instance, wanted to see in the visit which Elisha ben Avuyah paid to a whore an allusion to the apostate's experiences in Gnostic orgiastic circles.[10] However, prostitution is not necessarily motivated by theological speculations, and the service which the client in our case demanded from the prostitute (for she did refuse him at first) may reflect different expectations than just Pneumatic enlightenment. Similarly, we find a number of scholars arguing that Elisha ben Avuyah's vision of Metatron sitting in heaven, which according to the Babylonian Talmud[11] caused his apostasy, should be interpreted as a Gnostic experience. Seeing Metatron sitting, and knowing that, excepting God, no-one is able or allowed to sit in heaven,[12] Elisha ben Avuyah came to the wrong conclusion that there were Two Powers (*Shetei Reshuyot*) in heaven. Since the idea of Two Powers in Heaven has a dualistic ring and Gnosticism is generally believed to be a dualistic doctrine, many scholars identified the Two-Powers heresy with Gnosticism. Thus, it is said, Elisha ben Avuyah became a Gnostic. This may well be so, but it is not necessarily so. If it is not, what is the alternative?

Writing about this passage in *Bavli Ḥagigah*, Alan Segal rightly discusses its meaning and significance in relation to Merkavah tradition at large. He recognized that the story of Elisha ben Avuyah's encounter with Metatron is not necessarily a piece of anti-Gnostic polemic. Segal suggests viewing the story in the context in which it appears, that is, as condemning a hitherto unidentified kind of heretics. Who are those hitherto unidentified heretics? Segal proposes to see in them "proto-Merkabah heretics".[13] And again, referring to another controversy recorded in *Bavli Sanhedrin* 38b about the characteristics of Metatron, Segal remarks: "The heretical opponent of R. 'Idi in the third century could be either a Christian or Merkabah mystic. The former is somewhat more likely, because nowhere else are Merkabah mystics explicitely called '*minim*'".[14] If I read Segal correctly, he distinguishes between "proto-Merkabah heretics" and "Merkabah mystics" who could, with all due reservations, figure as heretical opponents in the Talmudic stories. It is quite likely that certain Merkavah speculations disturbed the rabbis and that the latter may have polemized against them. Indeed, Segal himself refers to the angelology of the Merkavah mystics, which could have bred strange theories about angelic mediation.[15] However, it should be observed that: (a) Nowhere in rabbinic writings do we find that the Merkavah mystics were treated as heretics. The rabbis seem to have had a reserved, if not somewhat critical, attitude towards the Merkavah mystics. There are even good reasons to believe that some of the Merkavah material was suppressed by the rabbis. But there is nothing in the rabbinic writings that can substantiate the hypothesis the existence of "proto-Merkavah heretics" and the unequivocal identification of heretical views expressed by Merkavah mystics; (b) There is almost nothing in the Merkavah writings themselves that may be interpreted as angelic mediation. Contrary to medieval Jewish mysticism, Merkavah mysticism by and large does not include angelic mediation. Of course, angels play an important role in Merkavah mysticism and this in helping the mystic carry out and pass through his mystical experience, but nowhere in the Merkavah texts do we find references to the idea of angelic mediation, neither in the creation of the world, nor in the act of redemption, nor by appearing as a divine hypostasis.

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[10] K. Schubert, *Problem und Wesen der Jüdischen Gnosis*, in *Kairos* 3, 1961, 14. Schubert writes: "Mag sein, dass das im Sinne verstanden werden könnte, dass Acher sich einer orgiastisch-gnostischen Gruppe angeschlossen hätte".

[11] *Bavli Ḥagigah* 15a.

[12] It is generally believed that angels "have no joints", that is, they cannot bend their legs into a sitting position. See *Yerushalmi Berakhot* 2c (based on *Ezekiel* i,7: "Their legs were straight"). A. Segal writes: "... being seated is more than infringement of protocol...", *o.c.*, 61. In fact, it is no infringement at all; the angels simply cannot sit. In other words, since Metatron *was* sitting, he must be superior to the angels, that is, he could be viewed as another Power in heaven. One may account for Metatron's ability to sit by saying that according to one predominant tradition he had once been a human being, Enoch!

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[13] *Op. cit.*, 67.

[14] *Ibid.*, 73.

[15] Curiously, Segal sees in the name Metatron a proof "for a Babylonian redaction". Admittedly, Metatron is not mentioned in the Palestinian Talmud, but, as Professor S. Lieberman has shown, the name derives from the Greco-Roman pagan world, and thus could have been known in Palestine too. See S. Lieberman in I. Gruenwald, *Apocalyptic and Merkavah Mysticism*, Leiden 1980, 235ff.

In his paper "Jaldabaoth Reconsidered", G. Scholem deals, *inter alia*, with the question of how the Jewish material reached the Gnostic writers.[16] Scholem assumes that certain Jews were responsible for the creation of some of the Gnostic Theologumena. He qualifies his statement: "If I say a Jew, I have in mind Jews who went over to Gnostic heresies, such as the famous Tannaitic teacher Elisha ben Abuyah in the first half of the second century, who surely was not the first Gnostic sectarian (Hebrew: *min*), but only the most widely known".[17] Regarding Elisha ben Avuyah the person, I believe that Scholem after all infers too much from too little. However, his view that Jews actively contributed to the formation of Gnosticism seems to be correct.

We have dealt rather extensively with some views expressed by scholars in relation to the apostasy of Elisha ben Avuyah. The view that most of these scholars share is that Elisha ben Avuyah became a Gnostic. We could quote other opinions in support of that view,[18] but it still appears that more caution is needed regarding this issue. Alan Segal was certainly right when he said that there is no proof for a Gnostic heresy in the case of Elisha ben Avuyah. However, the alternative as suggested by Segal is equally inconclusive. The case of "proto-Merkabah heretics" has not been firmly established, nor can the Merkavah mystics themselves be considered as maintaining heretical views.

Elisha ben Avuyah was called *Aḥer*. A literal translation of the term is "Other"; however, it seems that the term should be translated in a technical sense as rendering "an apostate". In fact, as S. Lieberman has pointed out, some early versions of his name read *Aḥor*, "the one who retreated (from his religion)".[19] There are a number of cases in which the term *Aḥer* and its derivatives are used in Tannaitic and early Amoraic literature in the sense of apostasy or unorthodox practice, and that with no specific Gnostic overtones. (a) In *Tosefta Berakhot* vi (vii), 20, we hear of a person who does not say his benedictions properly (that is, he opens them with the appellation El[ohim] and ends them with the same appellation, instead of using twice the Tetragrammaton) that he acts according to the *Derekh Aḥeret*.[20] Literally, this would mean "the other way", but technically it appears, the term should be rendered as the unorthodox or sectarian way. Professor S. Lieberman thinks that the *Tosefta* here has in mind sectarians like those who became known from the Qumran Scrolls.[21] This may well be so; in any event, we do not know of any specific groups whose practice in saying their benedictions was similar to the one called here *Derekh Aḥeret*. (b) In *Bereshit Rabba*, Parashah xxiii (ed. Theodor-Albeck, p. 224) some sages are quoted as saying that Na'amah was *Aḥeret*, which according to the explanation given there should be understood as "idol worshipping".[22] (c) Finally, *Mekhilta de-Rabbi Yishmael* to *Exodus* xx, 3 — "You shall have no other gods before me" (RSV) — says: *Elohim Aḥerim* ("other gods") — those who make their worshippers *Aḥerim*.[23] The last *Aḥerim* would translate here as "idol-worshippers", and not simply "other".

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[16] G. Scholem, *Jaldabaoth Reconsidered*, in *Mélanges d'Histoire des Religions Offerts à Henri-Charles Puech*, 1974, 405-421.

[17] *Ibid.*, 418 ff.

[18] Such as M. Friedländer, *Der Vorchristliche jüdische Gnosticismus*, Göttingen 1898 [Republished in 1972 by Gregg International Publishers], 102, who maintained that the idea of the *Pardes* "als Sitz der Gnosis" leads the way to Ophitic Gnosticism. Scholem, *Art. cit.*, 419, n. 1, refers to Friedländer's interpretation and writes: "I am not convinced by him". I share Scholem's view on that.

In short, the case of Elisha ben Avuyah, nicknamed *Aḥer*, which was taken by so many scholars to illustrate the rabbinic attitude towards the Gnostics, turns out to be too ambiguous to allow a clear-cut and conclusive interpretation. In fact, the Gnostic interpretation seems to be the least likely, though there is no definite alternative to that interpretation. It is quite likely that the rabbis found in Elisha ben Avuyah a peg on which they hung a variety of heretical views, and if so, we have another good reason for not sticking to the Gnostic-interpretation of his case.

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[19] S. Lieberman, *Tosefta Ki-Fshuṭah*, part V: *Order Mo'ed*, 1289.

[20] In *Yerushalmi Berakhot* 11d, the reading is: "(he opens) with the Tetragrammaton and ends with 'El...".

[21] *Idem.*, *Tosefta Ki-Fshuṭah*, part I: *Order Zera'im*, 122.

[22] It is said that Na'amah "*haytah man'emet ba-tof la-'avodah zarah*", that is, "she sang to the timbrel in honour of idolatry". The translation offered by H. Freedman (Soncino ed., London 1939) to the effect that '*Aḥeret* is "of a different stamp" is therefore misleading. However, *Aḥeret* may also mean 'a prostitute'. See H. Yalon, *Studies in the Hebrew Language*, [in Hebrew], Jerusalem, 1971, 293-4.

[23] Ed. Horovitz-Rabin, 223.

At this stage it would be in point to repeat our remark to the effect that those who look for the anti-Gnostic polemic in rabbinic writings have no easy job to do. In fact, scholars who studied the rabbinic material which discusses the subjects of *Ma'aseh Bereshit* and *Ma'aseh Merkavah*, cosmology and theosophy, have more often than not found in it traces of either Gnostic influenced or anti-Gnostic polemical tendencies. However, we should remember that most of those studies were carried out at a time when the Gnostic writings from Nag Hammadi were still buried in the earth. Basing themselves on the writings of the Church Fathers who polemized against the Gnostics, scholars knew quite a lot about Gnosticism but not everything. The discovery of the Gnostic library at Nag Hammadi enables us to see the subject more clearly, and for that matter also, to realize that the alleged rabbinic polemic against Gnosticism is not as straightforwardly documented as scholars used to believe it was. Hence, the inevitable conclusion that a revaluation of the problem is necessary. Reading the texts from Nag Hammadi, one gets the clear impression that there is more Judaism in Gnosticism than the other way around. It may even be asked whether from a historical point of view, the rabbis had a first-hand knowledge of Gnostic sectarians and/or their writings. Although the Gnostic heresy was certainly in the air at the time, it is still an open question, How much of the Gnostic heresy was directly known to the rabbis. The answer to that question is of paramount importance to any conclusion which may be reached in relation to the problem of the anti-Gnostic polemic in the rabbinic writings.

C

In discussing the Greek influence in Jewish Palestine, S. Lieberman wrote:

> It is ... pertinent to ask: "Were the views of the ancient Palestinian Rabbis based upon knowledge of the surrounding Hellenistic culture, or were they the product of ignorance, or, at least, the result of misunderstanding? Hence, "How much Greek in Jewish Palestine?" is to be understood mainly

> as the question: "How much knowledge of the world which surrounded them did the builders of Rabbinic Judaism possess?"[24]

It is abvious that the questions asked by Professor Lieberman can be adopted — with some slight changes — to our subject. Lieberman's answers to these questions are by and large positive ones, though with some qualifications. We may quote some of his conclusions here, at least those which bear relevance to our problem. Lieberman writes:

> The Rabbis drew their information [about the Greek and Roman world — I.G.] from personal conversations with philosophers and other intelligent people. The Talmuds and the Midrashim frequently mention such intercourse between the Rabbis and men whom they styled "philosophers". It is reasonable to assume that there were many learned Jews among the upper classes of Jewish Palestine who communicated some of the Greek doctrines to the rabbis.[25]

In like manner Lieberman summarizes:

> We do not know exactly how much Greek the Rabbis knew. They probably did not read Plato and certainly not the pre-Socratic philosophers ... Jewish opinion on the non-Jewish world was the product of knowledge and not of ignorance, and this knowledge was undoubtedly a great asset.[26]

Lieberman's conclusion and summary can be easily paraphrased to fit our subject. Instead of "Greek" etc. one may insert "Gnostic", and a more or less positive — however general — answer can be given to the question: "How much Gnosticism in Rabbinic writings?"

In an Appendix to that article which discusses the problem of "How much Greek in Jewish Palestine?", Lieberman takes up the subject of Gnosticism as a branch of Greek "philosophy".[27] Lieberman assumes that "It is now evident that the Rabbis were aware of the Gnostic teachings" and that "There can be no doubt that in many cases the *Minim* mentioned in Rabbinic literature designate Gnostics".[28] Lieberman goes on and says: "However, no direct allusions to the maxims of the Gnostics (except generalities of their theology) were ever identified in Rabbinic literature". I agree with Lieberman on that issue. However, when Lieberman adds: "But I believe that such allusions do exist", I would like to give expression to my skepticism. Lieberman quotes three instances in which he found parallel sayings in the Gnostic and the Rabbinic writings. On close study, however, those parallels do not seem to entail a direct rabbinic polemic against the Gnostics, but mere parallelism either in views or in the subject-matter.

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[24] S. Lieberman, "How much Greek in Jewish Palestine?", in *Biblical and Other Studies*, ed. by A. Altmann, 1962, 123.

[25] *Ibid.*, 131.

[26] *Ibid.*, 135.

[27] *Ibid.*, 135-141.

[28] *Ibid.*, 135. In both statements Lieberman relies on the views expressed by G. Scholem. On Scholem's views on the subject see I. Gruenwald, *'Knowledge' and 'Vision'*, in *Israel Oriental Studies* 3, 1973, 88 ff.

Let us concentrate on one example as discussed by Lieberman. In *The Gospel of Truth* (NHC I, 3) 22, 12ff., we find the following statement:

> Each one's name comes to him. He who is to have knowledge in this manner knows where he comes from and where he is going.[29]

In a similar saying found in *The Gospel of Thomas* (NHC II, 2, 41, 31ff), Logion 50, an explanation of this idea is quoted in the name of Jesus:

> Jesus said: "If they say to you: 'Where did you come from?', say to them: 'We came from Light, the place where the light came into being on its own accord...[30]

It is through the 'Gnosis' that a man learns of his origin in light and of his destination.

Now, several such sayings are recorded in rabbinic writings. The earliest, and most famous, of these sayings is attributed to ʿAqaviah ben Mahalalel (flourished around the beginning of the first century C.E.):

> Consider three things, and thou wilt not come into the hands of transgression. Know whence thou camest; and whither thou art going, and before whom thou art to give account and reckoning. Know whence thou camest: from a fetid drop; and whither thou art going: to worm and maggot;

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[29] English translation by G. W. MacRae, in *The Nag Hammadi Library in English*, ed. J. M. Robinson, San Francisco 1977, 40. A similar saying is found in the so-called *Excerpta ex Theodoto* 78, 2. See also A. Henrichs and L. Koenen, *Der Kölner Mani-Kodex*, in *ZPE* 19, 1975, 22ff. [= fol. 21,2 in the Codex].

[30] English translation by Th. O. Lambdin, in *Op. cit.* (n. 29), 123.

> and before whom thou art to give account and reckoning: before the King of the kings of kings, blessed is He.[31]

On this saying Lieberman remarks: "It is clear that the Rabbi reminds man of the lowly nature of his body, of the virtue of humility and the fear of the Lord. There is no inner contradiction between the formula of the Gnostics *per se* and that of the Rabbis".[32]

A similar saying is quoted in the name of Ben ʿAzzai:

> Ben ʿAzzai says: "Whoever keeps these four things in his heart and before his eyes, will never sin: Whence he came, whither he is going, who will be his judge, and what will become of him in the hereafter. Whence he came: from a dark place; whither he is going: to a place of gloom and darkness; whence he came: from an impure place; and whither he is going: to defile other people; whence he came: from fetid moisture, and from a place over which the eye has no power; whither he is going: to the grave, to be judged in Gehenna, and to be swept away by fire ...[33]

And yet again in ʿAvot de-Rabbi Nathan, Version B, xxxii[34] we find Rabbi Shimʿon ben Elʿazar saying:

> Whence did he come? From a place of fire, and he returns to a place of fire. And whence did he come? From a place of compression, and he returns to a place of compression. And whence did he come? From a place that nobody can see, and he returns to a place that nobody can see. Whence did he come? From a place of impurity, and when he returns, he defiles other people.[35]

Lieberman concludes his argument by saying: "It is evident that the fundamental question of the Gnostics was well known to the Rabbis of the second century, and they accordingly expressed their reaction to it" (p. 137).

Reviewing this material, the rabbinic sayings and the Gnostic quotations, one may obtain a fairly clear picture of the relationship between the two sets of sayings. First came the saying of ʿAqaviah ben Malalel which combines practical wisdom and the fear of sin.[36] According to it, one should know one's place in the world: one comes "from a fetid drop" and goes "to the place of dust, worms and maggots". This sounds like a paraphrase of *Genesis* iii, 19: "you are dust and to dust you shall return", to which the sage added the idea of the future judgement. ʿAqaviah ben Mahalalel lived in all likelihood at the beginning of the first century of the Christian Era, that is, before the Gnostic heresy began, and his saying may reflect a current Stoic idea,[37] though not necessarily so. Reflections on the origin of man and his destination were a quite frequent phenomenon in antiquity, but they were not always phrased in the same terms as those used by ʿAqaviah ben Mahalalel.[38] It is not unlikely that the Gnostic writings which we quoted here were composed in the first half of the Second Century of the Christian Era, that is, a century later than ʿAqavia ben Mahalalel. This is also roughly the time of Ben ʿAzzai, while Rabbi Shimeʿon ben ʿEleʿazar lived two generations later. There is no *direct* polemic either in the words quoted in the name of Ben ʿAzzai or in the quotation from Shimeʿon ben Eleʿazar. Admittedly, the rabbis sometimes polemized against their adversaries in an indirect manner, either by quoting one of their ideas but in an inverted form, or by adding or dropping an element, or by giving it a new direction. Thus, the degree to which a certain rabbinic utterance may be said to imply a polemical tendency frequently depends on our way of reading it and not on explicit indications. Yet, in our case there is nothing that really substantiates Lieberman's conclusion, namely, that "it is evident that the fundamental question of the Gnostics was well known to the Rabbis of the second century, and they accordingly expressed their reaction to it".[39] But, there are good reasons to see in both, the sayings of the Gnostic writers and the sayings of the Second Century Rabbis, a series of variations on the theme of ʿAkaviah ben Mahalalel. Whether one has here to reckon with an additional Stoic influence is indeterminable, but the question is not unimportant.

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[31] *Mishnah ʿAvot* III, 1. English translation by Ch. Taylor, Cambridge, 1877, I, pp. 56-57.

[32] *Art. cit.*, 136.

[33] *Derekh Ereẓ Rabba* (= *Pirkei Ben ʿAzzai*) I, 1; English translation by M. Higger, *The Treatises Derekh Erez*, 2, New York 1935, English Section, 59 (with the corrections of S. Lieberman, *Art. cit.*, 137).

[34] Ed. Sh. Schechter, 69.

[35] English translation by S. Lieberman, *Art. cit.*, 137. It appears that both terms "place of fire" and "place of compression" simultaneously designate the womb and the grave.

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[36] See *Mishnah Eduyot* v, 6.

[37] See S. Lieberman, *Art. cit.*, 136, n. 13.

[38] See E. R. Dodds, *The Greeks and the Irrational*, Berkeley & Los Angeles 1964, 155; *idem*, *Pagan and Christian in an Age of Anxiety*, Cambridge 1968, 21 ff.

[39] A. Segal, *Op. cit.*, p. x.

D

It is, of course, impossible to discuss here all the cases in which scholars have seen reflections of an anti-Gnostic polemic. As was indicated before, scholars were used to seeing in almost every rabbinic utterance about cosmology, the nature of the Deity, and the question of the origin of evil a possible polemic against Gnostic views. One might add to this that every reference to the *Minim* and to their Books was considered in the light of the theory that Gnostics and their writings were meant. We shall concentrate in this last part of our paper on one of the major issues in the alleged polemical sayings of the rabbis: The Two Powers in Heaven.

Alan Segal correctly remarked that the rabbis "did little to characterize their enemies, especially when to do so would have had the effect of spreading the error further".[40] Although the rabbis quite often refer to the heresy of the Two Powers of Heaven, it is hardly made clear which aspect of the heresy the rabbis had in mind in each case. Two Powers in Heaven is another way of saying that either two opposing or two complementary deities share between themselves the dominion over this world. Such a dualistic concept was known from the Iranian religion, and it may frequently be found in ancient mythological religions. However, certain ideas about a divine heavenly being, such as the Christ or a plenipotentiary angel, could have led to similar dualistic conclusions. Thus, for instance, Metatron induced in Elisha ben Avuyah the impression that there are Two Powers in Heaven. Professor S. Lieberman has convincingly shown that the word "Metatron" is a younger form of the older "synthronos", a semi-god in the Greek pantheon possessing a semi-divine office.[41] The "synthronos" was considered a half-god, and for the rabbis any being who possessed semi-divine offices or position was a threat to the Jewish concept of monotheism. Whether the threat was underlined by Christian or Gnostic speculations cannot be decided conclusively on the basis of the rabbinic texts available to us today.

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[40] *Ibid.*, 4.

[41] See S. Lieberman, *Metatron, the Meaning of His Name and His Functions*, Appendix to I. Gruenwald, *Apocalyptic and Merkavah Mysticism*, Leiden 1979, 234ff. A "Synthronos" means "one who shares a throne alongside the major Deity".

Dualism is much too widespread a concept to be a catchword for either Christianity or Gnosticism. In fact, the kind of dualism known from the Gnostic writings is rather peculiar, since it does not conceive of two antagonistic deities in the strict sense of the term. Yaldabaoth, or anyone of the other Archons, was conceived of as a created being, and for that matter he was condemned by the Gnostics. He did not occupy a respectable place and position in heaven, and there was no danger at all that a Jew would worship him. Thus, the fear that a Jew might address in his prayer two separate divine beings could not have real substance if understood in an anti-Gnostic context.[42] Although the Gnostics blamed the Jews for worshipping Yaldabaoth and his Archon-fellows,[43] it is completely inconceivable that any normal Jew would do the Gnostic the favour of doing so. We may even add that the sayings in rabbinic writings about the Two Powers in Heaven are too weak to refute the Gnostic heresy itself. The Gnostic attack on Judaism was carried out with pointed daggers, and the polemical strength of the rabbinic utterances against the belief in Two Powers in Heaven is rather vague and meaningless in face of the severe and overall attack of the Gnostics.

To give one example for this state of affairs, we would refer to the saying of the *Mishnah Berakhot* v, 3: "[He who says in his prayer[44]] 'We give thanks; We give thanks' — is to be silenced". The Mishnah condemns a number of then current liturgical formulae, and it is not made clear in the Mishnah itself what is wrong with the repetition of "we give thanks". The Gemara, however, in the Babylonian Talmud[45] explains the issue by saying: "Because he may be interpreted to imply Two Powers". However, in *Talmud Yerushalmi*,[46] Rabbi Shemuel the son of Rav Yiẓḥaq is quoted as referring to *Psalms* lxiii,

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[42] See our discussion below.

[43] They even claimed that the Jewish prophets were inspired by the Archons or angels. See Irenaeus, *Adversus Haereses*, I, 23, 4; 24, 4; etc.

[44] Most probably the so-called *Eighteen Benedictions* are meant.

[45] *Berakhot* 33b; compare *Bavli Megillah* 25a.

[46] *Berakhot* 9c (Ed. Venice); *Megillah* 75c.

11 : "for the mouth of liars will be stopped". To this the Gemara adds a qualification : In the public service it is forbidden to repeat the words, whereas in private one may repeat them by way of a prayer of supplication (*Tahanunim*).[47] The kind of prayer referred to in rabbinic writings by the term *Tahanunim* is the personal prayer which is not fulfilling the official obligation to pray, which is designated by the term : *Tefillat Qva* (literally, a prayer that has to be said at a fixed time).[48] Thus, by repeating the word *Modim* ("we give thanks") a man is breaking away from the fixed number of the words of praise contained in the *'Amidah* ("Eighteen Benedictions") and thus changes the status of his prayer. We saw[49] that Rabbi Yoḥanan silenced such a man who performed before the congregation. Rabbi Yoḥanan most probably did so in line with our *Mishnah*. The Babylonian Talmud, however, understood the words of the Mishnah to imply Two Powers. It appears that this interpretation is a rather far-fetched one and may in the words of Alan Segal indicate "the process of conventionalization of heresy", or even more so a stereotyped understanding of the case.[50] In other words, the Mishnah which forbids the repetition of the word *Modim* can be taken as an anti-Gnostic polemic only in the light of the Babylonian interpretation of the Mishnah. But here I agree with Alan Segal that the more likely heresy in our case is the Christian one,[51] though I still believe that the words in the *Talmud Yerushalmi*

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[47] He does so instead of making it a thanksgiving prayer. The difference between the two, thanksgiving prayer and supplication, is eventually indicated in *Bavli Berakhot* and *Megillah*, where it is told of Rabbi Yoḥanan that he reproached a cantor who added words of praise to God to the ones officially enumerated in the prayer. Thus, only in the case of the one who prays for the fulfilment of one's wishes is it allowed to add to the words of the prayer. This is generally the case in the sixteenth benediction (*Shome'a Tefillah*) of the "Eighteen Benedictions". For references see I. Elbogen, *Der jüdische Gottesdienst in seiner geschichtlichen Entwicklung*, Hildesheim 1962, 54. See also *Mishnah Avot* ii, 13.

[48] See, for instance, *Mishnah Berakhot* lv, 4; *Yerushalmi Terumot* i, 6 (40d); *Bavli Berakhot* 29b.

[49] Above, n. 47.

[50] Alan Segal's interpretation of the Mishnah and the problems it raises overlooks the halakhic implications as indicated in *Talmud Yerushalmi*! See *Op. cit.*, 98-103. See also next note.

[51] *Op. cit.*, 101. On p. 152 Segal repeats his argument but adds some rather confused statements about the Mishnah.

bear more weight,[52] and that consequently this part of the *Mishnah* has a well-defined halakhic purpose and should not be read in an ideological, anti-heretical, and polemical context.

E

By way of summary a number of conclusions have to be pointed out:

(a) Despite our expectations, we did not find clear cut proof for the allegation that the rabbis polemized against the Gnostics. It is quite likely that they did so, but the rabbinic material which we have studied here turned out to be too ambiguous and general to allow a straightforward interpretation in terms of an anti-Gnostic polemic.

(b) It appears that the Gnostics were after all more familiar with the Jewish material than the other way around. It is quite likely that the rabbis in the Tannaitic and Amoraic periods had some notions about the Gnostic heresy, but it is still an open question to what extent they really had a first hand knowledge of it. As it appears, the knowledge they had of the current heresies was rather general, and was based upon popular information and not on a close study of writings.

(c) Of all the heresies of their days it appears that the sages of the Talmudic period were most concerned about the Christian heresy. Here they had to face people who maintained that they still were Jews or even the true Jews. The Gnostic heresy, on the other hand, if it had at all come to their knowledge was too obvious and too repelling even for the lay Jewish believer, so that, practically speaking, it required no special polemical effort.

(d) No proof has yet been found for the existence of Jewish heretical circles.[53] Thus, it appears, we have also to eliminate the possibility that the polemic of the rabbis was directed against gnosticizing Jews.

(e) The subjects of the Jews' contribution to the formation of

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[52] It should be added that the context of the discussions in both Talmuds makes the interpretation of the *Talmud Yerushalmi* more tenable.

[53] As claimed, for instance, by B.A. Pearson, *Friedländer Revisited: Alexandrian Judaism and Gnostic Origins*, in *Studia Philonica* 2, 1973, 23-39.

Gnosticism and of the use the Gnostic writers made of Jewish ideas still need a throughgoing discussion.[54]

(f) The polemical utterances found in rabbinic writings and directed against unnamed heresies were mostly directed against agnostic, rather than Christian, let alone Gnostic, views.

(g) Despite a number of similarities between Gnosticism and Merkavah mysticism, the latter is too distinctly separated from the Gnostic worldview and, thus, may not be referred to as "Jewish Gnosticism".[55]

Evidently, the rabbis did not create and preach in an intellectual vacuum. They were certainly aware of the spiritual and cultural trends that were flourishing on the borders of Judaism or in the same places in which Jews lived and traded. Jews had to be warned against too much involvement in heathen life and practices. However, one should distinguish clearly between the knowledge which the rabbis displayed in the sciences, or applied sciences, of their days and a possible acquaintance with heretical views and philosophies. It is now a widely accepted notion that the rabbis had a fairly good knowledge of magic, astrology, medicine, cosmology, etc. Indeed, some of them were by all standards learned scholars. However, in the case of heresies, it appears, the least one knew the better. There were some rabbis who had to dispute and argue with pagan and Christian dignitaries.[56] Little as is known about these disputations, they do not reflect a direct confrontation with Gnostics. And in the arena of the internal polemic, the case of the anti-Gnostic polemic has not yet been firmly established.

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[54] See further, I. Gruenwald, *Jewish Sources for the Gnostic Writings from Nag Hammadi?*, in *Proceedings of the Sixth World Congress of Jewish Studies*, Vol. III, Jerusalem 1977, 45 ff.

[55] See, I. Gruenwald, *Jewish Mevkavah Mysticism and Gnosticism*, to be published in *Association of Jewish Studies Review* (1981-2).

[56] Cf. M. D. Herr, *The Historical Significance of the Dialogues between Jewish Sages and Roman Dignitaries*, in *Scripta Hierosolyonitana* 22, 1971, 123 ff.

LES SÉMITISMES DANS L'ÉVANGILE SELON THOMAS
ESSAI DE CLASSEMENT

ANTOINE GUILLAUMONT
(Paris)

Traduit plus ou moins fidèlement du grec, parsemé de termes grecs, le texte copte de l'*Evangile selon Thomas* n'en renferme pas moins un assez grand nombre de sémitismes, dont la présence, par les problèmes qu'elle pose et les suppositions qu'elle autorise, est du plus grand intérêt. Pour cette raison même, il convient de distinguer soigneusement entre eux.[1]

Beaucoup, parmi ces sémitismes, sont peu significatifs. Ce sont ceux qui se retrouvent dans la langue des Septante : introduits par celle-ci dans le grec. puis dans le copte, ils ont pu y devenir, dans une certaine mesure, des expressions spontanées. On inclinera à considérer comme étant de ce type les exemples suivants : «l'homme vieux dans ses jours» (log. 4), «ce qui est devant ta face» (log. 5), «les jours (ou «le jour») où» (log. 11; cf. «en quel jour», log. 37, 51, 113), «prosternez-vous sur votre visage» (log. 15), «monter au cœur» pour dire «être objet de pensée» ou «de souvenir» (log. 17; cf. *Isaïe* 65, 17; *Jérémie* 3, 16; 51, 50), «venir» (copte ⲉⲓ, grec ἔρχομαι) au sens de «revenir» (log. 13 et 64), «trouver» (copte ϩⲉ, grec εὑρίσκειν) au sens d'«obtenir», comme l'hébreu מָצָא (log. 27 et 49, «trouver le Royaume», log. 58, «trouver la vie», cf. *Proverbes* 8, 35), «une merveille de merveilles», c'est-à-dire «une grande merveille» (log. 29), «avoir dans sa main» (log. 41; cf. log. 88), «emplir le ventre» pour dire «rassasier» (log. 69), «maison (copte ⲏⲉⲓ = grec οἶκος = héb. בַּיִת) au sens de «temple» (log. 71), «sortir d'auprès de quelqu'un» pour dire «quitter quelqu'un», cf. héb. יָצָא (log. 114), «goûter de la mort» (log. 1, 18, 19 et 85) et l'expression équivalente «voir la mort» (log. 111). Parmi les faits de syntaxe on peut relever l'emploi de ϣⲓⲛⲁ = grec ἵνα avec le sens causal (log. 69) et celui de la conjonction de coordination ⲁⲩⲱ = grec καί correspondant à l'hébreu וְ suivi de l'imparfait, pour exprimer la finalité (log. 4 : «et il vivra» = «afin qu'il vive»).

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[1] La présence de sémitismes dans le texte de l'*Évangile selon Thomas* a été signalée, dès les premières années de la recherche concernant cet écrit, par : H.-Ch. Puech, *Une collection de Paroles de Jésus récemment retrouvée. L'Évangile selon Thomas*, dans *CRAI*, 1957, 146-166; G. Garitte, *Le premier volume de l'édition photographique des manuscrits gnostiques coptes et l'« Évangile de Thomas »*, dans *Le Muséon* LXX, 1957, 59-73; A. Guillaumont, *Sémitismes dans les logia de Jésus retrouvés à Nag-Hamâdi*, dans *JA* CCXLVI, 1958, 113-123; surtout G. Quispel, qui a relevé plusieurs de ceux qui sont ici présentés, dans de nombreux articles, notamment : *The Gospel of Thomas and the New Testament*, dans *VC* 11, 1957, 189-207; *L'Évangile selon Thomas et les Clémentines*, *ibid.*, 12, 1958, 181-196; *L'Évangile selon Thomas et le Diatessaron*, *ibid.*, 13, 1959, 87-117 (articles reproduits dans *Gnostic Studies*, II, p. 3-55). Aussi nous est-il agréable d'offrir cette étude en hommage au savant qui a le plus fait pour montrer l'intérêt que présentent ces sémitismes.

Il ne saurait être question, dans cet article, de relever, et encore moins de discuter, tous les sémitismes qui ont été signalés alors et depuis, par divers auteurs (notamment par P. Nagel, dans F. Altheim et R. Stiehl, *Die Araber in der alten Welt*, V, 2, Berlin 1969, 368-392). Certains d'entre eux ont été discutés et contestés par K. H. Kuhn, *Some Observations on the Coptic Gospel according to Thomas*, dans *Le Muséon* LXXIII, 1961, 317-323. Le but de cet article est simplement de proposer un classement, permettant d'apprécier avec plus de discernement la portée qu'a la présence des ces divers sémitismes pour la solution des problèmes relatifs aux origines et à l'histoire de l'*Évangile selon Thomas*.

Les références sont faites à *L'Évangile selon Thomas*. Texte copte établi et traduit par A. Guillaumont, H.-Ch. Puech, G. Quispel, W. Till et † Yassah ʿAbd al Masīḥ, Leiden 1959.

D'autres expressions, d'origine hébraïque ou araméenne, sont courantes dans le grec du temps, notamment dans le Nouveau Testament : ainsi en est-il de l'emploi du mot «Ciel» comme substitut du nom divin (log. 6; cf. *Luc* 15, 18) ou de l'expression «les fils des hommes» pour désigner les hommes (log. 28); le tour «si vous devenez pour moi des disciples» (log. 19; cf. log. 101) est le tour syntaxique régulier en araméen quand le prédicat est indéterminé et il se retrouve dans le grec du Nouveau Testament (cf. *Jean* 13, 35; 15, 8 : καὶ γενήσεσθε ἐμοὶ μαθηταί, au lieu de μαθηταί μου, expression conservée dans la version sahidique : ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲧⲛ̄ϣⲱⲡⲉ ⲛⲁⲓ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲑⲏⲧⲏⲥ).

Toutes ces locutions, auxquelles se joignent des formules bibliques stéréotypées («les oiseaux du ciel», log. 20; «comme sur la prunelle de ton œil», log. 25; cf. *Deutéronome* 32, 10; *Psaumes* 17, 8), contribuent à donner au texte une forte couleur sémitique. Mais elles ne sauraient suffire, à elles seules, à prouver que ce texte a subi, d'une façon directe, l'influence d'une langue sémitique, hébreu ou araméen.

Il faut, d'autre part, tenir compte du fait que certaines expressions qui paraissent être des sémitismes peuvent être simplement des copticismes et s'expliquer par la seule langue copte. Ainsi, log. 61, ⲡⲟⲩⲁ ⲛⲁⲙⲟⲩ ⲡⲟⲩⲁ ⲛⲁⲱⲛϩ, «*l'un* mourra, l'autre (littéralement «*l'un*») vivra», en face de ὁ εἷς ... καὶ ὁ ἕτερος du texte parallèle de *Luc* 17, 34, pourrait être considéré comme un sémitisme et une traduction littérale de l'araméen וְחַד ... חַד ou de l'hébreu וְאֶחָד ... אֶחָד; mais le traducteur sahidique, dans le texte de *Luc*, a, lui aussi, employé — spontanément, semble-t-il, — ⲟⲩⲁ ... ⲟⲩⲁ.[2] Au logion 12, les disciples demandent à Jésus : «Qui est-ce qui deviendra grand sur nous?»; «grand» pour «le plus grand» peut être interprété comme un positif araméen correspondant à un comparatif grec : ainsi dans le texte parallèle *Matthieu* 18, 1 μείζων ἐστίν est traduit par ܢܗܘܐ ܪܒ dans les anciennes versions syriaques (même expression dans les autres lieux parallèles, *Marc* 9, 34, et *Luc* 9, 46). Mais le copte, pas plus que l'araméen, n'a de forme comparative; d'autre part, ⲣ̄ⲛⲟϭ, «devenir grand», employé dans le logion copte, peut être simplement une traduction de ἄρχειν, «commander».[3] La locution, au premier abord si typiquement araméenne, «soyez passant», qui forme le logion 42 est, en toute rigueur, explicable par la seule syntaxe copte.[4] De même, dans le logion 55 : «*sa* mère ... *ses* frères et *ses* sœurs» (cf. log. 86 «*sa* tête»), l'addition du possessif à des mots qui n'en sont pas pourvus dans le texte grec des parallèles synoptiques (*Matthieu* 10, 37 et *Luc* 14, 26) peut passer pour un aramaïsme, mais aussi bien pour un trait conforme à la stylistique copte : de fait, le possessif est ajouté aussi bien dans les versions coptes (sahidique et bohairique) que dans les versions syriaques des versets correspondants de *Matthieu* et de *Luc*.[5]

Ces réserves faites concernant des «sémitismes» qui peuvent légitimement être considérés comme des faits de langue, d'origine sémitique, mais devenus usuels en grec et en copte, ou comme des expressions susceptibles d'être expliquées par la seule langue copte, il n'en reste pas moins un nombre imposant de faits de vocabulaire, de syntaxe ou de style qui paraissent trahir, de façon évidente, l'existence d'un texte sémitique sous-jacent au texte copte seul conservé. Ainsi de nombreux parfaits sont à entendre comme des parfaits hébreux à sens présent : «vous avez délaissé ... vous avez parlé» (log. 52), «a fait profit» (log. 53), «ont connu» (log. 69), «vous ne l'avez pas connu» (log. 91). Le logion 55 offre l'exemple d'une négation dont l'effet s'étend à plusieurs verbes coordonnés ; le texte se traduirait littéralement ainsi : «Celui qui ne haïra pas son père et sa mère ne pourra pas devenir mon disciple, et qui haïra ses frères et ses sœurs et portera sa croix comme moi (ce qui est à entendre : «et celui qui *ne* haïra *pas* ses frères et ses sœurs et qui *ne* portera *pas* sa croix comme moi») ne sera pas digne de moi» ; on a là un fait de syntaxe bien connu en hébreu.[6] Le logion 16 paraît avoir conservé une construction syntaxique sémitique qui a été remaniée dans le texte grec correspondant de *Luc* (12, 52) : «Il y en a cinq qui seront dans une maison, trois seront contre deux et deux contre trois...», ce qui veut dire, compte tenu du procédé sémitique de la parataxe : «S'il y en a cinq dans une maison, trois seront contre deux et deux contre trois...».[7] Au logion 43, on trouve «et» au lieu de «ou» pour séparer les deux termes d'une alternative : «car ils aiment l'arbre (et) haïssent son fruit, *et* ils aiment le fruit (et) haïssent l'arbre» ; en quoi il convient de reconnaître un trait stylistique sémitique, dont on a un exemple, entre autres, dans *Exode* 21, 17 : «Celui qui maudit son père *et* (= ou) sa mère» (וְאִמּוֹ), tour conservé dans la Peshitta (ܘܠܐܡܗ), mais modifié par les Septante selon le mode d'expression usuel en grec : «ou sa mère», (ἢ μητέρα). La même particularité stylistique se retrouve au logion 78 : «Pourquoi êtes-vous sortis dans la campagne ? Pour voir un roseau agité par le vent *et* (= ou) pour voir un homme ayant sur lui des vêtements délicats ?» Dans les logia 56, 80 et 85, on lit «digne de vous» avec le sens de «égal à vous», ce qui s'explique fort bien par l'araméen, où שָׁוֵה, «égal à» prend aussi le sens de «digne de». Au logion 102, une imprécation contre les Pharisiens est ainsi formulée: ⲟⲩⲟⲉⲓ ⲛⲁⲩ ⲙ̄ⲫⲁⲣⲓⲥⲁⲓⲟⲥ, littéralement: «Malheur à eux, les Pharisiens!»; en copte on dirait normalement: ⲟⲩⲟⲉⲓ ⲛ̄ⲙ̄ⲫⲁⲣⲓⲥⲁⲓⲟⲥ;[8] l'expression du logion paraît être l'exact décalque de la forme syntaxique que revêtirait cette proposition en araméen, v.g. syriaque: ܘܝ ܠܗܘܢ ܠܦܪ̈ܝܫܐ, avec emploi du suffixe déterminatif. Ailleurs certaines étrangetés ou obscurités du texte copte s'éclairent ou s'expliquent par le recours à un substrat ou à un contexte sémitique. Ainsi l'expression ⲛⲉⲧⲥⲱⲕ ϩⲏⲧⲧⲏⲩⲧⲛ̄ du logion 3 (cf. P. Oxy. 654: οἱ ἕλκοντες ἡμᾶς *sic*!), littéralement «ceux qui vous tirent», prend un sens satisfaisant si l'on suppose sous le verbe copte ⲥⲱⲕ (et le grec ἕλκειν) un substrat araméen נְגַד, signifiant à la fois «tirer» et «guider». On lit au logion 104: «Quel est donc le péché que j'ai commis ou en quoi ai-je été vaincu?» (littéralement: «ont-ils été victorieux sur moi?»); cette dernière expression s'explique bien si l'on suppose un substrat araméen חָב, syriaque ܚܒ, qui signifie «être vaincu» (= ἡττᾶσθαι, intermédiaire grec probable) et, plus fréquemment, «être coupable», «pécher»; l'expression a donc le même sens que la précédente et forme avec elle un parallélisme rigoureux. L'étrange locution «trouver le corps», répétée deux foix dans le logion 80, n'a de sens, semble-t-il, dans le contexte, que si l'on suppose un substrat araméen מְצָא, signifiant parfois «trouver» (sens habituel en hébreu), mais plus fréquemment «pouvoir, maîtriser». Cette expression réapparaît dans le logion 56, qui est un doublet du logion 80, mais sous la forme: «trouver un cadavre», ⲟⲩⲡⲧⲱⲙⲁ (= grec πτῶμα), au lieu de «trouver le corps», (= grec σῶμα); cette variante peut s'expliquer par une simple confusion graphique, soit en grec, soit en copte (facilitée, en ce dernier cas, par la forme de l'article ⲡ); mais elle s'explique mieux, tout comme l'alternance de πτῶμα en *Matthieu* 24, 28 et de σῶμα en *Luc* 17, 37, par un substrat araméen commun פַּגְרָא (syriaque ܦܓܪܐ), qui a généralement le sens de «corps», mais parfois aussi celui de «cadavre» (sens habituel de l'hébreu פֶּגֶר).[9] Au logion 30, le texte copte de l'*Evangile selon Thomas* confirme et complète le texte grec donné par le P. Oxy. 1, notamment la lecture du mot θεοί, «dieux», source d'embarras pour les éditeurs et les interprètes du papyrus et objet de suspicion, voire de correction, pour nombre d'entre eux; l'expression complète fournie par le texte copte, «trois dieux», et le logion lui-même s'éclairent si l'on recourt à l'exégèse targumique du mot אֱלֹהִים dans le premier verset du psaume 82 et à l'utilisation qui est faite de ce verset dans les *Pirqê Abôth*, 3, 3 et 7.[10] Au logion 33, dans la bizarre expression: «Ce que tu entendras dans ton oreille (et) dans l'autre oreille», ϩⲙ̄ ⲡⲉⲕⲙⲁⲁϫⲉ ϩⲙ̄ ⲡⲕⲉⲙⲁⲁϫⲉ, ce dernier mot est probablement à corriger en ⲡⲉⲕⲙⲁⲁϫⲉ; dès lors on peut voir dans cette expression une simple dittographie, mais tout aussi bien le procédé sémitique (connu aussi du copte) de l'itération servant à rendre le distributif: «Ce que vous entendrez, (toi) dans ton oreille (et toi) dans ton oreille», c'est-à-dire «chacun dans votre oreille» (il s'agit d'une chose dite à l'oreille, donc à chacun en particulier).[11] Enfin l'expression, insolite en copte, du logion 21 «sa maison de son royaume» s'explique excellement comme le décalque maladroit d'une expression araméenne: syriaque ܒܝܬܗ̇ ܕܡܠܟܘܬܗ, «la maison de son royaume» (ou «de sa royauté» = «sa maison royale», aramaïsme passé en grec biblique, cf. *Daniel* 4, 27), dans laquelle le pronom affixe du premier terme (lu masc. *-eh*, au lieu de fém. *-āh*) a été traduite littéralement comme s'il avait valeur possessive, et non déterminative, ce qui a donné en grec ὁ οἶκος αὐτοῦ τῆς βασιλείας αὐτοῦ.[12] Tous ces faits rendent très vraisemblable l'hypothèse d'un substrat sémitique, probablement araméen.

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[2] De même en *Luc* 7, 41. En *Matthieu* 24, 40, le texte grec a εἷς ... καί εἷς, ce qui est considéré comme un sémitisme (cf. Moulton-Turner, *A Grammar of New Testament Greek*, III, 36). Ce tour n'est cependant pas absolument inconnu en grec classique (cf. Blass-Debrunner, *Grammatik des neutestamentlichen Griechisch*^{10}, § 247, 3).

[3] Cf. W. E. Crum, *A Coptic Dictionary*, 251*b*.

[4] Cf. W. Till, *Koptische Grammatik*, § 332. Comparer notamment *Luc* 12, 40 : ϣⲱⲡⲉ ⲉⲧⲉⲧⲛ̄ⲥⲃ̄ⲧⲱⲧ.

[5] La remarque en est faite par Kuhn, *art. cit.*, 321-322, qui pense que le tour «si vous devenez pour moi des disciples», mentionné ci-dessus, peut être aussi purement copte.

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[6] Cf. P. Joüon, *Grammaire de l'hébreu biblique*, Rome 1947, § 160 *q*, qui renvoie notamment à *Psaumes* 9, 19 ; 35, 19 ; 38, 2, etc. Cette construction se retrouve cependant dans le grec néo-testamentaire (cf. *Matthieu* 10, 38 ; *Luc* 14, 27, où elle est conservée par les versions coptes).

[7] Cf. Guillaumont, *art. cit.*, 118-119.

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[8] Cf. version sahidique de *Matthieu* 18, 7. Comparer, par contre, les cas où l'on a la 2ème personne (par ex. *Luc* 11, 42-43).

[9] Kuhn, *art. cit.*, 318-319, fait remarquer que πτῶμα, employé six fois dans le

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Nouveau Testament, est toujours traduit par ⲥⲱⲙⲁ dans la version sahidique; on pourrait donc penser que le traducteur des logia avait dans les deux cas πτῶμα, qu'il a tantôt conservé, tantôt «traduit» par ⲥⲱⲙⲁ. En conséquence la variante s'expliquerait seulement par le copte, ce qui est possible. Cependant, comme l'alternance de πτῶμα en *Matthieu* 24, 28 et de σῶμα en *Luc* 17, 37 ne peut s'expliquer que par un substrat araméen, il parait naturel d'admettre ici la même explication. Dans la Septante פֶּגֶר est traduit par σῶμα en *Genèse* 15, 11 et par πτῶμα en *Ezéchiel* 6, 5 (*Alexandrinus*).

[10] Cf. Guillaumont, *art. cit.*, 114-116, où les textes sont donnés.

[11] Sur ce procédé, voir les exemples donnés par A. J. Wensinck, *Un groupe d'aramaïsmes dans le texte grec des Évangiles*, dans *Mededeelingen der Koninklijke Akademie van Wetenschappen*, Afdeeling Letterkunde Deel 81, Serie A, N° 5, 1936, 169-180.

[12] Explication proposée par H. Quecke, *«Sein Haus seines Königreiches». Zum Thomasevangelium 85, 9f.*, dans *Le Muséon* LXXVI, 1963, 47-53.

Deux passages pourraient même inviter à mettre en question l'existence d'un intermédiaire grec. On lit dans le logion 13: «Un feu sortira des pierres et vous brûlera», ⲟⲩⲕⲱϩⲧ ... ⲛ̄ⲥⲣⲱϩⲕ ⲙ̄ⲙⲱⲧⲛ̄. Ce dernier verbe est pourvu du suffixe verbal féminin, accord grammaticalement incorrect, le mot ⲕⲱϩⲧ, «feu», étant du genre masculin; mais on sait que dans les langues sémitiques les mots désignant le feu (hébreu אֵשׁ, judéo-araméen אֶשָּׁתָא syriaque ܢܘܪܐ, arabe نار) sont régulièrement du genre féminin : le texte copte n'aurait-il pas conservé ici, indûment, par suite de la distraction d'un traducteur, un accord grammatical qui était normal dans un texte sémitique original? Dans cette hypothèse, il est impossible de faire une place à un intermédiaire grec, car, en cette langue, l'accord n'aurait pu être conservé, la forme verbale correspondante n'y comportant pas l'indication de genre.[13] Également impossible à garder en grec est la construction typiquement araméenne qui consiste à déterminer le complément d'objet à l'aide d'un suffixe joint au verbe et dont le logion 98 paraît offrir un exemple : «Il tira l'épée dans sa maison (et) ⲁϥϫⲟⲧⲥ̄ ⲛ̄ⲧϫⲟ», ce qui peut se traduire : «il transperça la muraille» et pourrait donc être l'exact décalque du syriaque ܘܢܩܪ ܠܗ ܠܐܣܝܬܐ[14] L'expression est toutefois susceptible en copte d'une autre explication, qui permet de traduire : «Il l'enfonça dans la muraille».[15] Il est loisible aussi de voir dans l'exemple précédent une banale faute de copie, ⲛⲥ mis pour ⲛϥ.[16] Aussi bien des indices sérieux accréditent-ils la thèse, généralement admise, selon laquelle le texte copte est une version faite sur un texte grec.[17]

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[13] A moins de supposer la reprise du sujet sous la forme du pronom : πῦρ ... καὶ αὕτη (au lieu de τοῦτο) καύσει ὑμᾶς.

[14] Explication proposée par G. Garitte, dans *Le Muséon* LXXX, 1957, 66.

[15] Le verbe ϫⲱⲧⲉ est attesté, en effet, avec le sens de «enfoncer» le complément étant, en ce cas, non pas la chose percée, mais la chose poussée (cf. Crum, *op. cit.*, 791*b*) : ce sens admis, le suffixe -ⲥ doit être considéré comme le suffixe objet, renvoyant au mot ⲥⲏϥⲉ, qui est du genre féminin, et la préposition ⲛ̄ entendue au sens local (= ϩⲛ̄). On traduira donc : «l'(= l'épée) enfonça dans la muraille».

[16] P. Jernstedt, dans un article traduit par P. Nagel, *Zur Determination im Koptischen*, dans *WZHalle* XXVII, 1978, Gesellschafts- und Sprachwissenschaftliche Reihe, Heft 3, 95-106, cite un certain nombre d'exemples, tirés en particulier de textes de Nag Hammadi, où l'on a un désaccord de genre. Mais dans tous les cas il s'agit d'un nom féminin suivi d'un accord au masculin, ce qui est peut-être plus compréhensible que le phénomène inverse que l'on a ici.

[17] Représenté par les fragments d'Oxyrhynchos, cf. A. Guillaumont, *Les Logia*

Il est des cas nombreux, cependant, où le substrat araméen, loin de rester à l'état de supposition pure, prend pour nous forme tangible. Beaucoup de sémitismes de l'*Évangile selon Thomas* paraissent, en effet, avoir leur source dans les versions syriaques du Nouveau Testament, avec lesquelles le texte de cet apocryphe présente d'évidentes affinités. Ainsi il est dit au logion 25: «Aime ton frère comme ton âme», tandis que les parallèles synoptiques grecs ont «comme toi-même», ὡς σεαυτόν (*Matthieu* 19, 19; 22, 39; *Marc* 12, 31; *Luc* 10, 27); mais «comme ton âme», ܐܝܟ ܢܦܫܟ, est précisément ce qu'on lit dans les versions syriaques, aux passages correspondants; c'est aussi cette expression qu'emploie la Peshitta de l'Ancien Testament en *Lévitique* 19, 18, le verset cité par les Synoptiques, tandis que la Septante a ὡς σεαυτόν et l'hébreu כָּמוֹךָ. Au logion 45, l'expression de caractère très sémitique «qui est dans son cœur» se retrouve aussi dans les versions syriaques (ܕܒܠܒܗ) aux passages parallèles, *Matthieu* 12, 35 et *Luc* 6, 45. Dans le logion 76, «il acheta *pour lui* la perle» est un sémitisme (cf. *Ruth* 4, 8 : קְנֵה־לָךְ, «acquiers pour toi») qui est attesté également dans la vieille version syriaque (mais non conservé par la Peshitta) au passage parallèle, *Matthieu* 13, 46. On lit dans le logion 79: «Heureux ... les seins qui t'ont allaité», alors que le texte grec de *Luc* 11, 27 porte: «que tu as tétés», οὓς ἐθήλασας; le texte du logion est conforme à celui des versions syriaques, qui ont ܕܐܝܢܩܘܟܝ, forme afel du verbe ܝܢܩ, «téter»: donc, littéralement, «qui t'ont fait téter», «t'ont donné à téter».[18]

L'*Évangile selon Thomas* présente, en outre, dans les logia qui ont des parallèles synoptiques, un certain nombre de variantes par rapport au texte grec du Nouveau Testament qui s'expliquent fort bien si on les considère comme des traductions de termes ambigus employés dans les versions syriaques, ou dans telle d'entre elles. Ainsi dans le logion 8, il est dit que le pécheur «choisit» le gros poisson, tandis que le texte parallèle de *Matthieu* 13, 48 a συλλέγειν: or ce verbe est traduit dans les versions syriaques, en ce passage, par ܓܒܐ,

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d'Oxyrhynchos sont-ils traduits du copte?, dans *Le Muséon* LXXIII, 1960, 325-333 (contre la thèse de G. Garitte, exposée *ibid.*, 151-172).

[18] La divergence entre le grec, d'une part, et, d'autre part, les versions syriaques et l'*Évangile selon Thomas* peut s'expliquer soit par un substrat araméen יְנַק, lu tantôt au peal, tantôt à l'afel, soit simplement par le double sens du grec θηλάζειν.

mot qui peut signifier «recueillir», en quoi il est une traduction exacte de συλλέγειν, mais aussi «choisir», sens retenu par l'auteur des logia, qui avait ses raisons de le préférer.[19] A propos des oiseaux qui vinrent manger les graines tombées sur le chemin, il est dit au logion 9 qu'ils les «cueillirent», au lieu de κατέφαγεν employé dans *Matthieu* 13, 4; or la version syriaque sinaïtique se sert dans ce verset du verbe ܠܩܛ, qui veut dire «glaner», «cueillir», et aussi «picorer» en parlant d'un oiseau; ce verbe a donc pu, d'une part, traduire κατέφαγεν du texte grec et être traduit, d'autre part, par «cueillir», ici ⲕⲱⲧϥ. Au logion 64, qui rapporte sous une forme assez nouvelle la parabole du festin, l'un des invités s'excuse en disant qu'il a acheté une «ferme», le terme employé étant la transcription du grec κώμη, alors qu'il s'agit dans *Luc* 14, 18, d'un «champ», ἀγρός; les versions syriaques ont traduit ce mot, en ce passage, par ܩܪܝܬܐ terme qui désigne soit un «bourg», un «village», soit un «champ», et sert effectivement à traduire dans les versions du Nouveau Testament tantôt κώμη (par ex. *Matthieu* 10, 11), tantôt ἀγρός (par ex. *Matthieu* 13, 24; χωρίον en *Jean* 4, 5); il paraît donc évident que κώμη, dans le logion, traduit ܩܪܝܬܐ, lui-même traduction de ἀγρός. Au logion 91 on trouve «éprouver», transcription du grec πειράζειν, alors qu'on a dans le texte parallèle de *Luc* 12, 56, δοκιμάζειν (διακρίνειν dans *Matthieu* 16, 3); la raison de cette divergence apparaît si l'on se reporte à ce verset de *Luc* dans la vieille version syriaque, où est employé le verbe ܢܣܝ (au pael); or ce verbe veut dire également «éprouver» et «examiner», et il sert d'équivalent aussi bien à πειράζειν (cf. *Exode* 20, 20) qu'à δοκιμάζειν (cf. *2 Corinthiens*, 8, 8); dans le logion πειράζειν peut donc fort bien être une traduction du mot ܢܣܝ de la version syriaque de *Luc* 12, 56, lui-même traduction de δοκιμάζειν. Par là s'éclaire le sens de l'expression : «vous éprouvez la face du ciel» veut dire manifestement : «vous examinez, vous scrutez la face du ciel».[20]

L'*Évangile selon Thomas* présente toutefois, par rapport au texte des Synoptiques, des variantes qui ne se retrouvent pas dans les versions syriaques du Nouveau Testament et qui ne s'expliquent pas non plus à partir d'elles, par l'ambiguïté d'un terme. Elles paraissent avoir leur explication dans un substrat araméen autre que les versions syriaques attestées et sont, de ce fait, d'un grand intérêt. Ainsi au logion 9, il est dit de certaines semences qu'elles tombèrent «sur le chemin», tandis que le texte grec des Synoptiques (*Matthieu* 13, 4; *Marc* 4, 4; *Luc* 8, 5), suivi par les versions syriaques, dit «auprès du chemin», παρὰ τὴν ὁδόν; la variante du logion, connue déjà par quelques témoins du texte des Synoptiques, suggère un substrat araméen עַל préposition qui signifie «sur», sens retenu ici, et aussi «auprès de», sens qui est à l'origine du texte reçu.[21] Nous avons déjà vu la formule «Aime ton frère comme ton âme» du logion 25, à propos de l'expression «comme ton âme», qui a paru provenir des versions syriaques de l'Ecriture. Mais celles-ci n'ont pu fournir le terme spécifique «ton frère», puisqu'elles ont, comme le texte grec, «ton prochain». Cette particularité s'explique par l'emploi bien connu en hébreu et en araméen du mot «frère», אַח, au sens de «prochain». La formule prend ainsi la forme qu'elle a dans le *Document de Damas*, 6, 20-21, et un caractère juif plus accusé. Au logion 39, il est dit que les Pharisiens et les scribes «ont *reçu* (ϫⲓ) les clefs de la gnose», tandis que, selon *Luc* 11, 52, ils les «ont *prises*» (ἤρατε, version sahidique ϥⲓ). Cette variante, qui reconnaît aux scribes et aux Pharisiens la qualité de dépositaires et a un caractère plus juif que le texte de *Luc*, qui fait d'eux des usurpateurs, ne peut provenir des versions syriaques; la *Vetus Syra* a, dans le verset de *Luc*, «qui avez caché», variante qui se retrouve dans le logion copte, mais comme second élément coordonné. Elle paraît s'expliquer par l'ambiguité des verbes signifiant «prendre» et «recevoir» en hébreu et en araméen et par un substrat araméen קַבֵּל. «Si deux *font la paix* entre eux», lit-on dans le logion 48, au lieu de συμφωνήσωσιν de *Matthieu* 18, 19, fidèlement rendu dans les versions syriaques: les deux expressions paraissent être deux traductions indépendantes d'un même substrat araméen אַשְׁלֵים «faire la paix» (afel!) et «s'accorder». Le logion 107 rapporte la parabole de la brebis perdue dans une rédaction assez différente de celles de *Matthieu* 18, 12-13 et de *Luc* 15, 3-6; après avoir retrouvé la brebis le berger lui dit: «Je t'aime plus que les quatre-vingt-dix-neuf (autres)»; «je t'aime», ϯⲟⲩⲟϣⲕ, correspond à χαίρειν de *Matthieu* et de *Luc*; on peut penser à un substrat araméen צְבָא, «se complaire dans», «prendre plaisir à», qui, d'une part, par l'intermédiaire du grec εὐδοκεῖν — traduit d'ordinaire en syriaque par ܨܒܐ et en copte par ⲟⲩⲱϣ (cf. *Matthieu* 12, 18) — a abouti correctement à la leçon du logion, et qui, d'autre part, a pu être rendu, plus librement, par χαίρειν. Le logion 113, enfin, offre un bel exemple d'une variante explicable par un substrat araméen: «Il (= le Royaume) ne viendra pas *avec une attente*», ϩⲛ̄ ⲟⲩϭⲱϣⲧ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ, lit-on, alors que *Luc* 17, 20 dit μετὰ παρατηρήσεως, «avec une observation», c'est-à-dire «de telle sorte qu'on puisse l'observer». Ces deux expressions, si nettement différentes de sens, peuvent être deux traductions différentes d'une même expression araméenne; le vocabulaire araméen, en effet, établit un rapport étroit entre «observer» et «attendre», comme le montre le double sens du verbe נְטַר (cf. syriaque ܢܛܪ), qui signifie habituellement «regarder», «observer», mais prend parfois le sens de «attendre» (cf. *Luc* 8, 40, où dans les versions syriaques, ܢܛܪ traduit προσδοκᾶν). Il est à remarquer que l'ambiguité sur laquelle paraît fondée cette double traduction n'existe pas dans les versions syriaques de *Luc* 17, 20, où ܒܢܘܛܪ̈ܘܬܐ ne peut signifier que «avec des observations». Il convient donc de la situer dans un substrat araméen autre que les versions syriaques attestées.

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[19] Voir les emplois du verbe ⲥⲱⲧⲡ aux log. 23 et 49.

[20] L'équivalence entre πειράζειν et δοκιμάζειν est déjà acquise en grec biblique, comme le montre *Sagesse* 3, 5-6 et 11, 9-10. L'indistinction entre «examiner» et «éprouver» est banale en hébreu (בחן, נסה; cf. *Psaumes* 26,2) et en araméen.

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[21] Voir M. Black, *An Aramaic Approach to the Gospels and Acts*^{3}, Oxford 1967, 162 (rapportant l'opinion de Torrey).

Ces constatations invitent à attribuer peut-être plus d'importance qu'on ne ferait au premier abord, tenté que l'on serait de les mettre au compte d'un style biblique plus ou moins factice, à certaines additions que les logia de l'*Evangile selon Thomas* présentent par rapport au texte des logia synoptiques parallèles. Ainsi en face de *Luc* 8, 16, «afin que quiconque entre», le logion 33 a «afin que quiconque entre et sort», ce qui est l'expression sémitique sous sa forme complète (cf. *Deutéronome* 28, 6; 31, 2). Le logion 36 exprime dans une forme plus sémitique que *Matthieu* 6, 25 et *Luc* 12, 22 le précepte de l'insouciance à l'égard du vêtement, en ajoutant «du matin au soir et du soir au matin», façon concrète de dire, en hébreu biblique, «continuellement» (cf. *Exode* 18, 13; 27, 21).

Ces mêmes constatations donnent aussi un relief particulier à des sémitismes qui se trouvent dans des logia qui n'ont pas de parallèles synoptiques, mais sont des paraboles de type tout à fait évangélique, telles les paraboles du Royaume. Ainsi le logion 97, où le Royaume des cieux est comparé à une femme portant un vase plein de farine dont elle répand, sans le savoir, le contenu sur le chemin, présente plusieurs sémitismes : «sur un chemin éloigné», ce qui correspond exactement à l'hébreu בְּדֶרֶךְ רְחֹקָה (cf. *Nombres* 9, 10, expression conservée dans la Peshitta : ܒܐܘܪܚܐ ܪܚܝܩܬܐ); «elle ne s'aperçut (littéralement «connut») pas et elle ne sut pas», expression qui paraît reposer sur les verbes יָדַע et רָאָה (araméen חֲזָא) fréquemment associés (cf. *1 Samuel* 24, 12 et 25, 17), le premier signifiant «connaître», mais aussi «s'apercevoir de», le second signifiant «voir», mais ayant pu donner le sens de «savoir» par un intermédiaire grec εἰδέναι; «le malheur», littéralement «la peine», ϩⲓⲥⲉ, correspond probablement à l'araméen בִּישָׁא, comme semble le prouver l'équivalence ܒܝܫ = κακώσις = ϩⲓⲥⲉ attestée par *Siracide* 29, 12.

Ainsi les nombreux sémitismes que renferme le texte de l'*Évangile selon Thomas* paraissent se situer au moins à deux niveaux différents : le premier, que nous ne faisons qu'entrevoir et qui sort à peine pour nous du champ de l'hypothèse, est représenté par les sémitismes qu'il conviendrait de rattacher à un substrat hébreu, judéo-araméen ou araméen judéo-chrétien; le second, plus proche de nous, se confond avec un état syriaque du texte, dont on ne peut dire s'il fut le stade initial ou seulement une étape intermédiaire de son histoire, mais qui paraît suffisamment attesté. En effet l'existence d'un état syriaque du recueil, antérieur à l'état copte qui a été conservé, est prouvée par un certain nombre de faits : d'abord, les affinités étroites que nous avons vues entre le texte copte des logia et les vieilles versions syriaques du Nouveau Testament; en outre, un grand nombre des aramaïsmes énumérés ci-dessus peuvent tout aussi bien être des syriacismes; il reste, enfin, quelques particularités linguistiques qui sont incontestablement des syriacismes : ce sont ces exemples qu'il convient d'examiner en dernier lieu.

Jésus dit au logion 14 : «Si vous donnez l'aumône, vous ferez du mal à vos esprits» (transcription du grec πνεῦμα), ce qui veut dire : «vous vous ferez du mal», «vous nuirez à vous-mêmes». Pour exprimer le réfléchi, le syriaque, comme d'une façon générale les langues sémitiques, se sert d'un certain nombre de mots pleins, dont le plus commun est le mot «âme», mais l'emploi du mot «esprit», ܪܘܚܐ,

qui a survécu dans certains dialectes néo-syriaques, lui est plus particulier.[22] Le logion 100 rapporte l'épisode du denier de César; mais ici le «denier», δηνάριον, ainsi appelé dans *Matthieu* 22, 19, *Marc* 12, 15 et *Luc* 20, 24, est devenu une «pièce d'or», ⲛⲟⲩⲃ. En latin et en grec, le mot «denier» désigne, sauf indication contraire, une monnaie d'argent, et c'est certainement en ce sens qu'il faut l'entendre dans le texte des Synoptiques, à propos de la «monnaie du tribut». Mais, dans le domaine araméen, il a servi couramment à désigner le denier d'or, et c'est ce sens que, même employé seul, il a le plus souvent en syriaque, où il est passé sous la forme ܕܝܢܪܐ, sens qui s'est maintenu aussi dans l'arabe دينار. Les versions syriaques, dans le récit des Synoptiques, ont conservé le mot, et il est probable que la «pièce d'or» du logion est due à un traducteur qui a pris le mot ܕܝܢܪܐ dans son sens usuel, équivalent de χρυσοῦς.[23] L'*Évangile selon Thomas* présente trois exemples du mot μοναχός, simplement transcrit en copte, qui sont du plus grand intérêt, non seulement pour l'histoire de ce mot, mais aussi comme indice de l'origine syriaque du recueil: log. 16, où le mot est adjectif prédicat, 49 et 75, où il est substantif. On sait qu'avant le IVème siècle et la diffusion du monachisme ce mot est rare chez les auteurs grecs et n'est pas attesté comme substantif. En revanche, le terme syriaque correspondant, ܝܚܝܕܝܐ, avant de prendre le sens, usuel après le IVème siècle, de «moine», a été largement employé pour désigner, dans l'Église mésopotamienne des premiers siècles, une catégorie spéciale de fidèles, d'ascètes, qui vivaient «seuls», c'est-à-dire, non pas à part des autres, mais dans le célibat et la continence. Cet emploi du mot est encore bien attesté au cours du IVème siècle, chez Aphraate et Ephrem, et il semble avoir exercé sur le mot grec lui-même, μοναχός, et son acception religieuse une influence décisive.[24] Telle paraît être la signification première de ce terme ici, particulièrement sensible dans le logion 75 : «Ce sont les *monachoi* qui entreront dans la chambre nuptiale». Ce sens premier est toutefois recouvert, et en partie remplacé, par un sens nouveau qui s'est développé dans le milieu gnostique où les logia ont reçu leur dernière forme : le *monachos* est celui qui, ayant surmonté la division, est devenu un, est unifié (cf. log. 16, et aussi log. 4 et 23 où ⲟⲩⲁ ⲟⲩⲱⲧ est probablement une traduction de μοναχός). Le mot syriaque était plus que son équivalent grec susceptible d'une telle interprétation, en raison de sa nature, puisqu'il est formé sur un thème passif, mais aussi en raison de son sens fondamental : l'*iḥīdāyā*, en effet, mérite son nom, non seulement parce que, en ne se mariant pas, il reste seul, mais aussi parce que, en s'abstenant du mariage, il se soustrait à toute division (cf. *1 Corinthiens* 7, 34) ; dans l'histoire ultérieure du mot ce sens fondamental ne sera pas oublié, le «moine» restant par excellence celui qui, se refusant à tout partage dans sa vie, oriente toutes ses activités vers une seule fin.[25] Une dernière expression est à relever, qui rattache étroitement, du point de vue littéraire, les logia aux écrits de langue syriaque : l'expression «jeûner du monde» (log. 27), qui apparaît sous la forme «jeûner le monde» dans le fragment grec conservé par le P. Oxy. 1 ; on la retrouve plusieurs fois, sous l'une ou l'autre forme, chez Aphraate et chez l'auteur anonyme du *Livre des degrés.*[26]

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[22] Références données dans Guillaumont, *art. cit.* du *JA*, 117 et 122, notes 13 et 14.

[23] L'attention a été attirée sur l'équivalence de δηνάριον et «pièce d'or» dans ce logion et sur l'intérêt du logion à cet égard par J. Guey, *Comment le «denier de César» de l'Évangile a-t-il pu devenir une pièce d'or?*, dans *Bulletin de la Société française de numismatique*, 1960, 478-479, et *Autour des Res Gestae Divi Saporis, 1. Deniers (d'or) et deniers d'or (de compte) anciens*, dans *Syria* XXXVIII, 1961, spécialement 268-270.

[24] L'influence exercée par le terme syriaque ܝܚܝܕܝܐ sur le mot μοναχός et sa signification religieuse a été mise en évidence par A. Adam, *Grundbegriffe des Mönchtums in sprachlicher Sicht*, dans *ZKG* LXV, 1953/54, p. 209-239. Pour le sens primitif de ce terme, voir, entre autres, E. Beck, *Ein Beitrag zur Terminologie des ältesten*

L'étude des sémitismes conservés dans le texte copte de l'*Évangile selon Thomas* conduit donc à d'importantes conclusions. Elle montre, d'une part, les liens étroits qui existent entre cet ouvrage et les milieux de langue syriaque et donne à penser qu'il a dû avoir antérieurement une rédaction en cette langue. D'autre part, certains d'entre eux permettent, semble-t-il, de remonter au-delà et d'entrevoir, particulière-

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syrischen Mönchtums, dans *Studia Anselmiana* 38, 1956, 254-267 ; A. Vööbus, *History of Asceticism in the Syrian Orient*, I (CSCO 184), Louvain 1958, 62-108.

[25] Cf. A. Guillaumont, *Monachisme et éthique judéo-chrétienne*, dans *RSR* 60, 1972, 199-218.

[26] Les textes sont cités et étudiés dans A. Guillaumont, Νηστεύειν τὸν κόσμον *(P. Oxy. 1, verso, 1. 5-6)*, dans *BIFAO* LXI, 1962, 15-23. G. Quispel a spécialement étudié les rapports que présente l'*Évangile selon Thomas* avec les écrits, d'origine mésopotamienne, transmis sous le nom de Macaire, dans plusieurs articles et notamment dans son livre *Makarius, das Thomasevangelium und das Lied von der Perle*, Leiden 1967.

ment pour les logia qui ont des parallèles synoptiques, un substrat araméen qu'ils auraient en commun avec ces derniers. S'il en est bien ainsi, l'*Évangile selon Thomas* revêt un intérêt de premier ordre, non seulement en contribuant à étayer la thèse, déjà solidement établie, d'un substrat araméen des logia évangéliques, mais aussi en fournissant quelques nouveaux éléments pour la restitution de ce substrat.

POINTES ANTIGNOSTIQUES D'ORIGÈNE : LE QUESTIONNEMENT IMPIE DES ÉCRITURES

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Dans l'histoire de la polémique que les «orthodoxes» ont menée contre l'exégèse des gnostiques, Origène n'est pas un témoin aussi direct qu'Irénée de Lyon ou Clément d'Alexandrie : malgré l'intérêt qu'il prit à réfuter l'interprétation de l'Évangile de Jean donnée par Héracléon, les reproches qu'il adresse çà et là dans son œuvre à la lecture gnostique des Ecritures ne font guère que reprendre, souvent sur un ton assourdi, des motifs plus précisément illustrés par ses devanciers. S'il est vrai que la polémique contre la «mauvaise interprétation» (παρεκδοχή) des hérétiques tient une place importante dans ses exposés méthodologiques et joue un rôle pour l'élaboration de sa propre théorie herméneutique, cette polémique est cependant assez peu originale : elle est surtout l'héritière d'argumentations antérieures, nées dans le vif des controverses, au cours de la seconde moitié du IIème siècle. La conséquence de ce caractère «hérité» de la polémique d'Origène est que, le plus souvent, les arguments sont présents dans ses textes seulement sous forme d'allusions, de rapides reprises de termes utilisés avant lui pour critiquer les adversaires, termes dont la pointe antignostique échappe à une première lecture. Sans doute, dans le traité d'herméneutique qu'Origène jugea nécessaire d'adjoindre à son *Traité des principes*, s'en prend-il explicitement aux membres des «hérésies», amalgamant sous ce nom indistinctement les diverses écoles gnostiques et les marcionites.[1] Mais dans ses autres ouvrages, au cours de son exégèse, ses attaques sont plus brèves et de caractère allusif. J'ai donné naguère l'exemple du mot ὑπόθεσις par lequel Origène reprend au détour d'une phrase, sans insister, la critique formulée longuement par Irénée contre les «fables» gnostiques.[2] Je signalais, à propos de ce mot, qu'en renvoyant les hérétiques à leurs récits mythiques Origène leur donnait le conseil ironique de mettre leur esprit «au repos», au lieu de poursuivre une quête inopportune et impie en présence des apories du texte biblique.[3] Je voudrais ici reprendre ce thème pour lui-même, voir comment en d'autres textes on trouve pareillement le reproche adressé aux gnostiques d'exercer sur les Écritures un travail de discussion excessif et inutile, et mettre en relief quelques expressions de ce grief.

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[1] *Traité des principes* IV,8 (= *Philocalie* ch. 1; 15,4-23 Robinson, *The Philocalia of Origen*, Cambridge 1893), οἱ ἀπὸ τῶν αἱρέσεων. Dans tout ce qui suit j'emploie le mot «gnostiques» (ou «hérétiques») dans ce sens large origénien. Voir la traduction française du *Traité des principes* par M. Harl, G. Dorival, A. le Boulluec, Paris, Études Augustiniennes, 1976, 217s. et note, 129.

Le thème ne doit pas étonner : Origène peut avec logique reprocher aux exégètes gnostiques de ne pas savoir *arrêter* leur questionnement des textes, puisque sa propre théorie herméneutique tient compte de l'obscurité des textes bibliques (leur ἀσάφεια), affirme la présence en eux de passages absurdes et incompréhensibles, et pose comme règle que le lecteur croyant en l'inspiration divine de la Bible doit parfois arrêter sa recherche pour «attendre» ce que lui révèlera peut-être le Logos illuminateur.[4] L'acharnement exégétique d'Origène n'est pas radical : il accepte avec foi que le texte biblique garde parfois son opacité et résiste à son effort de compréhension.

Les deux exemples qui vont être présentés ici sont tous deux empruntés aux extraits de l'œuvre exégétique d'Origène qui nous sont parvenus dans leur original grec grâce à la *Philocalie.*

Le premier exemple est fourni par un extrait du Commentaire d'Origène sur le prophète Ezéchiel (*Philocalie*, ch. 11).[5] Origène prend l'occasion d'un passage du texte biblique (*Ez.* 34, 17-19) pour critiquer l'attitude des hérétiques à l'égard des Écritures divines. Selon le prophète, le Seigneur adresse de vifs reproches aux mauvais troupeaux qui

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[2] *Les 'mythes' valentiniens de la création et de l'eschatologie dans le langage d'Origène : le mot hypothesis*, in *The Rediscovery of Gnosticism* ed. by Bentley Layton (SHR), 1980, I, 415-423.

[3] Sur les spéculations gnostiques autour du thème du repos, voir P. Vielhauer, «*ANAPAUSIS. Zum gnostischen Hintergrund des Thomasevangelium*», in *Aufsätze zum Neuen Testament* (= Theologische Bücherei 31), Munich 1965, 215-234.

[4] *Fragment du Commentaire sur le Psaume* 50 (= *Philocalie*, ch. 1, 29); 35, 10 s. Robinson : il s'agit du comportement apparemment scandaleux de David à l'égard d'Urie. Au lieu d'accuser Dieu avec irréflexion comme le font les hétérodoxes, il est plus sûr d'attendre ..., ἀσφαλὲς ... τὸ περιμένειν τὴν ἑρμηνείαν τοῦ σαφηνιστοῦ λόγου.

[5] 60-61 Robinson.

«piétinent» le pâturage dont ils ne veulent pas et «troublent» l'eau qu'ils ne boivent pas. Pour Origène, le pâturage et l'eau figurent «énigmatiquement» (αἰνίσσεται) les Écritures et les reproches du Seigneur s'appliquent aux hérétiques. Le piétinement et le trouble causés par les mauvais troupeaux (les deux verbes employés par la Septante sont καταπατεῖν et ταράσσειν) représentent le tort que les hérétiques font aux Ecritures. Origène suit le texte biblique de près et distingue un double aspect du mauvais comportement à l'égard du pâturage et de l'eau bibliques: «certains retiennent une partie seulement des textes écrits, ceux qu'ils jugent utiles, tandis qu'ils en rejettent d'autres, qui ne seraient pas salutaires: ces gens sont ceux qui ont d'abord fait pâture de la belle portion de pâture qu'ils ont choisie, qui ont bu la partie calme de l'eau qu'ils ont jugée bonne, et ont ensuite foulé aux pieds le reste de la pâture et ont troublé de leurs pieds le reste de l'eau».[6] La faute est donc double: d'une part les hérétiques opèrent un tri parmi les textes sacrés, retenant ce qu'ils jugent bon, rejetant le reste (ἐγκρίνειν, ἀποδοκιμάζειν); d'autre part ils piétinent et troublent les parties dont ils ne veulent pas.

La première critique est précisée par Origène: certains, dit-il, retiennent le Nouveau Testament mais rejettent l'Ancien, ou bien, dans l'Ancien Testament, ils attribuent certaines parties à la puissance divine «la plus haute» (ἀνωτάτω), tandis qu'ils rattachent les autres parties à une puissance «inférieure» (ὑποδεεστέρα).[7] On reconnaît les accusations traditionnellement portées contre le travail des marcionites. A cette première faute des hérétiques, Origène oppose la règle sans cesse répétée dans son œuvre: comme le suggère le texte prophétique, les «bons troupeaux» du Seigneur doivent faire leur pâture de *tous* les pâturages, ils doivent boire *toute* l'eau des Écritures, même des parties piétinées et troublés par les autres. Tel est le sens qu'Origène donne au verset 19 d'Ezéchiel. Le Seigneur a dit «Et mes troupeaux faisaient pâture de ce que vos pieds avaient piétiné, et ils buvaient l'eau que vos pieds avaient troublée» : ce n'est pas, pour Origène, une remarque d'indignation de la part du Seigneur et un reproche à l'égard des mauvais troupeaux; c'est plutôt l'indication d'une règle à suivre. Il glose en effet ce verset en disant : «nous qui voulons être les troupeaux du Berger, ne refusons d'aucune façon de faire pâture même des parties qui ... ont été piétinées ... ; ne nous détournons pas ... de boire même l'eau que leurs pieds ont troublée», μηδέποτε φεύγωμεν νεμηθῆναι καὶ τὰ ..., μὴ ἀποτρεπώμεθα ... πίνειν καὶ τὸ ...[8] Et l'extrait se termine sur cette injonction : ne piétinons pas la pâture prophétique, ne troublons pas l'eau de la loi; faisons pâture de tout le pâturage évangélique, buvons toute l'eau apostolique. La pointe du texte prophétique est ainsi dégagée : le tort principal de ces mauvais troupeaux que sont les gnostiques est d'opérer un tri parmi tous les textes des Ecritures.

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[6] 60, 22-27 Robinson: ... τινές τινα μὲν τῶν γεγραμμένων ἐγκρίνουσιν ὡς ὠφέλιμα, τινὰ δὲ ἀποδοκιμάζουσιν ὡς οὐ σωτήρια ... Dans la suite du commentaire Origène distingue dans l'Ancien Testament ce qui est «pâture» (les prophètes) et ce qui est «eau» (la loi) et, dans le Nouveau Testament, ce qui est «pâture» (les Évangiles) et ce qui est «eau» (les écrits apostoliques): 61, 22-31.

[7] Dans la suite de cet extrait, Origène recommande de ne pas faire la même sélection dans les Évangiles et dans les écrits apostoliques: 61, 24-28.

Le second aspect des reproches adressés aux gnostiques mérite de retenir l'attention : Origène donne la raison pour laquelle ces mauvais lecteurs «piétinent» et «troublent» les parties des Écritures dont ils ne veulent pas : c'est que, lorsqu'ils se trouvent en présence de textes apparemment absurdes, ils ne sont pas capables d'en faire leur pâture et ils troublent l'eau pure des textes par leurs querelles impies. Deux expressions sont ici notables. L'une est celle qui nomme «l'absurdité» de certains passages bibliques, l'autre celle qui dénonce «les querelles impies» faites aux textes.

On sait qu'Origène dispose d'un vocabulaire important pour reconnaître dans les Écritures des passages obscurs, difficiles à comprendre, incompréhensibles, contradictoires.[9] Ici il emploie le verbe ἀπεμφαίνω et le nom ἀπέμφασις qui ne sont pas d'un usage courant. Le piétinement des Écritures, dit-il, s'exerce sur les parties qui «par elles-mêmes, prises à la lettre, sont invraisemblables», τὰ αὐτόθεν ὅσον ἐπὶ τῷ ῥητῷ ἀπεμφαίνοντα, qui forment «l'invraisemblance du texte littéral», ἡ ἀπέμφασις τῆς λέξεως. Le verbe ἀπεμφαίνω et le nom ἀπέμφασις ne semblent pas avoir été employés avant Origène dans la polémique antignostique. Ce sont des mots qui apparaissent tardivement dans la langue grecque, pour renvoyer à ce qui est privé de vraisemblance, incongru, absurde.[10] D'après le témoignage de Sextus Empiricus, ces mots avaient reçu un emploi technique dans la philosophie «probabiliste» de Carnéade et de la Nouvelle Académie: ces philosophes opposaient au concept stoïcien de «représentation compréhensive» (φαντασία καταληπτική), et au dogmatisme, la distinction de deux sortes de perception : celle qui est «crédible» (πιθανός), qu'ils appelaient ἔμφασις, et celle qui est «incrédible» (ἀπίθανος) qu'ils nommaient ἀπέμφασις.[11] Origène n'est sans doute pas le premier à avoir utilisé ce vocabulaire à propos des textes bibliques. Il n'est pas impossible que les gnostiques eux-mêmes s'en soient servis pour dénoncer dans les Écritures ce qui n'avait pas de crédibilité et qu'ils proposaient de rejeter comme ne pouvant convenir au Dieu véritable. Plus vraisemblablement, ce langage viendrait des théoriciens païens de la méthode allégorique, puisque ceux-ci, comme l'a bien montré J. Pépin, ont fait de l'absurdité des mythes le signe indiquant la nécessité de passer à l'interprétation allégorique.[12] J. Pépin, il est vrai, ne relève l'emploi du mot τὸ ἀπεμφαῖνον que chez l'Empereur Julien (Pour Origène, J. Pépin cite des textes qui utilisent ἄλογος, ἀδύνατος, ἀπίθανος).[13] Mais on trouve plusieurs fois le verbe et le mot, avant l'Empereur Julien, dans le *Contre Celse* d'Origène: on est en droit de penser, me semble-t-il, qu'ils viennent de la controverse qui opposait, au moins depuis Celse, païens et chrétiens sur la légitimité de l'allégorie: ce que les Grecs pratiquent pour les «absurdités» des mythes d'Homère, Origène le réclame pour les récits bibliques. Le thème de l'absurdité signe de l'allégorie est commun aux deux théories de l'allégorie, celle qui va de Celse, à Porphyre, à Sallustius, à Jamblique et à l'Empereur Julien, et celle d'Origène. L'Empereur Julien écrit, pour les mythes grecs, que «l'absurdité même des mythes est une voie qui conduit à la vérité»[14] : Origène ne pense pas autrement pour la Bible, dans la mesure où celle-ci pratique également un langage «crypté». En présence des passages qui, pris à la lettre, sont invraisemblables, le tort des hérétiques est de ne pas savoir, ou de ne pas vouloir, les interpréter et donc, de les rejeter. Origène donne çà et là des exemples de passages bibliques absurdes : ainsi, l'histoire de Lot et de ses filles, ou celle de l'holocauste de la fille de Jephté ; d'une façon plus générale, ce sont les anthropomorphismes concernant Dieu qui peuvent être jugés incongrus et nécessitent un traitement allégorique.[15] Encore une fois, pour Origène, les exégètes gnostiques rejoignent les littéralistes : s'ils rejettent les textes, c'est qu'ils se sont arrêtés à l'apparence de «la lettre».

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[8] 61, 10-18.

[9] Le terme le plus général est celui d'ἀσάφεια, souvent précisé par les mots de *Proverbes* 1, 6 qui énumèrent les tours énigmatiques. Les passages «impossibles» (ἀδύνατα) ou «absurdes» (ἀπεμφαίνοντα) doivent être distingués de la question du «désaccord» des évangélistes entre eux, des «contradictions» des textes bibliques (διαφωνία, ἀσυμφωνία, ἐναντιότης).

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[10] Références données par les dictionnaires à Polybe, Strabon, et à des grammairiens.

[11] Sextus Empiricus, *Adversus Mathematicos* VII (= *Adv. Dogm.* I), 169 (= *SVF* II, 119) et le texte parallèle en *Hyp. Pyrrh.* I, 227.

[12] J. Pepin, *A propos de l'histoire de l'exégèse allégorique: l'absurdité, signe de l'allégorie*, in *Studia Patristica* I (TU 63), 1957, 395-413.

[13] J. Pépin ne relève pas l'emploi d'ἀπεμφαίνω-ἀπέμφασις chez Origène, mais il en existe une bonne demi-douzaine d'exemples.

Mais ces «mauvais troupeaux» ne se bornent pas à délaisser une partie du pâturage : ils «piétinent» ce dont ils ne veulent pas. Origène donne une explication à cette autre faute qui consiste à gâcher les parties de l'Écriture rejetées : les gnostiques ont «mêlé au sens pur des Écritures des querelles impies», ἀναμιξάντων τῷ καθαρῷ λόγῳ τῆς γραφῆς δυσφήμους ἐπαπορήσεις. Le mot ἐπαπόρησις n'est pas, de lui-même, péjoratif. Origène lui aussi, en présence des difficultés du texte biblique, pose des questions, soulève des objections, indique des apories, ce qui est le sens propre du verbe ἐπαπορεῖν et du nom correspondant.[16] Mais ce questionnement des textes obéit pour lui à des règles qui imposent des limites, dans le respect d'écrits qu'il a reçus comme divinement inspirés, sans rien en eux qui soit inutile. Il y a une bonne façon de discuter les textes, en conformité avec la piété, et une mauvaise façon, celle des gnostiques, qui dépassent les bornes.[17] Soulever des objections contre un texte, parce qu'il est en contradiction avec un autre texte, ou absurde en lui-même, ou «impossible», est légitime si, après avoir constaté l'impossibilité de résoudre l'aporie, on accepte cependant le texte. Origène respecte les parties obscures de l'Écriture, les gardant dans sa lecture, même s'il ne les comprend pas. La faute des gnostiques est de ne pas avoir cette attitude globale de «foi» en l'inspiration divine de toutes les Écritures jusqu'en leurs moindres parties, jusque dans leurs apparentes absurdités. Un mot désigne cette faute à la fin de ce commentaire d'Ezéchiel: c'est l'absence de foi, l'ἀπιστία, «qui provoque le trouble chez ceux qui ne savent pas comprendre». Cette accusation rejoint une argumentation importante d'Origène, deux fois longuement exposée dans d'autres extraits de la *Philocalie* et que l'on peut résumer ainsi: de même que celui qui accepte l'idée d'une providence universelle ne se met pas à douter de cette providence lorsqu'il est en présence d'événements apparemment incompréhensibles, de même le lecteur des Écritures ne doit pas abandonner sa «foi» dans leur inspiration divine lorsqu'il est en présence de passages apparemment privés de sens.[18] L'acceptation «une fois pour toutes» (ἅπαξ) de l'action providentielle *ou* de l'inspiration biblique est un acte de foi qui ne supporte aucune dérogation. Prolonger les mises en doute du texte, les ἐπαπορήσεις, est contraire à la piété, c'est δύσφημος. Les gnostiques font aux textes bibliques «apparemment absurdes» de trop longues querelles. Leurs mises en doute «troublent» l'eau des Écritures pour les simples lecteurs, qui, comme le dit plus d'une fois Origène, sont désorientés (δυσωπεῖσθαι) et risquent de se détourner de ces passages, alors qu'ils ont besoin de trouver dans la totalité des textes bibliques «la belle pâture» et «l'eau calme», καλὴ νομή, καθεστηκός ὕδωρ, que le Seigneur leur propose.[19]

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[14] Cité par J. Pépin, *op. cit.*, 109 : *Discours VII contre le cynique Héraclius*, 217 C. Trois autres exemples de τὸ ἀπεμφαῖνον dans ce discours et un autre exemple dans le *Discours V sur la Mère des dieux*, en 170 AC.

[15] L'épisode de Lot est cité dans le *Contre Celse* IV, 45, celui de la fille de Jephtè dans le *Commentaire sur l'Évangile de Jean*, en VI, 280. Pour les anthropomorphismes «absurdes» (colère, repentir, courroux, sommeil de Dieu), voir *Homélie sur Jérémie* XX, 1, avec la formulation de la règle : πάντα τὰ ἀναγεγραμμένα περὶ τοῦ θεοῦ, κἂν ἀπεμφαίνοντα αὐτόθεν ᾖ, χρὴ ἄξια νοῆσαι εἶναι θεοῦ ἀγαθοῦ (ce titre de Dieu, Dieu «bon», par opposition au titre de «juste», est une pointe antignostique). Voir encore l'exemple d'absurdité du figuier en *Marc* 11, 12-14 selon le *Commentaire sur l'Évangile de Matthieu* XVI, 29 ; 571 Klostermann.

[16] A titre d'exemple, voir l'ἐπαπόρημα qu'Origène pose aux gnostiques à propos du couple «Verbe et Vie», en *Commentaire sur l'Évangile de Jean* II, 156, et l'ἐπαπόρησις à propos de *Jean* 1, 3, *ibid.*, II, 79.

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[17] Celse est accusé de ne pas savoir «poser à l'Écriture des questions sensées», φρονίμως ἐπαπορῆσαι τῇ γραφῇ: *Contre Celse* II, 32; 159, 12 Koetschau. Dans sa réponse à Africanus, Origène écrit: tes questions (ἐπαπορήματα) (qui mettent en doute la canonicité de l'histoire de Suzanne) me semblent formulées sans respect (ἀσεμνότερον) et ne pas s'en tenir à la piété qui te convient (*Lettre à Africanus* 11).

[18] *Fragment du Commentaire sur le Psaume* 1, § 4 (= *Philocalie* ch. 2); 39, 5-24 Robinson, et *Traité des principes* IV, 7 (= *Philocalie* ch. 1); 13, 3-22 Robinson (notre traduction française, citée dans la note 1, 215-216).

En reprochant aux hérétiques les mauvaises querelles qu'ils font aux textes bibliques, Origène reprend une accusation déjà nettement formulée par Clément d'Alexandrie qui, après Irénée, assimilait les gnostiques à de nouveaux sophistes, à des éristiques, à des dialecticiens incapables d'arrêter leurs discussions sur les textes. Le début de son VIIIème Stromate est à ce sujet particulièrement explicite: la recherche est définie comme ce qui doit se faire «en vue de la découverte», εὑρέσεως χάριν, ἐπὶ τὸ διερευνᾶσθαι, ce que savaient les philosophes de l'Antiquité ainsi que la tradition biblique et chrétienne.[20] Le tort des «nouveaux philosophes» (la Nouvelle Académie, les sceptiques, et les gnostiques qui leur sont assimilés, semble-t-il) est de pratiquer une recherche qui n'a pas de fin, qui est «inutile» (ἄχρηστος).[21] Celui qui aime la vérité, dit Clément, est «pacifique», εἰρηνικός, et non pas «fauteur de trouble», ταραχώδης. S'il n'est pas possible de trouver sans avoir cherché, il est également impossible de ne pas trouver lorsque l'on a cherché. Le terme de la recherche est le repos.[22]

Comme Clément, Origène oppose, dans un autre texte transmis par la *Philocalie*, le «pacifique» à l'amateur de troubles: commentant le verset de *Matthieu* 5, 9 («Heureux les pacifiques»), il montre qu'est véritablement «pacifique» celui qui sait résoudre les apparentes contradictions des Ecritures en une «symphonie» de la divine musique. Et il s'en prend à ceux qui ne savent pas entendre l'harmonie unissant «anciennes et nouvelles écritures», «loi et prophètes», «Évangiles et écrits apostoliques».[23] Les gnostiques sont ici aussi visés. Ne pas être «pacifique» en lisant les Écritures, c'est encore une fois provoquer du trouble. Les δύσφημοι ἐπαπορήσεις des gnostiques n'ont pas seulement pour résultat de jeter le doute sur les passages apparemment absurdes, de les discréditer; elles apportent encore ce qui se mêle à l'eau pure des textes pour la troubler: ces élucubrations que les hérétiques ajoutent aux textes bibliques, en bâtissant leurs fables insensées à partir d'obscures données scripturaires. Un excès de questionnements (les mises en doute du texte) peut aboutir à un rejet du texte ou, inversement, à un excès d'interprétation du texte. L'eau «calme» est agitée, troublée. Le pâturage est piétiné. Trop de questions ont été posées au texte, sans fin, sans résultat «utile».

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[19] Fin de l'extrait sur *Ezéchiel*; 61, 22-33 Robinson. L'eau «calme» (καθεστηκός, selon le terme de la Septante) reste telle pour les croyants, même après les troubles apportés par les hérétiques. Elle est «calme», dit Origène, «pour autant qu'il est en notre pouvoir», ὅσον ἐφ' ἡμῖν.

[20] *Stromates* VIII, 1, 1. Toute cette page mérite d'être relue.

[21] *Ibid.* Le logion de *Matthieu* 7, 7, dont nous allons parler, est cité comme l'exemple d'un encouragement scripturaire à «trouver».

[22] Cette page du VIII^e Stromate (GCS 17^2, Stählin-Früchtel-Treu, 1970, 80-81) a été considérée par certains critiques comme donnant les matériaux qui se trouvent ailleurs dans les Stromates (V, 12, 2 et V, 17, 2). Cette thèse vient d'être combattue par P. Nautin, *la fin des Stromates et les hypotyposes de Clément d'Alexandrie*, in *VC* 30, 1976, 268-302, en particulier 273-277. On lira prochainement dans la Collection des Sources Chrétiennes la traduction et les notes de commentaire d'A. Le Boulluec sur ces pages du Vème Stromate. Pour le «repos» au terme de la recherche, voir *Le Pédagogue* I, 29, 3; 107, 23-26 Stählin, et les textes cités *infra* n. 29 et 32.

La formule qui se lit chez Clément d'Alexandrie au début du VIII^e Stromate, à savoir que la recherche doit se faire «en vue de la découverte», nous introduit à un second thème poémique, dont il me semble entendre l'écho dans un autre texte d'Origène. On sait, notamment depuis l'étude du P. Orbé, qu'une controverse s'était élevée à la fin du second siècle autour du logion de *Matthieu* 7, 7 rapportant le conseil de Jésus: «demandez et l'on vous donnera; cherchez et vous trouverez; frappez et l'on vous ouvrira».[24] Les gnostiques sont abusé de la formule «cherchez et vous trouverez»; en insistant sur le verbe «cherchez», ils ont voulu faire dire au texte: «cherchez» au delà du Démiurge et vous «trouverez» le vrai Dieu. Les témoignages de Tertullien, d'Irénée, de Clément ont été étudiés par le P. Orbé qui, après avoir examiné les textes où Origène utilise le logion pour son propre usage, — ce qui est fréquent,[25] conclut qu'Origène semble ignorer son emploi par les Valentiniens. Cet effacement d'un point de controverse ne serait pas surprenant, comme nous l'avons dit au début de cette étude. Il me semble toutefois que je peux en lire une trace, à peine perceptible il est vrai, dans un fragment d'une Homélie sur Jérémie.[26] Le contexte exégétique de ce morceau ne nous est pas connu car les anthologistes ont isolé, pour les citer, les seules remarques méthodologiques. Origène prône la prudence en matière d'exégèse, critiquant la précipitation audacieuse des interprètes gnostiques qui se mettent à la recherche du sens de façon trop téméraire, προπετέστερον, sans reconnaître le caractère «secret», ἀπόρρητον, de la Sagesse et du Verbe de Dieu dans les Écritures. Origène leur oppose la règle donnée dans le livre de l'*Ecclésiaste*, en 5, 1, «ne te hâte pas de proférer une parole, etc...», et il énonce rapidement la bonne méthode exégétique : à cause du caractère «secret» de la Sagesse et du Verbe de Dieu dans les Écritures, c'est «en se conformant au Verbe-Dieu et à la Sagesse qui est auprès de lui qu'il faut *à la fois chercher et trouver* (le sens des textes)», ... καὶ ζητητέον καὶ εὑρετέον.[27] Le rapprochement souligné entre les deux verbes «chercher» et «trouver» nous fait penser au logion de *Matthieu* 7, 7. N'y aurait-il pas ici une allusion à ce logion, «cherchez et vous trouverez»? Sans doute la pointe du texte est-elle qu'il faut chercher le sens des textes «en conformité» avec leur origine divine. Mais cela ne peut-il s'appliquer à la fois au mode de la recherche et, tout autant, au mode de la découverte? Origène n'insiste-t-il pas sur le lien des deux opérations? Si le mode de la recherche est de se conformer au dessein divin qui inspira les textes, le mode de la découverte l'est également : on trouvera (ou l'on ne trouvera pas) le sens des textes selon que le Verbe et la Sagesse ont fait que tel passage de l'Écriture est clair ou ne l'est pas. La règle de toute exégèse, à la fois recherche et découverte, est de se conformer à l'esprit des textes. La recherche n'est pas seule en jeu. La découverte lui est nécessairement associée.

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[23] *Fragment du Commentaire sur Matthieu* (= *Philocalie* ch. 6), 1, 49, 9-14 Robinson.

[24] A. Orbé, *Parabolas evangélicas en San Ireneo*, I, Madrid 1972, 34-74.

[25] *Traité des principes* II, 9, 4; *Commentaire sur l'Évangile de Jean* X, 131; *Contre Celse* VI, 7 (*in fine*); *Fragment sur Matthieu* 7, 7; *Lettre à Grégoire* 4 (= *Philocalie* ch. 13; 67, 7-15 Robinson), etc...

[26] *Philocalie* ch. 1, 28; 33 Robinson.

L'idée que la recherche doit connaître un terme, — découverte du sens ou arrêt en attente de l'illumination, dans la foi —, s'exprimait dans le premier texte rappelé ci-dessus par l'image du *repos* : que les hérétiques, disait Origène, lorsqu'ils ne peuvent résoudre les apories d'un texte biblique, persuadent leur conscience de «se mettre au repos», ἀναπεπαῦσθαι.[28] La grande métaphore du texte d'Ezéchiel évoquait également le repos que les troupeaux du Seigneur trouvent dans le pâturage : «je les ferai paître dans un bon pâturage (...); là ils se reposeront dans un bon délice (...); je ferai paître mes troupeaux et je les ferai reposer...» (*Ez.* 34, 14-15 : ... καὶ ἐκεῖ ἀναπαύσονται ἐν τρυφῇ ἀγαθῇ ..., καὶ ἐγὼ ἀναπαύσω αὐτά). Tout naturellement Origène associe ces images bibliques au thème d'une recherche qui doit mettre un terme à son questionnement pour trouver «le repos». L'idée et le vocabulaire d'un repos archétypal (l'Eden) ou eschatologique sont traditionnels chez les chrétiens (comme chez les gnostiques). A titre d'exemple citons la phrase par laquelle Justin présentait le terme de sa longue quête de la vérité : il s'attache de façon indéfectible aux paroles du Seigneur et cela est désormais pour lui «un très agréable repos» (*Dialogue avec Tryphon* 8, 2 : ἀνάπαυσις ἡδίστη). Les mentions du «repos» au terme de la recherche sont fréquentes, elles sont dans la ligne de la philosophie grecque la plus classique, celle qui voit un lien entre «savoir» et «se tenir arrêté», entre ἐπιστήμη et στῆναι.[29] On retrouve ce lien, parfois en référence avec le repos sabbatique, par exemple chez Clément d'Alexandrie, qui rappelle surtout le mythe du *Phèdre* : les âmes *s'arrêtent* sur la voûte *fixe* (ἀπλανῆς), pour voir la plaine de vérité, qui est le lieu du *repos*.[30] Cette tradition philosophique oppose le repos à l'errance et à l'agitation de la recherche : les termes comme στάσις, ἠρεμία, ἀνάπαυσις, ἐπιστήμη, πίστις,[31] s'opposent aux mots du type πλάνη, σάλος, πολυπραγμοσύνη, ainsi qu'aux δύσφημοι ἐπαπορήσεις dont nous avons parlé. A la suite de Philon d'Alexandrie, Clément avait vu dans l'histoire de Caïn l'illustration de ce contraste : Caïn a quitté l'Eden, lieu du repos et de la τρυφή, pour une ville qui est «à l'opposé d'Eden» et porte un nom symbolique, Naïd, qui signifie «agitation», σάλος. Caïn est la figure de l'éristique, de l'insensé qui ne s'arrête à aucune doctrine, mais cherche toujours en s'agitant, ἄλλοτε ἀλλοῖα δοξάζων.[32] On peut dire au contraire du véritable gnostique, le chrétien selon Clément, qu'il est «fixé dans la foi», πέπηγεν τῇ πίστει ὁ γνωστικός.[33]

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[27] p. 33, 21. Plus précisément, Origène dit que les mauvais interprètes *ignorent* qu'il faut etc...

[28] *Fragment du Commentaire sur le Psaume* 1 (= *Philocalie* ch. 2); 40, 8-14 Robinson.

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[29] Aristote, *Physique* VII, 247b.

[30] Clément d'Alexandrie, *Str.* V, 106 (l'ogdoade, sphère des fixes, plaine de la vérité, lieu de repos); VI, 121; VII, 57, 1; *Eclogae propheticae* 56-57, etc... Même thème chez Plotin, *Ennéades* I, 3, 4.

[31] Les lecteurs de la Bible tirent des considérations analogues de lieux scripturaires (dans la Septante) où est employée une forme du verbe ἵστημι, par exemple lorsque le Seigneur demande à l'un des siens de «se tenir» auprès de lui (*Deutéronome* 5, 31 : στῆθι μετ᾽ ἐμοῦ).

[32] *Str.* II, 51-52 (la source est : Philon, *De posteritate Caini* 22-32, en particulier 27). Thème également repris par Didyme d'Alexandrie, *Commentaire sur la Genèse*, Pap. 136, éd. Doutreleau (Sources Chrétiennes 233) I, 315.

Les passages de polémique antignostique d'Origène, malgré leur caractère seulement allusif, méritent d'être mis en relief. Sans doute ne nous apportent-ils pas grand chose sur l'exgèse gnostique elle-même. En revanche ils nous apprennent qu'Origène situait la définition de sa propre méthode par rapport aux déviations des gnostiques, sous la pression de leurs objections qui étaient probablement encore vivantes à son époque. Puisque les gnostiques ont particulièrement butté sur les «absurdités» du texte biblique, puisqu'ils ont gâché de leurs «querelles impies» ces parties du texte sacré et risquent d'induire en erreur les lecteurs chrétiens, Origène a répondu en affirmant sa propre théorie. Les prises à partie polémiques, héritées de ses devanciers, lui servent d'occasions, sinon de prétextes, pour justifier ses positions, pour leur donner plus de poids. En dénonçant les dangers que le traitement «hérétique» faisait courir aux Ecritures (les gnostiques ont jeté le discrédit sur les passages qui, *d'eux-mêmes*, ne donnent pas un sens «utile au salut»), il a justifié sa théorie de l'obscurité délibérée des Ecriture (le dessein de l'Esprit est qu'elles comportent des passages «impossibles» à la lettre ou «absurdes»)[34] et sa méthode d'interprétation allégorique. Il reconnaît aussi bien que les gnostiques la présence dans les Ecritures de ces passages invraisemblables, mais il en limite la présence à la seule apparence du texte, aux mots pris «en eux-mêmes», αὐτόθεν, lus de façon isolée, sans qu'ils soient pris dans le large contexte de toute la Bible. Le rappel des doutes et des rejets opérés par les gnostiques lui permet de répéter avec force le principe essentiel de sa propre lecture des textes : rien dans les Ecritures n'est de trop ni n'a été écrit en vain; tout prend un sens, même ce qui est contraire à la vraisemblance; tout peut donner un sens «digne du Dieu bon», à condition que l'on cherche «droitement» (ὀρθῶς ζητεῖν), ou bien que l'on sache arrêter la recherche, dans l'humilité de l'incompréhension, en attente d'une lumière qui viendra peut-être un jour dans le cœur.

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[33] *Ibid.* 51, 3; 140, 11 Stählin. Toute cette page est importante. On notera encore la formule : συγγενὲς δὲ τῷ ψεύδει μετάβασις ⟨καὶ⟩ ἐκτροπὴ καὶ ἀπόστασις, ὥσπερ τῷ γνωστικῷ ἠρεμία καὶ ἀνάπαυσις καὶ εἰρήνη (*ibid.* 52, 4; 141, 12-14 Stählin).

[34] En attendant de fournir (à l'occasion d'une prochaine édition des extraits de la *Philocalie* concernant l'herméneutique d'Origène) un dossier sur sa théorie de «l'obscurité» biblique, citons au moins un exemple où l'on voit à la fois son acceptation de la mise en question des textes obscurs, et son conseil de passer à l'interprétation spirituelle : les commandements «impossibles» à la lettre, dit Origène, sont donnés à cause de ceux qui ont l'esprit vif et sont doués pour la recherche (ἐντρεχεστέρους καὶ ζητητικωτέρους), afin qu'ils s'emploient à la mise à l'épreuve des textes et acquièrent la solide conviction de la nécessité, en de tels cas, de chercher un sens digne de Dieu (*Traité des principes* IV, 16 = *Philocalie* ch. 1, 16; 23, 22-26 Robinson).

AN ANALYSIS OF THE USE OF THE STORY OF THE FLOOD IN THE APOCALYPSE OF ADAM

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At a time in which it was hardly acceptable, Professor Quispel drew attention to the Jewish influence on Gnosticism.[1] Now he must derive tremendous satisfaction from the fact that in this book many years later one can speak about this subject without being suspected.

Judaism was one of the godfathers of Gnosticism. This is generally accepted at the moment. But Gnosticism had many godfathers and Judaism was a complex religion at the beginning of our era. Thus, it is still necessary to review the nature of Jewish influence of Gnosticism. Here we would like to do this with the help of the story of the flood. This story is present in the Apocalypse of Adam,[2] the Apocryphon of John,[3] the Gospel of the Egyptians,[4] the account of Pseudo Tertullian of a sect called the Sethians,[5] the Hypostasis of the Archons[6] and an occasional reference of Irenaeaus to some Gnostic sects.[7]

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[1] See G. Quispel, *Der gnostische Anthropos und die jüdische Tradition*, in *ErJb* 22, 1953, 195-234, cf. W.C. van Unnik, *Gnosis und Judentum*, in *Gnosis*, Festschrift für H. Jonas, Göttingen 1978, 65-86; 66: "Quispel gebührt die Ehre, es (scil. das Verhältnis von Gnostizismus und Judentum) 1951 zum ersten Male und später immer wieder angeschnitten zu haben".

[2] We used the text of A. Böhlig und Pahor Labib, *Koptisch-Gnostische Apokalypsen aus Codex V von Nag Hammadi im Koptischen Museum zu Alt-Kairo*. Herausgegeben, übersetzt und bearbeitet, in: *WZHalle* 1963, Sonderband, and the translation of *The Nag Hammadi Library in English*, translated by Members of the Coptic Gnostic Library Project of the Institute for Antiquity and Christianity, Leiden 1977: *The Apocalypse of Adam* (V, 5). Introduced and translated by G.W. MacRae edited by D.M. Parrott, 256-264.

[3] We used Codex II in M. Krause und Pahor Labib, *Die drei Versionen des Apokryphon des Johannes im Koptischen Museum zu Alt-Kairo* (ADAIKairo, Koptische Reihe, I) Wiesbaden 1962, 109-199.

[4] *Nag Hammadi Codices III, 2 and IV, 2. The Gospel of the Egyptians (The Holy Book of the Great and Invisible Spirit)*, edited with translation and commentary by A. Böhlig and F. Wisse in cooperation with Pahor Labib (NHS, IV), Leiden 1975.

From these writings we chose the Apocalypse of Adam (AA) as our starting point. Here we meet the most extensive and detailed use of this story. After we have gone into the particular ideas regarding the Flood we can easily compare its various constituents with the other writings.

From these writings it appears that the story of the Flood appealed to the gnostic mind. First of all, it is a tradition according to which the creator god had to acknowledge the failure of his creation. In the second place the story in which one family was left upon earth, opened the possibility to explain the empirical situation of mankind. On the other hand, we shall see that no gnostic system was able to incorporate the biblical story without adapting it to its own ideas. This again shows that the gnostic subjects the outside tradition to his own ends.

According to AA the flood is announced by Adam to Seth as part of a revelation of the future (67, 14-21). This happens at the moment that Adam has finally come under the power of death because of his lust for Eve (67, 1-4). Seth himself escaped this fate, since "the glory" and "the first gnosis" which left Adam and Eve went into Seth at the moment Adam and Eve were separated and became two beings (54, 20 - 65, 13). Adam received the revelation about the future himself from three men after this separation at a time in which he served his creator "in fear and slavery" (65, 20-21), and he was darkened in his heart (55, 23).

The revelation[8] given to Seth is meant for the people of Seth, i.e. the people of the gnosis.[9] Adam tells him that showers of rain will come "after I (scil. the creator) have completed the times of this generation and the years of the generation have been accomplished" (67, 22-27). This may be an indication that the flood will come after Adam's death, but to this is added the remark that it will occur at the time when "this generation" has come to an end. Here the word generation can have no other meaning than a particular period in the history of mankind which will come to an end by a catastrophe. This catastrophic flood will be the moment of one of the three "arrivals" (παρουσία[10]) of the saviour (76, 8-9).[11]

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[5] See Pseudo-Tertullian, *Adversus omnes Haereses* 2, ed. A. Kroyman, in CSEL 47, Vindobonae-Lipsiae 1906, 218, see also Epiphanius, *Panarion*, 39.

[6] R. A. Bullard, *The Hypostasis of the Archons*. The Coptic Text with Translation and Commentary (PTS 10), Berlin 1970.

[7] See Irenaeus, *Adv. Haer.* I, 18, 4 (the Valentinians), I 30 10 (the Ophites) and I, 27, 3 (Marcion). We are not going into the Mandaean ideas about the destructions by sword, fire and flood, regularly met in their writings.

[8] C. W. Hedrich, *The Apocalypse of Adam: A Literary and Source Analysis*, in *The SBL One Hundred and Eighth Annual Meeting Book of Seminar Papers*, Friday-Tuesday, 1-5 September 1972, Century Plaza Hotel - Los Angelos, Ca. Lane C. McCaughly Editor, vol. II, 581-590, writes on p. 586, that there are divisions in this section. The passages 67, 22-69, 11; 70, 1 (?) - 71, 4; 72, 15 - 73, 12 "give a paraphrase of the flood narrative from Genesis. Each traditional section is followed by a gnostic

The idea that the flood marks the transition from one period to another is very important, because as a transition it was determinative for the empirical situation in the following period.[12] Certain ideas about the empirical world are generally a starting point of gnostic systems regarding salvation. Even if these systems show a wide variety they all have in common that something in this empirical world can be saved. This means that some people do not belong to this world and others or part of them are destined to be saved. Therefore, it is necessary to show how after the flood a mixed race originated, not quite good and not quite bad. Since the story of the flood presupposes a decisive act of destruction of the existing world, either by the highest god or by the creator, the presence of a mixed race after the flood would only be possible when something went wrong, i.e. the destruction was not final. This is precisely the case in the various writings speaking about the flood. The way, however, in which things went wrong is different in the gnostic writings.

In the AA the flood is caused by the creator: "For rainshowers

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midrash which explains the therefore unknown story of the great men in relationship with the flood".

[9] Various words are used, but we chose this one. Further we speak of the "creator (god)" and "the highest god".

[10] Cf. *The Gospel of the Egyptians* III, 63, 4-8 = IV, 74, 17ff.

[11] The passage which follows the remark about the fire (see under) speaks about the "third" coming at that moment. This is not clear, since we are supposed to expect a second coming at that moment (the first being after the flood). The third has to take place at the last judgement. Anyway, this is the course of events in the Gospel of the Egyptians.

[12] In AA we meet an apocalyptic schematization, cf. Ph. Perkins, *The Apocalypse of Adam and the Gospel of the Egyptians*, in *The SBL* ..., 591-599.

of God the almighty will be poured forth so that he might destroy all flesh of God the almighty, so that he might destroy all flesh[13] from the earth by means of that (pl.), which is around them, along with those from the seed of the men to whom passed the life of the knowledge that came from me and Eve..." (69, 1-17). In this sentence we meet a dittography. Usually in the editions the words "of God the almighty, so that he might destroy all flesh" after the words "all flesh" have been placed between brackets. Since, however, only the words "so that he might destroy all flesh" have been repeated, we suggest keeping the words "of God almighty" in the text. This passage indicates that the almighty God, i.e. the creator wishes to destroy his own creation along with the people of the gnosis, who are said here to be coming from Eve. Since Noah is a descendent of Adam, he belongs to the creator god. This means that, should the creator succeed, only one member of his creation would be left. Therefore, the author reached out for some way to save the generation of the gnosis people. He writes that they will be saved when "great angels will come on high clouds, who will bring those men into the place where the spirit of life dwells" (69, 19-25). This is a way of saving some of the people during the flood which is unknown to the Old Testament, but had to be introduced, since the writer had in mind his own ideas about the situation on earth.

A long passage is devoted to the remark that Noah, his sons and their wives were saved with the animals and birds to reign "in kingly fashion" (71, 2) on earth. The creator is assured of a faithful servant. Now the author has to create a group of people who can be saved. First of all it is said that the people of the gnosis came into the neighbourhood of Noah, but their influence is temporary. We read that the creator said to Noah: "Why have you departed from what I told you? You have created another generation so that you might scorn my power" (71, 17-20). They are separated from Noah and to live in their own land. But the author writes about a second event which is of importance for the future of mankind. Noah's sons, Ham, Japheth and Shem are mentioned. They are invited by Noah to serve in fear and slavery the creator god (72, 20-23). The continuation of the story is difficult to understand since the text is damaged at the bottom of the page. However, it is clear that Noah speaks to one of his sons of whose "seed" it is said that it "may not be inclined away from you and God the almighty, but it will serve in humility and fear of his knowledge" (73, 8-12). Then the text continues with the words: "Then others from the seed of Ham and Japheth will come..." (73, 13-15). This obviously means that first the generation of Shem is intended. It appears that this generation will be especially devoted to the creator god. It is clear that the Jews are meant, entirely in agreement with Jewish tradition that Shem is praised for his righteousness.[14] In the rest of this work his name is not mentioned again.

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[13] The words agree with Gen. 6, 17 according to the Septuagint: καταφθεῖραι πᾶσαν σάρκα, cf. W.C. van Unnik, *Die jüdische Komponente in der Entstehung der Gnosis*, in *VC* 15, 1961, 65-82; 81: "Das, was man an jüdischem Gut begegnet ist durch das Medium der griechischen Übersetzung gegangen". In AA Noah is called Deucalion (77, 19) which can be explained from Hellenistic Jewish Sources, cf. J. P. Lewis, *A Study of the Interpretation of Noah and the Flood in Jewish and Christian Literature*, Leiden 1968, 106-108.

About Ham and Japheth it is said that 400.000 of their generation are going to live with those who originated from the eternal gnosis (73, 13-20, cf. 74, 8-16). They will obviously be saved. It appears that they made their own decision, because they are indicted by the rest of the generation of Ham and Japheth because "they have overturned all the glory of your power and the domination of your hand" (74, 15-16), contrary to Noah's son Shem: "For the seed of Noah through *his son* (scil. Shem) has done all your (scil. the creator) will..." (74, 15-16).[15]

Now again a group of people of the gnosis are present on earth. A second attack is launched against them. Fire, brimstone and asphalt (75, 9-11) were sent to earth, but the people of gnosis were carried away to heaven again (75, 17-76, 7). In this case the Illuminator plays a part: "Once again, for the third time, the Illuminator of knowledge will pass by in great glory, in order to leave something of the seed of Noah and the sons of Ham and Japheth... (76, 8-13).[16]

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[14] See Lewis, *o.c.*, 118-119 and 152-154. See also the second *Treatise of the Great Seth* (VII, 2) 63, 32-64,4: "... from Adam to Moses and John the Baptist none of them knew me nor my brothers. For they had a doctrine of angels to observe dietary laws and with slavery...". Cf. E.H. Pagels, *The Valentinian Claim to Esoteric Exegesis of Romans as Basis for anthropological Theory*, in *VC* 26, 1972, 241-258, who argues that "Jews" are all those who live in fear for the creator god.

[15] See for the way of salvation in AA L. Schotroff, *Animae naturaliter salvandae. Zum Problem der himmlichen Herkunft des Gnostikers*, in W. Eltester, *Christentum und Gnosis* (Beih. *ZNW* 37) Berlin 1969, 65-97.

Here we have to leave the AA. The author has demonstrated that the generation of Ham and Japheth can be saved if they make the right decision and that they will be helped against the attacks of the creator god.

This second catastrophe shows similarities with the first. In both cases the people of the gnosis are threatened by the creator, but are miraculously saved by the angels. It is sign that the people of the gnosis will be protected against any attack launched upon them. On the other hand we notice a difference. During the flood some people, who were mentioned by name, like Noah, Shem, Ham and Japheth, play a particular part and are of importance for the development of the struggle between the almighty and the highest God, while during the fire no individuals are mentioned.

Looking at the other writings which mention the flood, we see that some introduce the story in order to explain a particular situation upon earth but others describe it only as an attack upon the people of the gnosis. The first group usually sees Noah as belonging to the creator god. An exception is the account of Tertullian of the Sethians. Here the "Mother" causes the flood because she hopes to destroy the *semen permixtionis*. Noah is saved in the ark. However, if only Noah had been saved, the empirical situation would not have been explained, since it would have been characterized by people serving the "mother". Therefore it is said that Ham took with him in the ark the *semen malitiae*.[17] This meant that after the flood the *semen purum* and the *semen malitiae* are still existing. The attempt to explain the existing situation is different from what we met in the AA, but the result is the same. Both writings wanted to show that also after the flood various groups of people existed.

In the Apocryphon of John the flood is caused by the creator god to whom Noah originally belonged. Parallel with the AA, the people of the gnosis are taken up into heaven, but here Noah also belongs to them (II 29, 10-12), because he was instructed by the Light-Pronoia

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[16] See about the arrivals of the Illuminator above.

[17] About Ham, see *Lewis*, o.c., 178-179.

(II 29, 2-3). The author tells his readers explicitly that the story of Noah and the ark is not true (II 29, 6-7). This means that after the flood only people of the gnosis were left. It is not quite clear why he chose this difficult situation, which is not in agreement with the empirical one. Possibly we are dealing here with a mixture of traditions, one similar to Pseudo-Tertullian where Noah belongs to the highest god and a tradition like in AA according to which the flood is caused by the creator god. However, the Apocryphon of John solves the difficulty saying that after the flood the angels of the creator descended upon earth and mixed with the people of gnosis. This is curious since here we meet the stories in Genesis about the descent of the angels and the flood in the reverse order. It shows, however, that nothing has been omitted by the Gnostics to arrive at the situation which they wanted to describe.[18]

Finally we see that in the Gospel of the Egyptians the flood is mentioned without particulars regarding Noah and his sons. It is nothing more than an attack on the people of the gnosis (III 61, 1-15 = IV 72, 10-27). Like in AA fire is a second effort to destroy the people of the gnosis. The flood is, according to the Gospel of the Egyptians, a sign of the last judgement (III 61, 1-3 = IV 72, 10-12). This seems to be an independent tradition which cannot be explained from a earlier one in which Noah played a part. Here flood and fire are considered as periodical catastrophes which threaten mankind, in this case the people of gnosis.[19]

A few conclusions can be drawn from this material. From the way the story of the flood has been adopted by gnostic writings, we see that two traditions have been used. The first one is the biblical story of the flood according to the Septuagint. Contrary to stories about Adam and Eve in, for example, the beginning of AA, haggadic influences are absolutely absent. In the second place the tradition of periodical disasters by means of water and fire is known. Although these traditions merge in AA, we have to distinguish between the two.

Then, we see that the story of the flood is accepted as far as the gnostics were able to use its contents. In an arbitrary way parts of it were accepted and rejected. The parts which were accepted were totally subjected to the intention of the authors of gnostic writings.[20]

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[18] See Y. Janssens, *Le Thème de la Fornication des Anges*, in: *Origini* (SHR XII), 488-495.

[19] See A.F.J. Klijn, *Seth in Jewish, Christian and Gnostic Literature*, (Supplem. to *NT* XLVI), Leiden 1977, 121-124: Water and Fire.

This observation tells us something about the Jewish influence on gnosticism. Although this influence cannot be denied, it is not simply proved by the existence of some Old Testament passages in gnostic writings. In the case of the stories about the flood, the influence of the Old Testament is limited to some remarks, but does not apply to their contents. The authors obviously refused to be influenced by their sources. Especially where we are dealing with gnostic sources, we have, therefore, to be very careful with regard to conclusions about supposed influences.

With regard to AA we meet an additional problem. From all the writings in which the flood is mentioned, we have noticed that some of them introduce the story in order to explain an existing situation,[21] while the Gospel of the Egyptians shows the efforts of the creator god to destroy the people of the gnosis. We are clearly dealing with two different traditions since in the Gospel of the Egyptians the flood is closely related with fire. In AA, however, we meet the two opinions about the flood alongside each other. This might be due to the use of more than one source. The presence of two traditions might say something about the relative date of this writing, but certainly about its complex character.

In summary, the story of the flood was introduced in gnostic writings generally as an indication of the impotence of the creator god who victimized his own creation to destroy the people of the gnosis.[22] It is shown that this was a great failure. The creation of the creator god will certainly be destroyed by his own hands, but the people of the gnosis will survive time and again. As such the story of the flood was extremely fitting to illustrate a central idea of gnostic thinking.

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[20] See R. McL. Wilson, *The Gnostics and the Old Testament*, in *Proceedings of the International Colloquium on Gnosticism*, Stockholm August 20-25 1973 (Filologisk-filosofika serien 17), Stockholm 1977, 164-168, 167: "... they chose those which could be adapted to their purposes and gave them a new interpretation."

[21] This element is not mentioned in Ph. Perkins, o.c.

[22] Here it would be possible to go into the perennial question whether this hostility against the creator god originated within Judaism itself, cf. G. W. Macrae, *The Jewish Background of the Gnostic Sophia Myth*, in *NT* 12, 1970, 86-107, 97, or out of a reaction to Judaism, cf. H. Jonas, *Response to G. Quispel's "Gnosticism and the New Testament"*, in *The Bible in Modern Scholarship*, edited by J. Ph. Hyatt, Nashville-New York 1965, 279-293, esp. 290-293. The answer can not be easily given. We must not forget that the Gnostics were especially interested in the beginning and the end, cf. O. Betz, *Was von Anfang geschah. Das jüdische Erbe in den neugefundenen Koptisch-*

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gnostischen Schriften, in *Abraham unser Vater*. Festschrift für O. Michel, Leiden-Köln 1963, 24-43, and that they used Jewish sources as long as it helped them to support their own ideas.

LE LIVRE D'ADAM GEORGIEN

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C'est à K. Kekelidze[1] que revient l'honneur d'avoir signalé pour la première fois l'existence d'un livre d'Adam géorgien, dont M. Džanašvili prétendit offrir une traduction russe en 1909[2] : il s'agissait en fait d'une paraphrase assez négligente, abrégeant parfois sans avertissement le texte conservé dans l'unique manuscrit connu à cette époque. Dix ans plus tard, W. Lüdtke[3] traduisit du russe en allemand quelques fragments de la paraphrase de Džanašvili, attirant ainsi l'attention de R.P. Blake[4] et de J. Karst[5]. Puis l'écrit tomba complètement en oubli parmi les spécialistes occidentaux, au point qu'il n'en est même pas question dans le répertoire, pourtant très remarquable, d'A.M. Denis[6] sur les pseudépigraphes grecs de l'A.T.

Entre temps, néanmoins, Cʻ. Kʻurcʻikidze[7] publiait le texte critique de deux rédactions géorgiennes : α d'après quatre manuscrits et β d'après un seul[8]. Sa publication attirait l'attention de M. Nagel qui en décrivit les caractéristiques textuelles dans sa remarquable thèse, récemment publiée, sur *La Vie grecque d'Adam et Ève*[9]. Que le Professeur G. Quispel, qui, bien avant la découverte de Nag Hammadi, avait déjà magistralement analysé les interprétations gnostiques du mythe de l'homme primordial, veuille bien agréer l'hommage de la première traduction d'un texte qui, sans être entièrement nouveau par rapport aux autres versions connues jusqu'à présent, contient néanmoins plus d'un trait, manifestement fort ancien, qui n'est pas attesté ailleurs.

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[1] K. Kekelidze, *Kʻartʻuli literaturis istoria*, Tbilissi 1923, I, 427 s. ; cf. aussi l'adaptation allemande de cette œuvre par M. Tarchnišvili - J. Assfalg, *Geschichte der kirchlichen georgischen Literatur*, Rome 1955, 329. 335 s. Sur les traductions de textes grecs en géorgien ancien, le meilleur répertoire est K. Kekelidze, *Ucʻxo avtorebi dzvel kʻartʻul literaturaši* (= Etiudebi zveli kʻartʻuli literaturis istoriidan, tome V), Tbilissi 1957 (reproduit, avec quelques additions, un texte de 1927).

[2] M. Džanašvili, *Izgnamie Adama iz raja, Nimrod i sem posletopnych narodov. Kniga Nimroda*, in *Sbornik materjalov dlja opisanija mesnostei i plemen Kavkaza* 29, Tiflis 1909, fasc. 1, 19-44.

[3] W. Lüdtke, *Georgische Adambücher*, in *ZAW* 38, 1919-1920, 158-160.

[4] R.P. Blake, *Georgian Theological Literature*, in *JTS* 26, 1925, 50-64.

[5] J. Karst, *Littérature géorgienne chrétienne*, Paris 1934.

[6] A.M. Denis, *Introduction aux pseudépigraphes grecs de l'A.T.*, Leyde 1970, 3-14 ; rien non plus dans l'opuscule de L. Rost, *Einleitung in die alttestamentlichen Apokryphen und Pseudepigraphen einschliesslich der grossen Qumram Handschriften*, Heidelberg 1971, 114-116.

[7] Cʻ. Kʻurcʻikidze, *Adamis apokripʻuli cχovrebis kʻartʻuli versia*, in *Pʻilologiuri Dziebani* 1, 1964, 98-136 (texte critique avec introduction et lexique).

[8] Manuscrits utilisés par Kʻurcʻikidze : *1. recension* α (A = *A 153*, 17ème s. ; B =

Comme M. Nagel le démontre[10], l'*Adam* géorgien et la *Vie* latine d'Adam et d'Ève remontent à un unique original grec, proche de la deuxième forme du texte[11] et singularisé par l'addition du récit de la pénitence et de la seconde tentation des deux protoplastes. On notera que, sur d'infimes détails, le géorgien rencontre l'*Adam* slave, qui présente, quant au reste, une tradition très divergente[12]. Ces concordances attestent l'ancienneté de ses leçons. Tandis que le latin s'éloigne de son modèle pour l'abréger et le modifier à sa guise, le géorgien conserve la forme primitive, disproportionnée et relativement incohérente, de sa source grecque, où se fondent diverses traditions, originairement indépendantes, sur les deux protoplastes. Pour cette raison, il est, dans sa seconde partie, beaucoup plus proche que le latin de l'apocalypse

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H 433, 17ème s.; C = *H 881*, 17ème s., tous trois de l'Institut des Mss de la RSS de Géorgie à Tbilissi; Q = *K'ut'ais 128*, 15ème/16ème s., du Musée d'Histoire et d'Ethnographie de Kutais) 2. *recension* β (*S 5175*, 17ème s., de l'Institut des Mss de la RSS de Géorgie à Tbilissi). Outre ces mss, K'urc'ikidze signale également le N° 186 du Musée géorgien de Littérature.

[9] M. Nagel, *La vie grecque d'Adam et Ève (Apocalypse de Moïse)*, 3 vol., Oberbronn 1972 (vol. 1: Histoire du texte; vol. 2: Notes sur l'histoire du texte; vol. 3: Edition du texte avec synopse de toutes les variantes); reproduction, Lille 1974.

[10] Id. (*op. cit.* n. 9), tome 2, p. 113-117.

[11] C'est-à-dire celle qui est conservée dans les mss grecs suivants *A* (= Venise, St Marc II, 42, 13ème s., fol. 49r-57v), *AC* (= Athos Cortamoni 14, 15ème s.), *At* (= Athènes, BN 286, en 1518, 122v-136v), *C* (= Vienne, BN Hist graec. 67, 13ème s., 4r-8v + 16r-17v), cf. M. Nagel (*op. cit.* n. 9), tome 2, p. 113.

[12] Cf. apparat critique p. 110 VI et 110 VIII, ci-dessous. Nous avons pris connaissance de l'Adam slave par la traduction anglaise de L.S.A. Wells, *The Books of Adam and Eve*, in R.H. Charles, *The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the O.T.*, 4ème éd., Oxford 1966, 134-136. Le texte et la traduction allemande de V. Jagič, *Die altkirchenslavischen Texte des Adamsbuches, Slavische Beiträge zu den biblischen Apocryphen I* (DenkschrWien 42), Vienne 1893, ne nous ont pas été accessibles.

grecque publiée par C. Tischendorf. On peut donc caractériser sommairement le contenu de l'*Adam* géorgien de la façon suivante[13]:

1. Pénitence et seconde tentation. Caïn et Abel (cf *Vie* latine I-XXII)
2. Naissance de Seth, récit d'Ève, mort d'Adam (cf *Vie* grecque 3-43)

dont 3: très peu en latin
4-14: également en latin (cf XXIV, XXX, XLIV)
15-43: presque rien en latin

Comme l'observe K. Kekelidze[14], la version géorgienne dérive du grec certainement par l'intermédiaire d'un écrit arménien[15]; toutefois il faut se hâter d'ajouter que l'ancienne version arménienne dont nous postulons ainsi l'existence est tout à fait distincte de celle qu'on a éditée à Venise au siècle dernier[16], qui suppose un modèle grec d'un type différent[17], C'. K'urc'ikidze a établi sur des bases philologiques que les modèles des manuscrits actuellement conservés sont nécessairement antérieurs au 10ème s[18]. A vrai dire, il serait logique de supposer que la traduction elle-même a été effectuée avant la rupture entre Arméniens et Géorgiens, c'est-à-dire avant 607[19].

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[13] Cf. M. Nagel (*op. cit.* n. 9), I, 120-121. Nous citons ci-dessous la *Vie* grecque d'après C. Tischendorf, *Apocalypsis Mosis*, dans *Apocalypses Apocryphae*, p. 1-19, et la *Vie* latine, d'après J. H. Mozley, The 'Vita Adae', in *JTS* 30, 1929, 121-149.

[14] K. Kekelidze, *Dzveli K'art'uli mcerlobis istoria*, I, Tbilissi 1951, 409, croit pouvoir expliquer une faute de la traduction géorgienne par la paléographie arménienne. D'après lui, la 1ère pers. qui survient inopinément dans le texte (édité par K'urc'ikidze 130 lin. 7-8), «Je vis, moi, Ève...», proviendrait d'un texte arménien à la 3ème pers. (*tesanēr ew*: «elle voyait aussi»), lu par erreur *tesanēi ewa* (la confusion entre *r* et *i* étant assez facile en écriture arménienne *bolorgir*). En fait, le grec correspondant a bien une 1ère pers. (cf *Vie* grecque, § 33 Tischendorf [*op. cit.* n. 13] 18 lin. 18, ἴδον δὲ ἐγώ, et § 34, 19 lin. 1, ἴδον ἐγὼ Εὔα). L'argument de Kekelidze nous semble donc peu convaincant, même s'il est clair, pour les raisons indiquées ci-dessous, que le texte a été traduit par l'intermédiaire de l'arménien.

[15] De menus détails linguistiques confirment cette hypothèse. Par ex. Kurc'ikidze (109, lin. 22) *munve samot'xed* «in paradisum» est le calque exact de *andrēn i draxtsn*; *aha esera* (passim) = *ahawasik* «voici», avec référence à la 1ère pers.; *ara t'u* (115 lin. 2) = *mi t'ē* «est-ce que»; *t'ana mamit'* (133 lin. 33) «avec le père» : l'instrumental, anormal après *t'ana*, pourrait s'expliquer par l'arménien *handerj harb* etc ...

[16] Cf *T'angaran hin ew nor naxneac-I-Ankannon girk' hin ktakaranac'* (éd. S. Yovsēp'eanc'), Venise 1896, 1-47; J. Issaverdens, *The Uncanonical Writings of the O.T. found in the Armenian Mss of the Library of St Lazarus*, Venise 1901 (2ème éd. 1934). Bibliographie dans A.M. Denis (*op. cit.* n. 6), 5-6. A quoi l'on peut ajouter H.S. Anasyan, *Haykakan matenagitut'yun*, I, Erévan 1959, 236-250 (tradition manuscrite); M. Stone, *Report on Seth Traditions in the Armenian Books* (cf. M. Tardieu, *Le Congrès de Yale sur le Gnosticisme*, 28-31 mars 1978, *REAug* 24, 1978, 188-209, spécialement p. 195).

[17] Cf. M. Nagel (*op. cit.* n. 9), I, XXXVI, rattache la *Vie* arménienne au type III des Vies grecques.

Nous jugeons inutile, dans les pages qui suivent, de donner intégralement sur deux colonnes la traduction des rédactions α et β. En effet, nous croyons, avec M. Nagel, qu'elles sont beaucoup trop proches l'une de l'autre pour ne pas remonter à un seul et même original[20]. De plus, il est manifeste que le rédacteur de β abrège ordinairement sa source, quitte à conserver parfois des leçons plus anciennes altérées dans α. La traduction ci-dessous est donc fondée essentiellement sur α, complété par β dans les passages où il est lacunaire. En de rares passages, généralement brefs, où α paraît décidément fautif, nous avons retenu le texte β. Pour éviter toute équivoque, les passages empruntés à β sont imprimés en italiques. Quand α et β sont parallèles, nous indiquons en apparat les variantes significatives. Pour faciliter le repérage des textes, nous indiquons, outre les numéros des pages de l'édition C̆. K'urc'ikidze (indiqués en marge), les divisions de la *Vie* latine (chiffres romains) et celles de la *Vie* grecque (chiffres arabes), partout où cela est possible. Les sous-titres, entre crochets droits, ont été ajoutés par nous. Notre traduction est, à dessein, aussi littérale que possible.

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[18] Cf K'urc'ikidze, (*op. cit.* n. 7), 103-104, d'après, notamment, la forme des préfixes subjectifs de 2ème pers.

[19] Cf K. Salia, *Histoire de la nation géorgienne* (éditions Nino Salia, 8 rue Berlioz 75116 Paris) 1980, 79; R. Grousset, *Histoire de l'Arménie*, Paris 1947 (réimpr. 1973), 268-269. La probabilité de deux traductions successives du grec en arménien, puis d'arménien en géorgien, implique évidemment une certaine érosion du texte et nous incite à le traduire nous-même aussi littéralement que possible, même dans les passages où il est manifestement corrompu.

[20] Cf M. Nagel, (*op. cit.* n. 9), I, 118-119.

p. 109 //*LECTURE[21] SUR ADAM ET ÈVE :
*α DE LA SORTIE DU PARADIS

[*Pénitence et seconde tentation d'Adam et Ève*] (= *Vie* latine I-XVIII).

I. Et il advint qu'Adam sortit du paradis avec Ève, son épouse; ils sortirent du côté oriental du paradis. Adam fabriqua une hutte pour s'y abriter. Ils (y) entrèrent tous deux et ils y demeurèrent sept jours. Tous deux pleuraient de pleurs abondants car ils regrettaient les demeures du royaume dont ils avaient été éloignés.

Après les sept jours, ils eurent faim et cherchaient à manger. **II.** Ève dit à Adam : «Mon seigneur Adam, lève toi et (va) me chercher de la nourriture pour que nous mangions, en attendant que nous essayions — qui sait? — (que) le Seigneur nous reçoive et nous réintroduise en ce même lieu du paradis». Et Adam se leva après sept jours et il circulait sur la face de la terre. Or, il ne trouva pas de nourriture semblable à celle qu'ils mangeaient dans le paradis.

III. Adam répondit à Ève et lui dit : «Nous allons mourir de mort». Ève dit à Adam : «Ah! si seulement je mourais et que Dieu te reçût seul au paradis!» Adam répondit à Ève et lui dit : «A cause de nous une grande colère est sur toutes les créatures. (Mais) je ne sais pas ceci : est-ce à cause de moi ou à cause de toi?» Ève répondit à Adam : «Mon seigneur, s'il te paraît convenable, tue moi, pour que je sois arrachée à la face de Dieu et de ses anges, afin que cesse la colère de

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p. 109 I
Extat tantum α

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[21] D'après les indications contenues dans le ms *Ambrosianus Graecus C 237 inf*, il semblerait qu'au 11ème s. on lisait encore dans les églises de Constantinople, en guise d'homélie pour le dimanche τῆς τυροφάγου, le sermon du pseudo-Chrysostome «Sur l'expulsion d'Adam du paradis et sur les femmes de mauvaise vie», ainsi que des extraits de la *Vita Adae* (cité par M. Nagel [*op. cit.* n. 9], I, 1). Par la suite le livre devint suspect et fut exclu des lectures liturgiques. Il figure dans la liste des livres interdits de Samuel Anec'i, publiée par H. S. Anasyan (*op. cit.* n. 16), XXXIX et dans toutes les autres listes publiées par le même auteur (*ibid.* XL-XLI). Dans les mss géorgiens de notre texte figure l'indication suivante : "Cet écrit s'appelle en grec *apukorop'a* (= apocryphe). Il peut être lu par les savants, mais ne doit, en aucune façon, être porté à la connaissance de tout le peuple. Il n'est pas destiné aux hommes non formés ni aux ignorants, mais seulement aux gens cultivés instruits de la Loi».

Dieu contre toi, (puis) qu’elle est à cause de moi : alors il te réintroduira là-bas même, au paradis». Adam répondit et lui dit : «Non, non! Ne garde pas en mémoire pareille chose, de crainte que Dieu n’envoie sur nous un autre jugement pour cause de meurtre : comment lèverai-je la main pour faire souffrir mes propres chairs?».

Alors Ève lui dit : «Lève toi, cherchons tous deux un légume». **IV.** Or ils ne trouvèrent rien d’un goût semblable à l’arbre qui était dans le paradis. Et Ève lui dit : «Cela, Dieu l’a créé pour les bêtes afin qu’elles se nourissent; mais nous avions pour nourriture ce dont vivent les anges. Maintenant viens et repentons-nous d’une très grande pénitence (pendant) quarante jours, afin que Dieu nous fasse miséricorde et qu’il nous donne une meilleure nourriture qu’aux muets animaux, en sorte que nous ne leur soyons pas semblables». **V.** Adam répondit à Ève et lui dit : «Explique moi encore maintenant : de quelle pénitence
p. 110 (veux-tu) te repentir et combien de jours pourras-tu // te repentir de ta pénitence, de crainte que, d’aventure, nous ne fassions promesse à Dieu et que nous ne puissions accomplir la promesse que nous lui aurions promise». **VI.** Ève répondit à Adam et elle lui dit : «Explique moi donc le nombre de jours, pendant combien de temps tu médites de faire pénitence — qui sait? — (peut-être) y ajouterai-je encore, car c’est moi qui ai attiré sur toi ces tribulations». Adam répondit et dit à Ève : «Tu ne pourras rien y ajouter. Bien plutôt, le nombre de jours que je te dirai, tiens-toi à ce nombre là et demeures-y! Pour moi, je ferai pénitence quarante jours, mais toi, fais pénitence trente quatre jours. Laisse moi ces six jours; aussi bien, n’as-tu pas été créée le sixième jour, lorsque Dieu acheva de créer toute créature? Maintenant lève toi et va jusqu’au fleuve du Tigre; prends une pierre sous tes pieds et tiens toi dans l’eau et revêts toi (de celle-ci) jusqu’au cou. Tandis que tu prieras, (veille) que pas un son ne sorte de ta bouche, car nous ne sommes pas dignes d’ouvrir notre bouche du fait que nos lèvres sont impures en raison de la transgression des commandements,

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p. 110 VI
«revêts-toi de celle-ci jusqu’au cou», cf. *Vie* slave (Wells 135) «clothe thyself with water, as with a cloak, up to the neck» // «jusqu’à ce que Dieu nous exauce» lege *vidremde* (ms C) *rayt‘a* [*rat‘a* (ms B)] *isminos č’ueni γmert’man*

à cause de la nourriture du paradis que Dieu nous avait interdite. Bien plutôt, tais toi et fais pénitence dans l'eau trente-quatre jours, de tout ton cœur; quant à moi, j'en ferai autant dans le fleuve du Jourdain, jusqu'à ce que Dieu nous exauce et qu'il nous donne de la nourriture».

VII. Ève partit pour le fleuve du Tigre et elle fit comme Adam lui avait commandé; quant à Adam, il se tint dans le fleuve du Jourdain et les cheveux de sa tête se répandirent **VIII.** et Adam s'écria: «Je te le dis, Jourdain, afflige toi avec moi-même et assemble tous les muets animaux qui sont autour de toi pour qu'ils (viennent) t'entourer et pleurent (près de) moi, non point pour eux, mais pour nous, car Dieu ne les a pas privés de la pâture que Dieu leur avait donnée depuis le commencement, mais moi j'ai été privé de mon moyen de vivre et de ma nourriture». Quand Adam eut dit cela avec des larmes amères, tous les bestiaux s'assemblèrent près de lui et l'entourèrent comme des murs. Au moment où l'eau du Jourdain avait retenu son cours, alors Adam éleva la voix vers Dieu et il modula le ton de sa voix six fois, comme la voix de tous les anges en tout temps.

IX. Quand furent écoulés les douze jours dans ses pleurs, le diable trembla et changea sa forme et son vêtement par la fausseté de son art. Il se rendit près d'Ève, sur le fleuve du Tigre, et il se tint au bord: il pleurait et laissait couler ses larmes de fausseté sur son vêtement et, depuis son vêtement, jusqu'à terre. Puis il dit à Ève: «Sors de l'eau
p. 111 où tu es et cesse tes tourments //, car Dieu a prêté l'oreille à ta pénitence et à celle d'Adam, ton époux. D'ailleurs, nous aussi, nous prions à cause de vos chagrins que nous avons vus. Or Dieu m'a envoyé pour vous faire sortir et vous donner la nourriture pour laquelle vous avez fait pénitence. Maintenant, remonte d'où tu es, car je suis allé près d'Adam; il m'a renvoyé et m'a dit: 'Va et parle à Ève, mon épouse; ramène la

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p. 110 VII
«se répandirent» (cf *Vie* lat. *exparsi erant*) lege *gardaeq'arnes* (ms B): *gardaematnes* creuerunt» cett.

p. 110 VIII
«l'entourèrent comme des murs», cf *Vie* slave (Wells 136) «they surrounded Adam like a wall"

vers moi'. Viens maintenant et je t'emmènerai auprès d'Adam, au lieu où il est et où il y a aussi votre nourriture». **X.** Alors Ève remonta de l'eau et ses chairs étaient comme des légumes flétris à cause de la froideur de l'eau. Toute la forme de sa beauté avait été anéantie. Or, quand elle fut remontée de l'eau, elle tomba sur la face de la terre dans une grande faiblesse et elle resta gisante, sans bouger (pendant) deux jours.

Puis, après deux jours, elle se leva et le diable la conduisit là où était Adam. Dès qu'Adam vit Ève (et) comment elle suivait le diable, il commença (de verser) des larmes brûlantes, gémit à voix haute et dit : «Où sont les ordres de pénitence que je t'avais ordonnés? Comment as-tu été trompée de nouveau par celui à cause de qui nous sommes étrangers à nos demeures?»

XI. Quand Ève entendit cela, que c'était le diable qui l'avait trompée, elle tomba devant lui et la douleur d'Adam pour Ève en fut doublée, car il la voyait tombée par terre comme une morte. Il s'affligea et dit en s'écriant dans un grand gémissement : «Malheur à toi, notre ennemi! Quel mal t'avons-nous fait? Car c'est par tes calomnies que s'est produite notre sortie du paradis. Est-ce parce que nous t'aurions (fait) chasser que tu as contre nous ta colère? Et (serait-ce) par nous que ta gloire t'aurait été ravie? Est-ce, en quelque façon, de notre fait que tu es en telle misère? Ou sommes-nous les seules créatures de Dieu, pour que tu nous combattes seuls?

XII. Le diable se mit à pleurer de pleurs forcés et le diable dit à Adam : «O Adam, tout le regret et la colère et tout le chagrin de mon cœur dirigé contre toi est du fait que c'est par toi que je suis déchu de mes demeures, par toi que je suis devenu étranger à mon trône. Plus qu'aux Chérubins mes ailes furent nombreuses et je me cachais sous elles; à cause de toi, maintenant, mes pieds vont sur terre, ce que je n'aurais (jamais) cru». **XIII.** Adam répondit au diable et lui dit : «Quelle est ma faute, par quoi je t'ai fait tout cela?» Le diable lui
p. 112 répondit et lui dit : «Ce n'est pas toi qui m'as fait (cela), mais // c'est à cause de toi que je suis tombé sur la terre. Le jour même où tu fus

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p. 111 XI

«pour que tu nous combattes seuls» lege *rametʿu čʿuen χolo gubrdzav : gubrdzavt́* codd.

créé, ce jour là, je tombai de la face de Dieu parce que, comme Dieu t'avait soufflé l'Esprit sur ton visage, tu avais l'image et la ressemblance de la divinité. Puis Michel arriva ; il (ordonna) qu'on se prosternât devant toi en présence de Dieu. Et Dieu dit à Michel : «J'ai créé Adam selon (mon) image et ma divinité». **XIV**. Alors Michel vint; il convoqua toutes les troupes des anges et il leur dit : «Prosternez vous devant le semblable et l'image de la divinité». Or, quand Michel les convoqua et que tous se prosternèrent devant toi, il me convoqua moi aussi et je lui dis : 'Éloigne toi de moi, car je ne saurais me prosterner devant celui qui est plus jeune que moi; en effet, avant celui-ci, je suis seigneur, et c'est à lui qu'il convient de se prosterner devant moi'. **XV.** Cela, d'autres anges des six classes l'entendirent et ma parole leur plut et ils ne se prosternèrent pas devant toi. **XVI**. Alors Dieu s'irrita contre nous et il nous ordonna, à eux et à moi, de descendre de nos demeures vers la terre; quant à toi, il t'ordonna de demeurer au paradis. Quand j'eus compris que j'étais tombé devant toi, que j'étais dans le malheur et toi dans le repos, alors je cherchai à te prendre pour te rendre étranger toi aussi au paradis de délices, comme j'étais devenu étranger à cause de toi».

XVII. Quand Adam eut entendu cela, il gémit à voix haute et dit : «Seigneur, ma vie est entre tes mains. Éloigne de moi cet ennemi qui veut me scandaliser et qui cherche à perdre ma race : c'est par lui qu'Ève a été perdue». A cet instant, Béliar devint invisible. Quant à Adam, il demeura dans l'eau et faisait pénitence.

Mais Ève était tombée sur terre comme morte. **XVIII.** Puis elle se releva de terre et dit à Adam : «Sois sauvé, Adam, car tu ne t'es pas fait un avec moi dans la transgression des commandements, ni dans la première, ni dans la seconde. (Mais) la parole de Dieu prévaudra contre moi». Ève lui dit encore : «Voici que je partirai du côté du soleil couchant et je mangerai de l'herbe comme un muet animal, jusqu'à ce que je meure, car je suis tout à fait indigne (d'avoir part) à la nourriture des vivants». Alors Ève s'en alla du côté du soleil couchant et elle y demeurait dans le deuil et les plaintes. Puis, après ces jours, elle se fabriqua une hutte du côté du soleil couchant.

[*Caïn et Abel*] (= *Vie* latine XIX-XXIII; *Vie* grecque 1-3)

XIX. Comme elle avait conçu depuis trois mois et que Caïn avait été mis dans son ventre, quand arrivèrent les jours de ses couches, alors elle se mit à trembler, gémit vers Dieu à voix haute et s'écria :
p. 113 «Où est donc Adam pour qu'il me console dans mes peines // présentes, et qui lui contera mes douleurs? N'est-il aucun, parmi ceux qui ont des ailes, qui s'en aille et lui dise : 'Viens, secours Ève, ton épouse'. Je vous supplie, vous toutes les races du ciel, et, quand vous irez vers l'orient, racontez mes douleurs présentes à mon seigneur».

Or Adam entendit dans le fleuve du Jourdain une clameur de pleurs et d'angoisses. Alors Dieu exauça la prière d'Adam et il lui envoya l'ange Michel qui lui apporta une semence scellée du sceau divin destinée à être offerte à Adam. Puis il lui enseigna les semailles et le travail qui s'y rapporte, afin qu'ainsi ils fussent sauvés, eux et tous leurs descendants.

XX. Et quand Adam eut entendu la prière d'Ève et le gémissement de ses pleurs du côté du couchant, Adam reconnut sa voix et dit dans son cœur : «C'est la voix de mon flanc, c'est la voix de ma brebis; je me lèverai et je verrai pourquoi elle crie : serait-ce que le serpent l'attaque de nouveau?».

Adam se leva et il suivit ses traces; puis quand il fut arrivé près d'elle, du côté du couchant, là où était Ève, quand Ève vit Adam, elle pleurait des pleurs abondants et dit : «Mon seigneur Adam, n'as-tu pas entendu la voix de mes pleurs? Car aujourd'hui voici neuf jours que, jour et nuit, je crie ainsi vers toi. Est-ce qu'elles ne t'ont pas averti, les générations du levant, en leur lever? Et ne t'ont-ils pas averti, les oiseaux du ciel et les bêtes de la terre, car je les priais tous qu'ils te (le) racontent! Lève toi, prie ton créateur qu'il fasse miséricorde, que Dieu t'exauce et me délivre de mes douleurs ou, s'il lui paraît convenable, qu'il envoie sur moi la mort ou que, par tes prières, il me libère de mes tourments».

Adam priait et prononçait pour elle des oraisons devant Dieu, et le Seigneur l'exauça. **XXI.** Et voici que douze anges arrivèrent du ciel avec deux puissances. Ils vinrent dans le lieu (où était) Ève. L'une des puissances approcha, toucha le visage d'Ève et sa poitrine et dit à Ève : «Bienheureuse es-tu, Ève, (toi qui es) à Adam, élu et serviteur de Dieu, car ses prières sont grandes devant Dieu et, à cause de lui, Dieu te libèrera. Si on ne t'avait porté aide à cause de lui, tu as conçu une telle épine en ton sein que tu ne pourrais t'arracher à tes tribulations. Lève toi maintenant et prépare toi à mettre l'enfant au monde». Ève se leva comme l'ange lui avait enseigné : elle mit l'enfant au monde et l'apparence de celui-ci était comme celle des étoiles.

p. 114 //Il descendit des bras de l'accoucheuse[22] et (aussitôt) il commença à arracher de l'herbe, car dans la hutte de sa mère de l'herbe était plantée. L'accoucheuse lui répondit et lui dit: «Dieu est juste car il ne t'a nullement laissé sur mes bras : en effet, tu es Caïn, le pervers, meurtrier du bon; aussi bien tu es celui qui déracine l'arbre porteur de fruits et non point celui qui le plante; tu es porteur de deuil et non point de consolation». Puis la puissance dit à Adam: «Reste auprès d'Ève tant qu'elle s'occupera de l'enfant, afin que tu l'instruises». Alors Adam emmena Ève et l'enfant, il les conduisit du côté de l'orient et il y demeura.

XXIII. 1. Et quand furent écoulés la huitième année et le deuxième mois, Ève conçut et enfanta un autre fils que la puissance de Dieu appela du nom d'Abel, et ils restèrent là, l'un près de l'autre. **2.** En ce temps là, Ève dit à Adam : «Mon seigneur Adam, dans mon sommeil j'ai vu que le sang de mon fils Abel s'écoulait dans la bouche de Caïn son frère, et il le buvait sans pitié. Or Abel le priait qu'il lui laissât (un peu) de son sang, mais lui ne voulut pas l'entendre. Au contraire, il le but entièrement et (cela) ne demeura pas dans son ventre, mais sortit au dehors et retomba sur tous ses membres sans du tout s'éloigner de son corps». Adam répondit à Ève et lui dit: «De crainte que Caïn ne projette de le tuer, séparons les l'un de l'autre et soyons avec eux, pour ne point donner lieu à la colère».

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p. 113 XXI
«étoiles» cf *lucidus Vie* lat. codd. D Q M (Mozley 134) Διάφωτον *Vie* gr.

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[22] C'est vraisemblablement un ange qui remplit cet office, par ex. «la puissance» qui est mentionnée dans la suite du texte.

Et ils firent ainsi que l'avait dit Adam, et il <leur> dit: «Mes fils, venez et courons, ici et là, chacun de son côté».

3. Alors Dieu dit à l'ange Gabriel: <«dis à Adam> : 'Le dessein secret que tu sais, ne le fais pas connaître à Caïn, car c'est un fils de colère; en effet, son frère va être tué par lui'. Toutefois, qu'Adam n'en soit pas affligé car je susciterai pour lui Seth, à la place (d'Abel), et il ressemblera à mon image et je lui enseignerai tout ce dont j'aurai mémoire. Mais cela ne le fais connaître à personne sauf à Adam».
*α β * Voilà ce que Dieu dit à l'ange et l'ange dit à Adam cette parole. Or Adam enfouit la parole dans son cœur. Et tous deux étaient affligés, Adam et son épouse.

p. 115 // * Et le temps arriva où Abel fut tué par Caïn, son frère, et il
*α (= Adam) lui (= à Ève) dit: «Dieu a établi la mort pour tous les hommes. Est-ce que la mort serait autre chose que le meurtre dont Abel a été tué par Caïn et l'envie de Caïn l'a livré à la mort parce que (celui-ci) était une race perverse?»

Et les temps arrivèrent où Caïn et Abel étaient montés vers leur champ. Vinrent deux démons semblables à Abel et à Caïn. Or un démon faisait des reproches à l'autre démon; il s'irrita contre lui et prit un glaive de pierre, qui était une pierre transparente: il lui trancha la gorge et le tua. Et quand Caïn vit le sang, il alla vite et prit la pierre de sa main. Mais quand Abel le vit partir sur lui, il le priait: «Ne me fais pas mourir, frère Caïn!» Lui, cependant, n'accepta pas sa prière et il répandit le sang d'Abel devant lui. Et Adam et Ève s'affligeaient tout ce temps là d'une grande tristesse.

[*Seth et la maladie d'Adam*] (= *Vie* latine XXIV-XLIII, *Vie* grecque 4-13).

*αβ **XXIV.4.** *Et après cela, Adam entra près de *son* épouse. Ève conçut et elle enfanta Seth, semblable à Adam. Et Adam dit à Ève: «Voici

p. 114 XXIII
2. «il ⟨leur⟩ dit» pronomen add. Kurc. // 3. Gabriel: ⟨dis à Adam:⟩» sic Kurc. nihil praebent codd. pro interclusis uerbis // A uerbis «Voilà ce que Dieu...» extant α et β // legitur apud β: «l'ange vint et il dit (cela) à Adam et Adam enfouit ces paroles dans son cœur. Et tous deux étaient affligés, Adam et Ève». Hic deficit β

donc que j'ai engendré un fils à la place d'Abel que Caïn avait fait mourir devant moi».

5. Et après cela, de nouveau, Adam eut trente fils et trente filles. Or, la somme des années d'Adam était 930 ans. Et, à partir de lui ils se multiplièrent sur terre et ils s'y établirent. **XXX.** Et quand furent accomplies les 930 années, Adam tomba malade et il gémit d'une voix forte et il dit: «Assemblez (?) près de moi tous mes descen-
p. 116 dants et je les verrai avant ma mort» // Et s'assemblèrent auprès de lui toutes ses progénitures qui s'étaient établies à demeure et il répartit les trois parties de la terre entre ses descendants. Et s'assemblèrent auprès d'Adam tous ses descendants, car ils s'étaient établis devant ses portes, dans le lieu qu'Adam avait fait (et) où il entrait et adressait des prières à Dieu.

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p. 115 XXIV, 4
«Et après cela» ... α: ab his uerbis incipit β «Après cela» // «entra près de» α: «eut commerce avec» β // «semblable à Adam»: om. β // «son épouse» β: «l'épouse» α // «J'ai engendré un fils» α: «tu as enfanté Seth» β // «Abel» α: «Abel, notre fils» β // «devant moi» α: «devant toi» β

p. 115 XXIV, 5
«de nouveau Adam eut trente fils et trente filles» α: «Adam entra près d'Ève de nouveau et il eut d'elle trente fils et trente filles» β // «Or (*da* B *raymet‘u* cett.) la somme des années d'Adam était 930 ans» α: om. β // «Et à partir de lui» α: «Et» β

p. 115 XXX, 5
«930 années» α: «930 années de sa vie» β // «malade» α: «malade, par quoi il devait mourir» β // «assemblez (?) ... mes descendants: *šemokrebit‘* ... *našobni č‘emni* codd. (cf. *Vie* gr. ἐλθέτωσαν ... οἱ υἱοί μου) // «et je les verrai» α: «afin que je vous parle» β //

p. 116 XXX, 5
«auprès de lui toutes ses progénitures qui» α : «tous ses descendants, car ils» β // «il répartit les trois parties de la terre entre ses descendants» α : «et il leur répartit la terre en trois parts» (*cil* correxi pro *cel* cod.) β // «Et s'assemblèrent ... il entrait» α : «Et tous ses fils s'assemblèrent devant ses portes qu'Adam avait faites, dans le lieu où Adam entrait» β //

Et ses fils lui dirent: «Qu'est-ce que ceci, Père Adam?» *Et il leur dit: «Je suis malade, mes fils». Et ils lui dirent: «Qu'est-ce que ta maladie* et comment l'homme tombera-t-il malade?» **XXXI. 6.** Seth, son fils, lui répondit et dit: «Père Adam, que t'advient-il? Est-ce qu'il t'est souvenu par hasard du fruit de paradis et tu l'as désiré et tu t'affliges à cause de cela? S'il en est ainsi, dis le moi et j'irai devant le paradis et je verserai de la poussière sur ma tête et je pleurerai. Et si seulement Dieu veut m'entendre, qu'il envoie son ange et que celui-ci m'apporte le fruit du paradis, je te l'apporterai pour que tu apaises ton chagrin». Et Adam lui dit: «Fils Seth, il n'en est pas ainsi, mais je suis malade et je souffre». Seth lui répondit: «Père, qu'est-ce que souffrir et comment souffres-tu?» **XXXII. 7.** Adam dit à Seth: «Fils, quand Dieu nous créa, ta mère et moi, *il* nous établit dans le paradis de délices *pour en manger les fruits. Mais il y avait une plante au milieu du paradis*, (très) belle, à propos de laquelle Dieu nous commanda: p. 117 'N'en mangez pas' // Et le serpent séduisit votre mère et lui en fit

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«Père Adam» α : «Père» β // «Et il leur dit ... Qu'est-ce que la la maladie» β : om. α // «comment l'homme tombera-t-il malade» α : «comment es-tu tombé malade» β

p. 116 XXXI, 6
«devant le paradis» α : «au paradis» β // «si seulement Dieu» α : «si Dieu» β // «qu'il envoie son ange» α : «que le Seigneur envoie son ange» β // «je souffre» α : «je souffre de mon âme» β // «Seth lui répondit: Père» α : «Seth lui répondit et lui dit: Père Adam» β

p. 116 XXXII, 7
«fils, quand Dieu» α : «quand Dieu» β // «il nous établit» β : «et n. ét.» α // «pour en manger les fruits. Mais il y avait une plante au milieu du paradis β: alors il y avait une des plantes du paradis (très) belle α: om. β // Dieu α: le Seigneur β // «n'en mangez pas» α : «de ne pas manger seulement celle-là» β

p. 117 XXXII, 7
«votre mère et lui en fit manger» α : «ta mère» β // «quand ce fut

manger, à cause de quoi, maintenant, nous allons mourir. *Quand ce fut l'heure pour les anges gardiens de remonter adorer Dieu*, l'ennemi la séduisit et elle en mangea et elle me séduisit, mes fils, car je ne savais pas. Or Dieu nous avait divisé *le paradis*, à ta mère Ève et à moi, pour que nous le gardions. Quant à moi, il m'avait confié le côté de l'orient et du nord; à votre mère Ève, il avait confié le côté du sud et de l'occident. **XXXIII.** Or, il y avait avec chacun de nous douze anges pour nous garder jusqu'à l'heure de l'aube, mais à chaque (fois, au) jour, ils remontaient là-haut. Et au moment de leur ascension, le serpent séduisit ta mère et il lui fit manger de l'arbre, car il avait vu que je n'étais pas près d'elle, non plus que les anges. A moi aussi elle m'en fit manger et je ne compris pas. **XXXIV. 8.** Quand nous eûmes mangé, Dieu s'irrita contre nous et il nous dit: 'Vous avez donc méprisé mon commandement: moi aussi je vous mépriserai'. Et il envoya 70 maux sur nous, aux yeux, aux oreilles et jusqu'aux pieds, des plaies et des prodiges amassés dans (ses) trésors: ainsi me fit Dieu pour me faire périr de mort».

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l'heure ... adorer Dieu» β : «quand ce fut l'heure des anges qui (nous) gardaient et de l'adoration de Dieu» α // «mes fils» α : «fils» β // «Dieu nous avait divisé» α : «il nous avait divisé» β // «le paradis» β : om. α // «à votre mère Eve» α : «à ta mère» β

p. 117 XXXIII, 7
«ils remontaient là-haut» α : «ils remontaient» β // «et il lui fit manger de l'arbre» α : «et elle en mangea» β // «je n'étais pas près d'elle» α : «je n'étais pas revenu» β

p. 117 XXXIV, 8
«quand» α : «or quand» β // «et il nous dit ... je vous mépriserai» α : «et il me dit 'Du fait que tu as méprisé mon commandement, moi aussi je te mépriserai' β // «et il envoya ... (ses) trésors» α : «il envoya 70 plaies mauvaises pour tourmenter les yeux, les oreilles et depuis les narines jusqu'aux ongles. Je fus atteint de plaies prodigieuses en tous genres, des plaies accumulées (tirées) de (ses) trésors» β

XXXV. 9. Comme Adam disait cela à son fils Seth, il gémit et
s'écria: «Que dois-je faire? Je suis en grand tourment». *Ève* s'écria
p. 118 en pleurant: «Mon seigneur Adam, donne moi la moitié // de tes
maux et je prendrai sur moi ton tourment, car c'est de moi que te
vient le mal et c'est moi qui t'ai causé ces tourments». **XXXVI.** Et
Adam dit à Ève: «Lève toi et va avec Seth, mon fils, au paradis;
prosternez votre tête contre terre et pleurez devant Dieu pour qu'il
*α me fasse grâce. * Et (Dieu) enverra son ange au paradis là où est
l'arbre de vie, sur lequel découle de l'huile, afin qu'il vous donne
un peu de cette huile. Vous me l'apporterez ici et je vivrai et je
guérirai de mes maux. Alors je te ferai savoir toute la façon dont
nous fûmes séduits».

XXXVII. 10. Quand ils eurent entendu cela, Seth et Ève partirent, là où était le paradis d'Adam. Comme elle allait, elle vit l'un de ses descendants qu'attaquait une bête[23] et (celle-ci) mordait l'enfant. Alors Ève se mit à pleurer et elle dit: «Malheur à moi, car lorsque j'arriverai au jour du jugement, tous mes péchés me brûleront et l'on me dira: «En premier lieu, c'est toi qui n'as pas observé les commandements de Dieu». Ève éleva la voix et dit à la bête méchante: «O mauvaise

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p. 117 XXXV, 9
«comme Adam» α : «tandis qu'Adam» β // «que dois-je faire» α : «que dois-je faire? car» β // «Ève» β : om. α // «s'écria en pleurant» α : «se mit à pleurer et elle s'écria» β

p. 118 XXXV, 9
«de tes maux» α : «de ton mal» β // «le mal ... ces tourments» α : «ce mal»

XXXVI, 9
«et Adam dit à Ève» α : «voilà ce qu'Ève dit à Adam et Adam lui dit» β // «Seth, mon fils» α : «Seth, notre fils» β // «prosternez votre tête» α : «inclinez votre tête» β // «il me fasse grâce» α : «il nous fasse grâce» β; Ab his uerbis deficit β, extat tantum α //

XXXVII, 10
«paradis d'Adam» sic codd : fortasse legas «paradis d'Eden»

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[23] bête = *mqec'i* = θηρίον. Cette bête ne peut-être, évidemment, qu'un serpent.

bête, n'as-tu pas peur? Tu oses combattre l'image de Dieu? Comment
as-tu eu droit d'ouvrir ta bouche et comment as-tu enfoncé tes dents?
Ou comment ne t'es-tu pas rappelé le premier commandement de
Dieu et as-tu ouvert ta bouche sur l'image de Dieu?» **XXXVIII. 11.**
Alors la bête lui répondit et elle dit à Ève: «Ce n'est pas de notre
avidité que proviennent ton mécontentement et tes pleurs, mais c'est
de ta propre avidité que proviennent ton mécontentement et tes pleurs,
car au début de la création, c'est toi qui as bien voulu écouter la bête,
le serpent. Comment as-tu osé ouvrir ta bouche et manger de l'arbre
dont Dieu t'avait ordonné de ne pas manger? Or, à cause de cela, le goût
p. 119 de toute chose // est transformé. Maintenant, tu ne peux endurer, si
je commence à parler et à te confondre». **XXXIX. 12.** Seth lui répondit
et il dit à la bête: «Que ta bouche soit muselée, tais toi, bête, et éloigne
toi de nous, l'image de la divinité, jusqu'au jour où Dieu te fera
comparaître!» Alors aussi la bête dit à Seth: «Voici donc que je
m'écarte de toi, l'image de Dieu, l'éclat éblouissant de Dieu».

Et quand elle eut cessé, la bête s'enfuit (loin) de Seth et l'homme blessé alla dans la demeure d'Adam, son père. **XL. 13.** Quant à Seth, il partit avec Ève pour le paradis. Et ils pleuraient près de l'enceinte du paradis, et là ils adressaient des prières à Dieu pour qu'il leur envoyât son ange. **XLI.** <Et Dieu leur envoya l'archange Michel>, qui est préposé aux âmes, et celui-ci dit à Seth: «Homme de Dieu, ne t'empresse pas à prier ainsi à propos de l'arbre des olives, afin d'oindre ton père Adam. **XLII.** (Cela) ne doit pas se faire maintenant, mais dans les derniers temps, quand seront accomplis cinq mille ans. Or, à la cinq millième année et demi, viendra sur terre le fils chéri de Dieu, le Christ, pour re⟨lever⟩ le corps d'Adam de sa chute, à cause de la transgression des commandements. Il viendra et il sera baptisé dans le fleuve

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p. 119 XLI, 13
⟨«et Dieu leur envoya l'archange Michel»⟩ scripsit Kurc. (cf *Vie* gr. 13, Tischendorf p. 6, καὶ ἀπέστειλεν ὁ θεὸς πρὸς αὐτοὺς Μιχαὴλ τὸν ἀρχάγγελον) : deest in codd.

XLII, 13
«pour re⟨lever⟩» scripsi (= *ay⟨dgin⟩ebad*) : «pour achever» (= *aysrulebad*) codd.

Jourdain. Et dès qu'il sera sorti de l'eau avec (l'onction) d'huile, il l'oindra, lui et tous ses descendants, afin qu'ils ressuscitent à l'heure de la résurrection. Le Seigneur a dit : 'Je les admettrai là-bas dans le paradis et je les oindrai de cette onction'. **XLIII.** Mais maintenant, va auprès de ton père Adam, parce que les jours de ses moments sont accomplis. Dans trois jours son âme sortira de son corps et on verra de nombreuses merveilles dans les cieux».

[*Récit d'Ève sur le péché et l'exil*] (= *Vie* latine XLIV, *Vie* grecque 14-30).

14. Quand l'ange lui eut dit cela, aussitôt il se cacha sous la plante du paradis. **XLIV.** Alors Seth et Ève repartirent pour la hutte d'Adam. Et Adam pleurait à cause de la blessure de la bête et il dit à Ève : «Que nous as-tu fait ? Car un mal est arrivé sur nous et sur toute notre descendance. En effet, ce que sont tes péchés, fais le savoir à tes fils : que nous mourrons toi et moi et les malheurs se répandront sur la
p. 120 *αβ terre // * Toutes les descendances qui sont issues de nous nous maudiront et diront : 'C'est nos père et mère qui ont attiré tout ce malheur sur nous'.

15. Alors Ève commença de pleurer et elle dit : «Prêtez moi l'oreille maintenant, mes fils, et je vous raconterai comment nous fûmes trompés. Il advint donc (que) votre père gardait son secteur de paradis (du côté) de l'orient et du nord, tandis que moi je gardais mon propre secteur (du côté) de l'occident et du sud. Et le diable vint dans le secteur d'Adam. Et il y avait là des bêtes, car le Seigneur avait aussi partagé les bêtes entre nous. Tout (ce qui était) mâle, il l'avait donné

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p. 120 XLIV, 14
a uerbis «toutes les descendances...» extant α et β // «toutes les descendances» α : «ceux qui» β // «nous maudiront ... sur nous» α : «afin de [ne pas *sic*] nous maudire diront alors 'C'est notre père et notre mère qui ont attiré sur nous un malheur» β

15
«Alors Ève» α : «alors donc Ève» β // «maintenant mes fils» α : «mes fils» β // «comment nous fûmes trompés» α : «la façon dont je fus trompée» β // «il advint ... paradis» α : «il y eut un temps où

à Adam et tout (ce qui était) femelle, il me l'avait donné à moi. Et chacun pour nous, nous les nourrissions.

16. Quand le diable vint dans le secteur de votre père, le diable appela le serpent et lui dit: 'Lève toi et viens près de moi et je t'enseignerai *une parole utile*'. Alors le serpent vint et le diable dit au serpent: 'Tu es plus sage que tous les muets animaux et je suis venu pour faire l'essai de ta sagesse, car Adam donne de la nourriture à tous les muets animaux, ainsi aussi à toi. Quand donc tous les muets animaux viennent se prosterner devant Adam, de jour en jour et de matin en matin, chaque jour, toi aussi, tu vas te prosterner. Tu as été créé avant lui, grand (comme te) voici, et tu te prosternes p. 121 devant ce petit! Et pourquoi // manges-tu une (nourriture) inférieure *à celle d'Adam et de son épouse* et non pas les bons fruits du paradis? Mais viens et écoute moi afin que *nous exluions Adam* hors de l'enceinte * β du paradis * *comme nous-mêmes sommes à l'extérieur. Et qui sait? D'une certaine façon peut-être nous rentrerons au paradis'. Et le serpent lui dit: 'Comment les exclurons nous?' Le diable répondit et dit au*

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ton père gardait au paradis son secteur» β // «tandis que moi» α : «moi» β // «et le diable ... entre nous» α : «le diable alla dans le secteur de votre père. Là, il appela le serpent et lui parla; car les bêtes, elles aussi, nous avaient été partagées» β

16
«Quand le diable ... serpent» α : «et quand le diable alla dans les secteurs de votre père il s'adressait au serpent» β // «une parole utile» β : «l'utilité de la parole» α // «et le diable dit au serpent» α : «et il lui dit une parole utile. Alors le serpent vint et le démon lui dit en 3ème lieu» β // «Adam donne» α : «Adam, comme il donne» β // «quand donc ... te prosterner» α : «quand les muets animaux entraient pour se prosterner devant Adam, il priait toute la journée» β

p. 121 16
«inférieure à celle d'Adam et de son épouse» β : «inférieure et méprisée» α // «nous excluions Adam» β : «je l'exclue» α // «hors de l'enceinte du paradis» α: «du paradis» β; Ab his uerbis deficit α, extat tantum β

serpent : 'Sers moi de carapace et c'est moi qui adresserai à la femme, par ta bouche, une parole grâce à quoi nous les tromperons'.

17. *Et tous deux vinrent ensemble et ils laissèrent pendre leur tête sur le mur du paradis, à l'heure où les anges étaient remontés pour adorer Dieu. Alors le diable se changea en l'image d'un ange ; il chantait l'hymne des anges. Et moi je regardais en direction de l'enceinte du paradis, pour entendre le chant. Je prêtais attention et le vis semblable à un ange et aussitôt il devint invisible, car il était parti chercher le serpent et il lui dit : 'Lève toi et viens et je serai avec toi et je dirai par ta bouche ce qu'il te convient de dire'.*

* αβ *Il prit forme de serpent pour aller près de l'enceinte du paradis,* * et le diable se glissa dans le serpent et il laissa pendre sa tête sur l'enceinte du paradis. Il cria et dit : 'Honte à toi, femme, toi qui es dans le paradis de délices (et) qui es aveugle ! Viens à moi et je te dirai une certaine parole secrète'. Et quand je fus venue, il me dit : 'Ève !' Et je lui dis : 'Me voici'. Il me répondit et me dit : 'Que fais-tu dans le paradis ?' Je lui répondis et lui dis : 'Dieu m'a établie
p. 122 pour garder le paradis // et pour (en) manger'. Le diable me répondit et me dit par la bouche du serpent : 'Mangez-vous bien le fruit de tout arbre qui est au paradis ?' Je lui répondis et lui dis : '*Oui, nous mangeons* de tout fruit, excepté d'un seul arbre qui est ici au

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17
Ab uerbis «Et le diable se glissa» extant rursus α et β // «dans le serpent ... l'enceinte du paradis» α : «en lui» β // «honte ... aveugle» α : «malheur à toi, homme, toi qui es dans le paradis de délices, tu es aveugle» β // «parole secrète» α : «parole» β // «il me dit 'Ève' et α : om. β

p. 122 17
«le fruit de tout arbre» α : «de tout arbre» β // «oui, nous mangeons» β : «je mange» α // «fruit; excepté ... mourir de mort» α : «arbre sauf que nous ne mangeons pas d'un seul arbre qui est ici, au centre du paradis, parce que Dieu m'a ordonné 'Ne mangez pas de celui-ci, afin que vous ne mouriez pas de mort» β // «Dieu était ... et il» α : «c'est parce qu'il était jaloux de vous qu'il» β // «va ... la gloire» α : «lève toi plutôt et va en manger et tu verras la gloire de

milieu du paradis, car Dieu nous a ordonné: 'Ne mangez pas de celui-ci, afin de ne pas mourir de mort'.

Alors le serpent me dit: 'J'en suis chagrin pour vous, car vous êtes comme les muets animaux. Dieu était jaloux de vous et il ne vous a pas permis; mais moi, je ne veux pas votre ignorance. Va plutôt, mange et tu verras la gloire qui sera avec toi'. Cependant je lui dis: 'Je crains de mourir, peut-être, comme Dieu l'a dit'. Le serpent me répondit et me dit: 'Qu'est-ce que la mort et comment meurt-on? La mort, c'est la vie'. Je lui répondis et lui dis: 'Je ne sais pas'. **18.** Il me répondit et me dit: 'Dieu est vivant, aussi bien vous ne mourrez point, mais à l'heure où vous mangerez, vos yeux s'ouvriront et vous serez instruits, comme Dieu, du bien et du mal. Dieu savait que vous étiez semblables à lui et Dieu était jaloux de vous. A cause de cela, Dieu vous a dit: 'N'en mangez pas!' Va à l'arbre et vois autour de lui sa magnificence'.

p. 123 Or moi, quand // j'y fus allée et que j'eus vu autour de lui sa
* α magnificence, * alors je dis: 'Cet arbre est bon et son fruit est remarquable à mes yeux. Cependant je crains de tendre la main et de (le) prendre. Mais toi, si tu n'as pas peur, tends le moi et j'(en) mangerai et je saurai si tes (présentes) paroles sont vraies ou non'.

Dieu» β // «cependant je lui dis» α : «je dis» β // «Dieu l'a dit» α : «Dieu» β (om. «l'a dit»)

17-18
«qu'est-ce que la mort ... et me dit» α : om. β

18
«aussi bien ... vous mangerez» α : «tu ne mourras point, mais à l'heure où tu en mangeras» β // «Dieu savait ... Dieu vous a dit» α : «Dieu savait que vous avez été faits semblables à lui; à cause de cela Dieu était jaloux de vous. Il a dit» β

p. 122-123 18
«Va à l'arbre ... j'eus vu autour de lui sa magnificence» α : «jette les yeux sur l'arbre, vois son goût et la magnificence de son pourtour. Or moi, quand j'eus jeté les yeux je vis la magnificence» β; Ab his uerbis deficit β, extat tantum α

Le serpent me répondit en me disant : 'Viens m'ouvrir la porte et je t'en donnerai'. **19.** Et quand je fus allée lui ouvrir et qu'il fut entré dans le paradis, il partit, puis s'arrêta un peu. Je lui répondis et lui dis : 'Pourquoi t'es-tu arrêté?'

Mais lui, mes fils, commença de ruser avec moi. Il me répondit et me dit : 'Si je me suis arrêté, c'est que j'ai changé d'avis, de crainte, peut-être, que je t'en donne et que tu en manges, que tes yeux s'ouvrent et que tu ne deviennes comme Dieu, que tu connaisses le bien et le mal et ne t'enorgueillisses, que tu ne deviennes jalouse d'Adam et ne lui en fasses pas manger, qu'il ne soit comme un muet animal devant toi, comme vous l'étiez devant Dieu, parce que Dieu était jaloux de vous. Si tu (en) veux, jure moi vraiment que, si je t'en fais manger, tu ne seras pas jalouse d'Adam, ton mari, mais tu lui en feras manger et tu lui en donneras'. Je lui répondis et lui dis : 'Je ne connais pas de serment, comment (pourrai)-je te jurer?' Et il me dit : 'Dis : Je jure par les plantes du paradis et par les Chérubins au-dessus desquels trône le Père et (sur qui) il descend dans le paradis, si je mange et que je sache tout, je ne serai pas jalouse, mais j'en donnerai à Adam aussi'. Et lorsqu'il m'eut fait prêter serment et m'y tint attachée, il me donna de l'arbre et j'en mangeai.

p. 124 // [**20** ... (je cherchai des feuilles pour cacher) ...] * *ma nudité et*
* β *je n'(en) trouvai pas sur tous les arbres, car au moment où j'avais mangé, tous les arbres du paradis, dans mon secteur, avaient jeté à bas leurs feuilles. J'en pris et je m'(en) fis de quoi me couvrir et je restai près de l'arbre dont j'avais mangé, mes fils. J'eus peur à cause du serment dans lequel j'avais juré par le paradis et dans lequel j'avais dit : 'J'en ferai manger à Adam aussi'.*

21. *Alors vint votre père Adam. Il avait pensé, ainsi, qu'une bête était*

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p. 123-124 19-20
Ab uerbis «et j'en mangeai» deficit α ab uerbis «ma nudité» post lacunam incipit β

p. 124 20
«dans lequel» scripsi (lege *romli⟨tʿ⟩a*) : *romlisa* cod.

21
«⟨ou⟩ tu le veux» (lege *tʿu gnebavs*) : *rametʿu gnebavs* cod. // «⟨ce que⟩ nous avait dit» (lege *romel igi gurkʿua* : *romelsa igi gurkʿua* cod.

rentrée dans le paradis et il me dit : 'Pourquoi gémis-tu et pourquoi as-tu sur toi cette feuille de figuier?' Je lui répondis en lui disant : 'Tu ne veux pas que je le dise ⟨ou⟩ tu le veux'? Nous avons été jusqu'à aujourd'hui comme de muets animaux. Quand j'eus compris ⟨ce que⟩ nous avait dit le Seigneur : 'Ne mangez pas de ceci', et que j'en eus vu la splendeur, j'en pris et j'en mangeai et je connus le bien et le mal. Maintenant, manges-en toi aussi et tu seras comme Dieu'. Adam me répondit en me disant : 'Je crains que Dieu ne s'irrite contre moi et ne dise : 'Mon commandement que je t'avais commandé, tu ne l'as pas gardé?' Mais moi je dis au père : 'C'est sur moi qu'en sera la responsabilité. S'il t'interroge, réponds ainsi : 'Cette femme que tu m'as donnée est responsable de cela ; elle a dit : Vois le goût de cette splendeur'!
* αβ ** Alors je lui en donnai, il en mangea et devint comme moi et il prit lui aussi une feuille de figuier et en cacha sa nudité.*

22. *Après quoi, nous entendîmes que, par un ange, (Dieu) faisait sonner la trompette. Il avait appelé les anges en leur disant : 'Ainsi parle le Seigneur, venez au paradis et écoutez le jugement dont nous*
p. 125 *allons (les) juger'. Adam ⟨me dit⟩ // : 'Nous avons péché, car Dieu*
* β *va venir nous juger'. Nous eûmes peur et nous nous cachâmes. * Et Dieu vint au paradis sur le trône des Chérubins et, devant lui, les anges chantaient des hymnes. Quand il fut arrivé au paradis, aussitôt tout arbre rejeta son feuillage et l'on dressa des trônes près de l'arbre de vie.*

* αβ **23.** * Et Dieu appela Adam *et lui dit* : 'Adam, Adam, où es-tu? *Te caches-tu de moi? Est-il possible qu'une maison se cache à celui*

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p. 124-125 21-22
Ab uerbis «alors je lui en donnai» usque «nous nous cachâmes» β : «et j'en donnai à votre père et nous sûmes que nous étions nus. Et l'heure advint où nous nous cachâmes de la face du Seigneur, comme nous éditions vêtus l'un et l'autre de feuilles de figuier» α; Hic deficit α

p. 124 22
«⟨me dit⟩ add. Kurc. : deest in codd.

p. 125 23
Ab uerbis «et Dieu appela Adam» incipit rursus α : «il appela Adam» β // «et lui dit» β : om. α // «te caches-tu ... l'arbre du paradis»

qui l'a construite? Alors, pourquoi te tiens-tu caché près de l'arbre du paradis?' Puis votre père répondit et dit au Seigneur : 'Je suis caché parce que j'ai peur : je suis nu et j'ai honte'. Dieu lui répondit et lui dit : 'Qui t'a dit que tu étais nu? *Est-ce que tu as enfreint mon commandement que je t'avais ordonné?' Alors Adam se rappela ma parole que j'avais dite : 'Ne t'inquiète pas, car c'est sur moi qu'en sera (la responsabilité)'. Et Adam dit : 'Seigneur,* cette femme *que tu m'as donnée, c'est elle qui m'a séduit'. Alors il se tourna vers moi et me dit : 'Qu'as-tu fait?' Et je rappelai la parole du serpent et je dis : 'C'est le serpent qui m'a séduite'.*

* β **24.** * *Dieu répondit à Adam et lui dit : 'Pourquoi as-tu écouté ton*
épouse et méprisé mon commandement? Que la terre soit maudite en
tes œuvres. Quand tu la travailleras, elle ne produira pour toi aucun
fruit; elle ne t'offrira que ronce et bardane. A la sueur de ton visage
tu mangeras du pain. Sois avec de nombreux soupirs, laboure à grand
labeur et tu ⟨n'⟩auras ⟨pas⟩ de repos; tu auras faim et ⟨ne⟩ seras ⟨pas⟩
rassasié; tu souffriras à cause de l'amertume et tu ⟨ne⟩ seras ⟨pas⟩
rassasié, tu ⟨ne⟩ goûteras ⟨pas⟩ à la douceur; tu souffriras de la
p. 126 *chaleur et pâtiras du froid; vous deviendrez pauvres // et ⟨n'⟩aurez*
⟨point⟩ de richesses; vous mangerez et n'engraisserez pas; vous vous
réchaufferez au feu et ⟨n'⟩en aurez ⟨pas⟩ de chaleur. Vous chercherez
à vous ⟨tremper⟩ dans les eaux et elles se retireront. Et les bêtes,
sur qui tu règnais, se dresseront contre toi. Tu seras affaibli parce
que tu n'as pas gardé mes commandements'.

25. *Dieu se tourna vers moi et me dit : 'Pourquoi as-tu écouté le serpent et as-tu abandonné mes commandements que je t'avais ordonnés? Puisses-tu être dans les peines et les douleurs; puisses-tu enfanter*

β : om. α // «puis votre père ... honte» β : «et il lui répondit 'Je suis ici, Seigneur, car j'étais nu et je me suis caché» α // «Dieu lui répondit et lui dit» β : «alors Dieu dit 'Et» α // «est-ce que tu as enfreint ... ordonné β : «si ce n'est que tu as mangé ce dont je t'avais interdit de manger" α // «alors Adam ... responsabilité» β : om. α // «et Adam dit ... c'est le serpent qui m'a séduite» β : «et il lui répondit 'C'est cette femme qui me l'a ordonné! Et Dieu me commanda 'Pourquoi as-tu fait cela?' Et je lui répondis 'C'est le serpent qui m'a séduite'» α; ab his uerbis deficit α, extat tantum β *de nombreux enfants et, lorsque tu enfanteras, tu désespèreras de ta vie à cause des tourments et des douleurs. (Tu te promettras), si jamais tu te sauves dans ta peine, de ne plus retourner vers ⟨ton mari⟩ et tu endurciras ton cœur en vue du grand combat que le serpent a institué avec toi. (Mais puisses-tu) retourner aussitôt au même point, enfanter ta progéniture dans la douleur et revenir en mendiante vers ton mari, et lui aura maîtrise sur toi'.*

* αβ **26.** * *Quand il m'eut dit tout cela, il s'irrita de colère contre le serpent*: 'Meurs toi aussi et sois maudit parmi tous les muets animaux. Puisses-tu être privé de la nourriture que tu manges et que la terre te serve de pitance tous les jours de ta vie. Puisses-tu aller sur ta poitrine et sur ton ventre: tes mains et tes pieds te seront enlevés. Que tu n'aies plus ni oreilles ni ongles et qu'il ne te reste plus le moindre membre! Que te condamne la vénérable croix que mon fils prendra sur la terre, à cause du scandale (dont) tu as scandalisé *Adam*. Mais puisses-tu être de nouveau écrasé et *brisé* (?) à cause de la méchanceté de ton cœur, et je mettrai une inimitié entre toi et la progéniture de la femme: elle guettera ta tête et toi tu guetteras son talon jusqu'au jour du jugement'.

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p. 125-126 24
«et tu ⟨n'⟩auras ⟨pas⟩ de repos ... ⟨pas⟩ de chaleur» negationes add. Kurc. nihil praebet cod.

p. 126 24
«vous ⟨tremper⟩ lege *ilto⟨bvodit˝⟩* : *ilto* cod.

25
⟨vers ton mari⟩ scripsi (= *k`mrisa šenisa*) : *k`ueq`anad* (= «vers la terre») cod.

26
«quand il m'eut dit ... le serpent» β : ab his uerbis rursus incipit α «et Dieu dit au serpent» // «meurs toi aussi ... muets animaux» α : «sois maudit parmi toutes les bêtes» β // «tes mains ... croix» α : «tes mains, tes pieds et tes oreilles te seront enlevés, ainsi que tes ailes et la vraie croix te jugera» β // «scandalisé Adam» β : «scandalisé» α // «mais puisses-tu être de nouveau écrasé» α : «sois amoindri» β // «et brisé» β : «et renforcé» (?) α (*gansχeul*) // «au jour du jugement» a : «au jourd d'aujourd'hui» β //

27. Ainsi dit Dieu et il ordonna de nous faire sortir tous deux
p. 127 du paradis. Adam priait les anges // et il leur dit : 'Laissez-moi prier le Seigneur; qui sait? Le Seigneur me donnera peut-être une pénitence pour ce que j'ai fait et je ne sortirai pas du paradis. Alors les anges nous laissèrent demander. Adam priait le Seigneur et s'écria : 'Je t'en prie, Seigneur, pardonne moi ce que j'ai fait'. Alors le Seigneur dit aux anges : 'Pourquoi avez-vous laissé d'écarter Adam du paradis? Est-ce ma faute ou n'ai-je pas justement jugé?' Alors les anges tombèrent contre terre et ils dirent en se prosternant devant le Seigneur : 'Tu es juste, Seigneur, et ton jugement est droit'.

28. Le Seigneur se tourna et dit à Adam : 'Tu ne pourras plus demeurer dans le paradis'. Adam répondit et dit au Seigneur : 'Je t'en prie, Seigneur, donne moi de l'arbre de vie pour que j'en mange avant ma sortie du paradis'. Alors le Seigneur adressait la parole à Adam et lui dit : 'Tu n'en prendras plus du tout dans ta vie. J'ai posté des Chérubins brûlants (?) et un sabre tournoyant pour le garder de toi de crainte que tu n'y goûtes, ne deviennes immortel

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27
«tous deux» α : om. β // «Adam priait» α : «comme il nous faisait sortir, Adam priait» β

p. 127 27
«et il leur dit ... ne sortirai pas du paradis» α : «il dit 'Laissez moi, qui sait ? ⟨...⟩ une pénitence pour ce que j'ai fait, afin que nous ne sortions pas du paradis» β // «alors les anges ... ce que j'ai fait» α : om. β // «alors le Seigneur ... devant le Seigneur» α : «alors il dit aux anges 'Pourquoi avez-vous laissé de chasser Adam du paradis ? ⟨...⟩ ma faute ⟨...⟩ justement jugé?' Les anges tombèrent contre terre, ils se prosternèrent devant le Seigneur et ⟨lui⟩ dirent» β //

28
«le Seigneur se tourna ... au Seigneur» α : «il se tourna vers Adam et lui dit 'Tu n'es plus à demeure dans le paradis'. Adam lui répondit et ⟨lui⟩ dit β // «adressait la parole» α : om. β // «j'ai posté ... garder

et ne te vantes en disant: 'Je ne mourrai pas pour l'éternité'; mais tu mèneras le combat que l'ennemi a mené contre toi. *Et si* tu sors du paradis et que tu saches te garder de tout mal, *tu mourras et, après la mort, tu te relèveras dans la résurrection future.* Alors, certes, je te donnerai de l'arbre *de vie* et tu seras immortel pour l'éternité'.

p. 128 **29.** Quand le Seigneur eut dit cela // *il ordonna de nous ⟨chasser⟩ du paradis.*

Votre père pleurait devant les anges; mais eux lui dirent: 'Qu'est (ceci) et que ferons-nous de toi?' Alors votre père leur répondit et leur dit: 'Voici que je sors. Maintenant je vous prie qu'au moment présent de ma sortie je puisse prendre un parfum du paradis pour que, lorsque je sortirai, j'offre un parfum de bonne odeur et que Dieu veuille m'écouter'. Or les anges le lui permirent et il prit quatre parfums odorants: le nard, le safran, le roseau, la cinamonne; voilà ce qu'Adam emporta du paradis sur la terre.

30. Maintenant donc, mes fils, je vous ai appris toute la façon dont nous fûmes trompés et je vous prie de vous garder vous-mêmes et que vous ne cessiez de faire le bien».

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de toi» α : «j'ai établi des chérubins et un cimeterre tournoyant à double tranchant qui le garde» β // «ne te vantes en disant» α : «ne te vantes alors» β // «et si tu sors» β : «si tu sors» α // «tu mourras ... future» β : «alors tu pourras dire 'Je mourrai et ⟨...⟩ la mort je me relèverai dans la (vie) future» α // «l'arbre de vie» β : «l'arbre du paradis» α

p. 128 29

«il ordonna de nous ⟨chasser⟩ β (lege *gamodz⟨aχ⟩ebay*) : *gamodzebay* cod. om. α // «du paradis» β : «dans le paradis» α // «qu'est (ceci) et» α : om. β // «leur répondit ... de ma sortie» α : «répondit aux anges 'Voici que je pars maintenant; (mais) je vous prie» β // «or les anges le lui permirent et il prit» α : «et il ⟨fit⟩ sortir (lege *gamovl⟨ina⟩* : *gamovlo* cod.) du paradis» β // «voilà ce ... sur la terre» α : «voilà ce que prit Adam et il sortit du paradis» β

30

«maintenant donc» α : «et maintenant» β // «et je vous prie ... le bien» α : «pour que vous vous gardiez vous-mêmes» β

[*Mort et funérailles d'Adam*] (= *Vie* grecque 31-43, *Vie* latine XLVIII)

31. Voilà donc ce que dit Ève au milieu de ses fils quand Adam se coucha dans sa maladie. Et le deuxième jour son âme fut sur le point de sortir de son corps. Ève dit à Adam : «Pourquoi es-tu seul à mourir, tandis que je suis en vie? Et jusqu'à quel moment le serai-je? Et qu'adviendra-t-il de moi après ta mort? Apprends le moi». Alors Adam dit à Ève : "Ne te fais pas de souci, quoi que tu aies fait. Si nous devons mourir tous les deux, toi aussi tu seras placée près de moi. Et si je suis *seul* à mourir, *ne me bouge* pas de ma place, jusqu'à ce que Dieu te donne un ordre à mon sujet, car le Seigneur
// p. 129 ne m'abandonnera pas, mais bien plutôt // il recherchera le vase qu'il a créé. Lève toi et adresse une prière à Dieu pour que mon âme soit remise aux mains de mon créateur. Car je ne sais pas comment je vais arriver près du créateur de toute chose, et s'il est irrité contre moi ou s'il va m'accueillir».

32. Alors Ève se leva et elle sortit de chez Adam. Elle fit péni-

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p. 128 31
«Voilà donc ... quand» α : «quand Ève eut dit cela à ses fils» β // «et le deuxième» α : «le deuxième» β // «son âme» β : son ⟨â⟩me α *uli* pro *suli* // «es-tu seul à mourir» α : «meurs-tu» β // «et jusqu'à ... après ta mort» α : «et combien de moments passerai-je (encore) avec et après toi? Et comment serai-je? Que doit-il m'advenir après ta mort?» β // «et si je suis seul à mourir» β : «si je meurs» α // ne me bouge pas» β : «qu'on ne me bouge pas» α

p. 128-129 31
«car le Seigneur ... qu'il a créé» α : «afin que Dieu ne m'oublie pas, mais bien plutôt recherche le vase qu'il a créé. Maintenant» β

p. 129 31
«pour que mon âme ... de mon créateur» α : «pour remettre ton âme et la mienne aux mains du créateur» β // «de toute chose ... m'accueillir» α : «de toute âme et s'il est irrité contre moi ou me fera miséricorde» β

32
«de chez Adam» α : «de chez lui» β // «Je t'ai offensé Dieu ... je

tence et s'écria : «Je t'ai offensé, Dieu; je t'ai offensé et j'ai péché devant toi. J'ai péché devant tes anges élus, j'ai péché devant les Chérubins, j'ai péché devant ton saint autel, j'ai péché devant les générations des cieux, j'ai péché devant les oiseaux des cieux, j'ai péché devant les bêtes de la terre. Je t'ai offensé, Dieu, par toute ma convoitise, dans ta création toute entière. Je vous prie toutes, vous les créatures du ciel et de la terre, priez pour moi le Seigneur de toute chose».

Tandis qu'Ève était à genoux pour prier, soudain s'approcha Michel, l'ange d'humanité,[24] et il releva Ève en lui disant : «Relève toi de ta pénitence, car Adam, ton époux, est sorti de sa chair. Lève toi et vois son âme, comme il l'a déjà présentée à son créateur». **33.** Ève se leva et mit sa main sur son visage et l'ange remonta en disant à Ève : «Élève tes yeux et sors des soucis de la terre».

Or, quand Ève eut élevé ses yeux vers le ciel, elle vit des chars de feu et une lumière qui montait (portée) par quatre ⟨vents⟩[25] :

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t'ai offensé Dieu» α : «je t'ai offensé devant tes anges, j'ai péché devant les chérubins, j'ai péché devant ton autel, j'ai péché devant toi, Seigneur, j'ai péché devant la lumière du Saint, j'ai péché devant les oiseaux du ciel et les bêtes de la terre, je t'ai offensé, Seigneur» β // «tandis qu'Ève était à genoux pour prier» α (cf. *Vie* gr. 32 Ἔτι δὲ εὐχομένης τῆς Εὔας ἐπὶ τὰ γόνατα αὐτῆς οὔσης) : «comme Ève prononçait cette prière» β // «et il releva Ève en lui disant» α : «il releva Ève» β // «présentée» α : «présenté son âme» β

33
«son visage» α :om. β // «et l'ange ... à Ève» α : «l'ange se leva, remonta et dit» β // «et sors ... quand Ève» α : «et vois; éloigne toi de la terre (et) tu verras. Or quand elle» β // «de feu ... qui montait» α : «de lumière qui s'élevaient» β // «quatre ⟨vents⟩» lege *otʻχtʻa ⟨kʻartʻa⟩* Kurc. (cf. p. 132, 38 : «sur les vents des Chérubins») : om. cod.

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[24] Traduction littérale du grec. Faut-il comprendre «à figure humaine»?

[25] Le rapprochement indiqué dans l'apparat critique confirme cette restitution de K´urc´ikidze. Il est vraisemblable que le traducteur géorgien a confondu (par ex. au gén. pl.) ὁ ἀετός «l'aigle» et ὁ ἀήτης «le souffle de vent».

p. 130 ils étaient si resplendissants // qu'il n'est pas de (propos) ressemblant pour le dire, qu'il n'était pas possible de les imaginer, ni du côté du ventre, ni du côté du dos[26], et des anges guidaient ces chars. Et quand ils furent arrivés à l'endroit où était le père, le char s'arrêta et les Séraphins se tinrent entre lui et le(s) char(s). Et je vis, moi, Ève, trois encensoirs d'or, (trois) *coupes* et trois anges qui venaient rapidement sur l'autel. Ces anges prirent du charbon ardent, *le mirent dans l'encensoir et posèrent l'encensoir sur* (l'autel). Et, tandis qu'ils soufflaient, la fumée montait et voila les assises du ciel. Les anges glorifiaient (Dieu), ils se prosternaient devant lui, gémissaient et disaient : «Dieu, pardonne à Adam car il est ton image et l'ouvrage de tes mains : il est ta créature».

34. Et je vis, moi, Ève, deux grandes lumières prosternées dans la crainte devant *Dieu*, et je pleurai et dis à mon fils Seth : «Relève toi d'auprès du corps de ton père, viens vers moi et vois ce que tes yeux n'ont pas vu, à propos d'Adam, ton père». **35.** Alors Seth se

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«ils étaient si resplendissants ... imaginer» α : «ils resplendissaient tellement qu'il n'était pas de (propos) ressemblant pour le dire et qu'il est (sic) possible» β // «ces chars ... le père» α : «(tout) cela vers où se trouvait votre père. Et» β // «entre lui et les chars» α : «sur les chars» β // «d'or» α : om. β // «(trois) coupes» β : om. α // «et trois anges qui venaient» α : «ils vinrent» β // «le mirent ... par dessus (l'autel) β : «et posèrent l'encensoir par dessus (l'autel)» α // «et tandis ... du ciel» α : «tandis qu'on soufflait, la fumée de l'encensoir montait et voilait les assises des cieux» β // «devant lui, gémissaient» α : «devant Dieu» β // «il est ta créature» α : om. β

34

«devant Dieu» β : «devant lui» α // «de ton père ... ton père» α : «de celui-ci et viens près de moi, pour que je voie ce que personne n'a vu (concernant) ton père Adam» β //

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[26] Contre-sens du géorgien. Il faut comprendre, d'après la *Vie* grecque : «il n'était pas possible à quelqu'un né du ventre de dire leur gloire ou de voir leur face».

leva et vint près d'Ève, sa mère, et il lui dit : «Pourquoi pleures-tu?
Lève tes yeux et vois les sept cieux ouverts, et vois la ressemblance
du père, Adam, comme elle est devant Dieu, et tous les anges prient
pour lui et disent : «Pardonne, Dieu, à Adam, car il est ton image
p. 131 et ton semblable, parce que c'est toi qui l'as créé» // «*Qu'est-ce
donc, fils Seth, est-ce que ces Indiens livrent le sang de mon époux?*,
car ils étaient devant Dieu». **36.** Seth répondit à Ève et lui dit : «Non pas ainsi, mère. N'as-tu pas reconnu (qui sont) ceux que tu as appelés Indiens dans ces couleurs de sang?» Ève répondit : «Je ne les connais pas, mon fils». Seth lui répondit et dit : «Ce sont le soleil et la lune : ils se sont prosternés et ils prient pour Adam, mon père». — «Où est la lumière du soleil, car elle n'est plus avec lui, et pourquoi est-il ainsi obscurci?» Seth répondit et dit à Ève : «parce que sa lumière a été éclipsée devant le Dieu de toute chose et sa lumière est (devenue) sombre par crainte de Dieu».

37. Comme Seth disait cela à Ève, aussitôt un grand ange souf-

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35
«alors Seth ... pleures-tu?» α : «alors il vint et me dit 'pourquoi pleures-tu' Je lui répondis» β // «du père» α : «de ton père» β // «prient pour lui» α : «prient Dieu pour lui» β // «pardonne ... semblable» α : «pardonne à Adam toutes ses transgressions car il est ton image et ta ressemblance» β //

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«qu'est-ce donc ... époux» β : «ô mon fils Seth est-ce que ces Indiens ne livrent pas le produit de son sang» α

36
«répondit à Ève» α : «lui répondit» β // «non pas ainsi, mère» α : om. β // «n'as-tu pas reconnu ... sang» α : «n'as-tu pas reconnu qui sont, ma mère, ceux dont tu as parlé, à propos de la couleur de sang» β // «Ève répondit ... mon fils Seth» α : om. β // «ils se sont prosternés» α : «eux aussi se sont prosternés» β // «et dit à Ève» α : «et lui dit» β // «sa lumière est (devenue) sombre» α : «la lumière du soleil s'est assombrie» β

37
«comme ... disait cela» α : «voilà donc ce que Seth disait» β //

fla de la trompette et tous les anges qui étaient prosternés sur leur visage se redressèrent. Ils priaient pour Adam et criaient d'une voix *redoutable* en disant : «*Béni est Dieu, par toute bénédiction. Tu as fais grâce au protoplaste*».

* α * Et quand les anges eurent dit ces mots, (Dieu) envoya vers lui (= Adam) l'un des Séraphins à six ailes. (Celui-ci) emmena Adam vers le marais de l'⟨A⟩cheron, il l'y trempa trois fois, puis il le ramena devant Dieu et (Adam) demeura prosterné sur son visage environ trois heures. Après quoi Dieu étendit sa main depuis son trône, il releva Adam et le remit à Michel et il lui dit : «Emporte le dans le troisième ciel, au paradis, et place le devant l'autel jusqu'au jour de l'Économie que je médite, à l'égard de tous les (êtres) de p. 132 chair, avec mon fils bien aimé //. **38.** Alors Michel emporta Adam dans le lieu que Dieu avait commandé et tous les anges psalmodiaient la psalmodie des anges. Ils célébraient ce prodige : la rémission d'Adam et la promesse d'une (vie) future.

Après quoi Michel cria vers Dieu et Dieu ordonna de sonner de la trompette et que tous les anges s'assemblassent devant Dieu, chacun en son ordre : ceux qui avaient un encensoir, ceux qui avaient un psaltérion et ceux qui sonnaient de la trompette. Et voici que le Seigneur de Sabaoth monta sur les vents des Chérubins, et des anges (venus) des sept cieux le précédaient et ils vinrent sur la terre, à l'endroit où se trouvaient les (restes) charnels d'Adam et tous les anges chantaient ses louanges. Et (Dieu) atteignit d'abord son paradis, et toutes les fleurs du paradis, avec leurs suaves senteurs, s'émurent à la suave senteur de la gloire de Dieu. Tous les fils d'Adam (en) perdirent le souffle, à l'exception unique de Seth, car il était fils de la grandeur de Dieu.

39. Et quand le Seigneur fut arrivé au corps d'Adam tombé (à terre), le Seigneur s'affligea pour lui et lui dit d'une voix de tristesse : «Si tu avais gardé mes commandements, tu ne serais pas tombé

«d'une voix redoutable» β (cf. *Vie* gr. 37 φωνὴν φοβεράν) : «à voix haute» α // «en disant» α : om. β // «Béni est Dieu ... protoplaste» β : «tu es béni, Seigneur, toi qui as eu pitié du protoplaste» α; ab his uerbis deficit β, extat tantum α // «le marais de l'⟨A⟩chéron» (cf. *Vie* gr. τὴν ἀχέρουσαν λίμνην = *tbasa mas k'erovanisasa*) en ce lieu et ton ennemi n'aurait pu voir qu'il t'a fait chasser en ce lieu. Toutefois je changerai sa joie en peine et je te ramènerai vers ce royaume et je te ferai asseoir sur le trône de ton ennemi, là où il s'était assis, près d'où fut découverte sa rébellion. Il tombera au lieu (où) tu (es) et il te verra en cet (autre) lieu siègeant sur un trône».

XLVIII. 40. Et après cela, Dieu donna un ordre à Michel et (celui-ci) ramena (Adam) au paradis, qui est dans le troisième ciel. Ils saisirent trois suaires de toile[27] (?) pliés, et Dieu dit à Michel et à Gabriel: «Déployez ces suaires et enveloppez le corps d'Adam et prenez de l'onguent de l'arbre d'olive et versez en sur lui». Et trois anges l'(en) revêtirent et quand ils (en) eurent revêtu le corps d'Adam, Dieu leur dit: «Prenez aussi le corps d'Abel, saisissez d'autres suaires et revêtez l'en, lui aussi, car il est resté gisant à nu depuis le jour où le méchant Caïn l'avait tué». Or, il avait voulu l'ensevelir dans la terre et il ne l'avait pu, parce que son corps ressortait de la terre. Car une voix s'était fait entendre depuis le ciel et lui avait dit: «Il ne pourra pas être enfoui dans la terre, à moins que celui qui a été créé tout d'abord ne retourne à la terre dont il a été créé». Alors il l'avait transporté sur un roc et il y était resté étendu jusqu'à la mort d'Adam. Ainsi les anges le prirent et le revêtirent comme son père. Dieu ordonna de les transporter tous
p. 133 les deux en direction // du paradis, du côté de l'orient, dans le lieu où Dieu avait pris de la terre et avait créé Adam. Et Dieu ordonna à Michel de creuser. Et Dieu envoya sept anges au paradis: ils ramassèrent beaucoup d'aromates du paradis et ils les apportèrent près d'eux. Puis ils enveloppèrent les deux corps, les déposèrent au tombeau et les recouvrirent (de terre). **41.** Alors Dieu se tourna et appela Adam. Le corps d'Adam lui répondit depuis la terre et dit: «Voici ⟨Seigneur⟩». Et le Seigneur lui dit: «Voici, comme je t'ai

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p. 133 41
⟨Seigneur⟩ (= *upʻalo*) scripsi : *pʻarao* codd.

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[27] Le géorgien écrit ici: *armenakni sindisani* «des suaires de (toile de) Sind»; peut-être faudrait-il lire *armenakni sind⟨on⟩isani* «des suaires de linceul», pour conserver le mot σινδών, attesté d'ailleurs dans les textes grec et latin.

dit, que tu es terre et tu es retourné vers la terre, mais je te ressusciterai de la résurrection que je t'ai promise, au jour de la résurrection».

42. Or, après cela, Dieu prit le sceau triangulaire et il scella le sépulcre d'Adam et il dit: «Que personne n'y touche durant ces six jours, jusqu'à ce que ta côte retourne vers toi». Alors Dieu remonta au ciel supérieur, et les anges, chacun à son office. Mais Ève avait défailli en voyant tout cela. Ève pleurait et voulait voir où l'on avait mis Adam, car elle ne le savait pas. Quand le Seigneur était descendu sur la terre, tous les arbres du paradis ne ⟨surpassèrent⟩ pas ⟨sa⟩ suave odeur ⟨parce que⟩ tout ce qui a souffle défaille devant lui. Jusqu'à l'enveloppement et la mise au tombeau d'Adam, personne n'en sut rien sauf Seth.

Donc Ève priait (et) pleurait pour que (Dieu) l'emmenât, lui révélât le lieu où l'on avait mis Adam. Et quand sa prière fut finie, elle dit: «Seigneur, ne me laisse pas étrangère au lieu d'Adam, mais ordonne moi, à moi aussi, (d'être) avec lui, comme nous étions tous deux dans le paradis, inséparables l'un de l'autre; ne nous sépare pas dans notre mort, mais où tu l'as posé, (pose) moi également». Et après cette prière, elle remit son âme.

43. Et l'ange Michel vint et enseigna à Seth comment revêtir Ève. Trois anges vinrent et ils prirent le corps d'Ève et ils la placèrent où ils avaient placé le corps d'Adam. Après quoi, l'ange Michel lui disait: «Revêtez de cette sorte tout mort qui mourra, jusqu'à la mort de tous les hommes». Quand il eut enseigné tout cela à Seth, il s'éleva vers le ciel d'en haut, loin de Seth, et il lui dit: «Ne pleurez pas les morts plus de cinq jours et le septième jour réjouissez-vous, car c'est ce jour que s'est reposé le Dieu de toutes (choses) qui sont créatures du Seigneur».

A lui la gloire et l'honneur et l'adoration, avec le Père et l'Esprit-Saint, maintenant et toujours, et de siècle en siècle, Amen.

42

«ne ⟨surpassèrent⟩ pas ⟨sa⟩ suave odeur ⟨parce que⟩» scripsit Kurc.: nihil praebent codd. pro interclusis uerbis

BAD WORLD AND DEMIURGE: A 'GNOSTIC' MOTIF FROM PARMENIDES AND EMPEDOCLES TO LUCRETIUS AND PHILO

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1. *Greek Antecedents of Gnosticism?*

It is not my intention, in this paper, to contribute to the perennial discussion about the origins, so-called, of Gnosticism. I have no desire to ferret out ideas or factors which 'produced' Gnosticism. There are several reasons for this abstinence. The most obvious of these is that such knowledge of Gnosticism as I may believe to possess is derivative; I do not belong to the elect who have access to the sacred books, found in Egypt, in their original translation, and have only read part of the literature in Greek and a very small part, no doubt, of the scholarly literature. Some compensation for this lack may perhaps be found in my claim to belong to the outer circle of admirors of the distinguished student of Gnosticism to whom this volume is presented. Over the years, I may, to some extent, have been initiated by Professor Quispel himself.

There is another reason why I am reluctant to stake out claims for Gnostic origins. I have come to believe that the question concerning the origins of what is original is not necessarily seminal. Take Greek philosophy. For all its links with the pre-philosophic past, this is something novel right from the start. I submit that it is impossible to offer a full historical explanation of what is *sui generis*; if what is original could be deduced, so to speak, from what precedes it just as, according to Aristotle, the conclusion of a syllogism is already contained in its premisses, there would no longer be anything *novel* to explain (except, perhaps, the art of combining the premisses, but this is not how such things happen). There are important respects, for instance, in which Presocratic cosmogony links up with the cosmogony of myth. What counts, however, is the *differentia specifica.*

Perhaps Professor Quispel will agree. If I understand him correctly, he is, at any rate, convinced (with Jonas) that there is a psychological or existentialist explanation for the Gnostic frame of mind.[1] I take this to imply the assumption that a person or persons made a personal, original and decisive contribution to the history of human thought and sensibility.

There is a corollary to this assumption which, anyhow, I would be prepared to argue myself, viz. that what is novel to some extent influences and changes what was already there. Myth became 'myth' only when philosophy had arrived. Of course, this is not the whole picture, since myth or 'myth' was able to influence philosophy because some philosophers, spurred on by hindsight, tried to distinguish philosophical elements in it or made use of mythological means for philosophical purposes. Conversely, people with a mythopoetic and religious bent of mind (Pherecydes, some Orphics, and, I dare say, certain Gnostics) adapted philosophical notions for religious and mythological purposes. On the other hand, however, novel developments may serve as a sudden eye-opener where ideas or facts from a more or less remote past are concerned. Ideas or their potential may remain dormant for any number of centuries;[2] many instances, such as e.g. the rediscovery of Stoic logic in our century, could be given. Jonas' famous philosophical rediscovery of Gnosticism is another such instance.

Consequently, what I propose to do in the present paper is to open up the following question: is it possible, in Greek philosophy before the Christian era, to indicate elements or features which even a slight familiarity with the main tenets of Gnosticism *may help us to under-*

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[1] G. Quispel, *Gnosis als Weltreligion*, Zürich ²1972, 36-38, taking up the epoch-making idea of H. Jonas, *Gnosis und spätantiker Geist*, I, Göttingen ²1963. — In order to be clearly understood I should perhaps add that, for my part, I do not believe in an existentialist interpretation. I am more concerned with the 'how' than with the 'why' of Gnosticism. I do believe, however, that one should not philosophize about 'hows' and 'whys' by playing off abstractions against one another in the manner of e.g. J. Taubes, *Der dogmatische Mythos der Gnosis*, in M. Fuhrmann (ed.), *Terror und Spiel. Probleme der Mythenrezeption*, München 1971, 145ff., a paper followed by a very confused discussion (ib., 379ff.), into which R. Merkelbach vainly tried to infuse some sense.

[2] Cf. W. Burkert, *Plotin, Plutarch und die platonisierende Interpretation von Heraklit und Empedokles*, in *Kephalaion* (Festschr. de Vogel), Assen 1975, 137ff., on the rediscovery of Empedocles' *Katharmoi* by Platonists from the 1st cent. A.D. onwards.

stand somewhat better? There is a related question which, although it lies beyond the edge of my competence, I shall not be able to avoid alltogether: could such ideas possibly have appealed to a Gnostic, i.e. have lent themselves to an *interpretatio Gnostica*? I shall try to look for part of an answer to the first question by concentrating on the vexing problem of the Evil Demiurge and his Associates and of the Bad World. And I should perhaps add at this point that I do not pretend that 'anticipations' of Gnostic ideas are to be looked for in the Greek sphere only. On the contrary: a study of some Gnostic texts and of some of the learned literature, much of it written by Professor Quispel, has convinced me that also Jewish, (Iranian, and Egyptian) 'antecedents' have to be taken into account.

By and large, Greek philosophical cosmology is positive and optimistic. This holds especially for Plato, and for Aristotle and the Stoics, who have been decisively influenced by Plato in this respect. This, however, does not imply that such optimistic views were proposed or accepted without argument, or that no difficulties were sensed at all. There were even exceptions (the Epicureans).[3] But the mainstream of Greek thought concerning the cosmos is optimistic; such less positive views as can be found, are, as a rule, against the current, or are only introduced for the sake of an argument.

However, Plato, after all, both continued and reacted against the ideas of his predecessors. If one wants to look for ideas which may be linked with the notion of an evil Demiurge one should go back to the Presocratics, i.e. to Parmenides and Empedocles. There is no sign of pessimism in the Milesians (one could think of Anaximander, but in Anaximander, *Vorsokr*. Fr. 12B1, cosmic injustice is simultaneously cosmic justice, or at least answered by cosmic justice). Heraclitus does not come into play because he explicitly stated that our world has not been made by any god or man, but is eternal (*Vorsokr*. Fr. 22B61). For the Pythagoreans see below, p. 292f.

2. *Parmenides*

Helped by 'Gnostic' hindsight, one may reconsider the thought of the great Parmenides. I give a short summary of his philosophy:

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[3] See below, p. 309f.

Only Being exists in the full sense of the word, and only Being can be truly known (*Vorsokr.* Fr. 28B2, B8), but Being is not of this world, but "in itself" (Fr. 28B8, 29). The universe is a big mistake, to be explained or excused by reference to a confusion between Being and not-Being (Fr. 28B6, 9-10; B8, 40), which should have been — or rather should be — rigorously kept apart (Fr. 28B2; B8, 15-18). In this universe, men lead silly lives, analytically described by Parmenides in unflattering terms which he borrowed from passages in Greek literature dealing with the *condition humaine*[4] (Fr. 28B6). Eternal, unchanging Being cannot come into being, grow, or perish (Fr. 28B2; B8, 6-21). The world, on the other hand, has come into being and has developed and will perish (Fr. 28B19). But Being remains forever unalterable in the bonds of three divine ladies : Justice (Δίκη, Fr. 28B8, 14), Necessity (Ἀνάγκη, Fr. B8, 20), and Destiny (Μοῖρα, Fr. B8, 27). Of these goddesses, Justice is specifically concerned with "separating" Being from not-Being, i.e. with keeping coming to be and passing away at bay (cf. Fr. B8, 13-18).[5]

This raises a very difficult problem — one which, without overstatement, may be called *the* conundrum of the interpretation of Parmenides. If the inviolability of Being is vouchsafed by divine powers and if, indeed, according to Parmenides, it is absolutely unthinkable that this should not be the case, in what way, then, is a confusion — both ontic and epistemic — between Being and not-Being possible? If Parmenides had remained silent about the universe, our exegetic problem would be minimal, but he gives us, in the second part of his poem, a cosmogony and cosmology which constitute a serious, original, and even influential theory of 'nature' in the Presocratic sense of the world (cf. also the goddess' announcement, Fr. 28B1, 28-32). When I was a child, I believed that the *vitium originis* should be laid with men : men, by confusing Being and not-Being, would have fashioned the elements Light and Night from which the world is built.[6] Light and Night, again, constitute both the bodily frame and, simultaneously, the consciousness of men (Fr. 28B16). Difficult in this explanation, of course, is the implication that a mistake is made by entities whose very existence depends on the mistake's having been made. I still believe that this explanation is defensible : at Fr. 28B8, 53f. the goddess who is Parmenides' informant certainly puts the blame upon men, for it is they who, as she says, "have decided to name two Forms" (sc. the Elements), "in which they are mistaken". In the beginning, consequently, there is a human mistake. [There is not, at this time, a world, but only 'matter' — not, of course, in the later sense of an independent principle yet to be informed, but 'matter' already informed : the elements with their respective characteristics].

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[4] See my dissertation, *Die Offenbarung des Parmenides und die menschliche Welt*, Assen 1964, Ch. I.

[5] Ib., 263f.

[6] Ib., 131f., 144f., 214ff.

Recently, however, and perhaps rather tardily, another thought has crossed my mind, which supplements my earlier suggestion. The revealing goddess, *loc. cit.*, lines 51-52, says that Parmenides will learn about the [false! cf. Fr. 28B1, 30] opinions of men by hearing, so she says, "the deceiving structure of my words" (κόσμον ἐμῶν ἐπέων ἀπατηλόν).[7] "Deceiving" — this rings a bell. Deceit was much practised by Greek gods upon each other and upon Greek mortals.[8] The account of the universe is yet a deceiving structure of words, and the universe itself[9] is not the whole truth and nothing but the truth. Is the goddess, perhaps, suggesting that the responsibility for the origin of the universe is one she shares with men? Or is it, rather, *another* divinity[10] who is responsible for such a deception — a deception which, after all, produced something, apparently next to inviolate Being, which amounts to a confusion between Being and not-Being? There is, at any rate, a goddess who is responsible for the *elaboration* and *implementation* of the original mistake: a goddess who supervises the "mingling" of the elements which results in the cosmos as inhabited by compound beings.[11] For in a fragment from the *cosmogonical* section of part two of the poem, when speaking of the elemental rings which are to become the heavenly bodies, the revealing goddess mentions a goddess 'in the midst of these" (ἐν δὲ μεσῷ τούτων), a "goddess who steers all things: for she commands the dreadful birth and coupling of all things, sending the female to couple with the male and the male, again, with the female" (δαίμων ἣ πάντα κυβερνᾷ·/πάντων γὰρ στυγεροίο τόκου καὶ μίξιος ἄρχει / πέμπουσ᾿ ἄρσενι θῆλυ μιγῆν τό τ᾿ ἐναντίον αὖτις / ἄρσεν θηλυτέρῳ, Fr. 28B12, 3-6). It is she who, "first of all the gods, created Eros" (πρώτιστον μὲν Ἔρωτα θεῶν μητίσατο πάντων, Fr. 28B13). Aristotle, commenting on Fr. B13, says Parmenides speaks of Eros "in his exposition of the origin of the universe" (*Met.* A 4, 984b25f.). Plutarch gives a name to the goddess: Aphrodite, and tells us that the line is from the cosmogony (*Amat.* 756F).[12] Simplicius not only tells us that this goddess created the other gods (θεῶν αἰτίαν),[13] but adds, in tantalizingly cryptic words, that she has power over "the souls of men, which she sends now from the visible towards the invisible and then the other way round" (καὶ τὰς ψυχὰς πέμπειν ποτὲ μὲν ἐκ τοῦ ἐμφάνους εἲς τὸ ἀειδές, ποτὲ δὲ ἀνάπαλιν, *In Phys.* 39, 20f. Diels. Simplicius had the poem before his eyes [14, 15]). Plutarch's identification of the goddess as Aphrodite appears to be no more than an inference, although it should be noted that it recurs at *Fac.* 927 A.[16] But we have another reference to the cosmogonical process in Parmenides own words, Fr. 28B10, 6-7, where it is said that it is "Necessity" who "bound Heaven so that it held the bonds of the stars" [ὥς μιν (sc. οὐρανόν) ἄγουσ(α) ἐπέδησεν

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[7] For parallels to κόσμον ἐπέων see L. Tarán, *Parmenides*, Princeton N.J. 1965, 221 n. 50. Significantly, Empedocles says to his pupil Pausanias : σὺ δ᾽ ἄκουε λόγου στόλον οὐκ ἀπατηλόν, *Vorsokr.* Fr. 31B17, 26 (see W.J. Verdenius, *Parmenides. Some Comments on his Poem* (diss. Utrecht). Groningen 1942. Amsterdam ^{2}1964), 70); cf. below, p. 283.

[8] Cf. Verdenius, *Parm.*, 58f.; M. Untersteiner, *The Sophists*, Oxford 1954, 108ff., 185ff.; H. Pfeiffer, *Die Stellung des parmenideischen Lehrgedichts in der epischen Tradition*, Bonn 1975, 39 and 40 n. 2. A.P.D. Mourelatos, *The Route of Parmenides*, New Haven/London 1970, 222f., esp. 259f., splendidly investigates the second part of the poem as "a Study in Deception". I have learnt much from a paper (to be published in a collective volume) read by Professor Verdenius during the 3rd Int. Coll. Anc. Philos., Bad Homburg Aug. 29th-Sept. 1st 1979.

[9] Having described the elements, the goddess says she will now give the "resembling ordering" (διάκοσμον ἐοικότα, Fr. 28B8, 60), sc. of the elements in question.

[10] In my diss., 271, 272, I suggested that the same divinity is concerned (Δίκη = revealing goddess = δαίμων of Fr. 28B12), but I knew that this identification is incapable of proof (ib., 272 n. 1). See further below.

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[11] F. Solmsen, *Nature as Craftsman in Greek Thought*, in *JHI* 1963, [473ff. (repr. *Kl. Schr.* I, Hildesheim 1968, 332ff.)], 475 (= *Kl. Schr.* I, 334) appears to suggest that Parmenides' *daimon* is a sort of proto-Demiurge; cf. also my diss., 215.

[12] See H. Martin Jr., *Plutarch's Citation of Empedocles at Amatorius 756 D*, in *GRBS* 1969, 57ff., and below, p. 268. For the scope of the activities of the goddess see Verdenius, *Parm.* 6-7 (what he says holds good even if his — and Fränkel's — interpretation of ἐν ... μέσῳ is not accepted). — For the correct reading of *Vorsokr.* Fr. 12, 4 see D. Sider, in *Phoenix* 1979, 67f.

[13] Confirmed by Cic., *ND* I, 28 (*Vorsokr.* Fr. 28A37), who mentions "*Bellum, ... Discordiam, ... Cupiditatem ceteraque eiusdem generis*" (cf. below, n. 51). This derives from a doxography which was more detailed (or contained other details) than Aët. II, 7, 1 (that it did so follows from what Cicero says immediately before: "*Parmenides quidem commenticium quiddam coronae similem efficit* (στεφάνην *appellat*), *continentem ardorem lucis orbem* [so the majority of ms., unnecessarily emended by editors], *qui cingit caelum, quem appellat deum*" ("P. invents a purely faciful something like a crown (he calls it *stephane*), a ring containing fiery heat, who encompasses the heaven and whom he calls god". Cicero identifies the *outer* ring with god, not, as Aëtius — who is anyhow mistaken here — the midmost of the *mixed* rings (see below, n. 17, and text thereto). With "*continentem ardorem lucis orbem*" cf. Aët., *Vorsokr.* I p. 224, 6 ὑφ᾿ ᾧ πάλιν πυρώδης; for "*ardorem lucis*" cf. expressions such as Fr. 28B10, 3 λάμπαδος ἔργ(α) ἀίδηλα, of the sun. See further below, p. 268f).

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[14] I have called this an "indirektes Zitat" (*o.c.*, 168); my earlier interpretation in terms of the psychology (*pace* Theophrastus) of *Vorsokr.* Fr. 28A46 (ib., 172) is probably too narrow; cf. below, n. 19.

[15] Aristotle, Plutarch and Simplicius are quoted *Vorsokr.* ad Fr. 28B13; so also Plat., *Symp.* 178b [195b-c should also have been quoted]. Arist., *loc. cit.*, 984b23f., further quotes Hes., *Th.* 116f. (incompletely): first Chaos, then Gaia and Eros (see West *ad loc.*, *Hesiod. Theogony*, Oxford ²1971, 195f.). Plato, *loc. cit.*, adds both Hesiod and Acusilaus [cf. *Vorsokr.* Fr. 9B2], who, he says, agree with one another. — On Parmenides' cosmogony see also J.S. Morrison, *Four Notes on Plato's Symposium*, in *Cl. Qu.* 1964, [42ff.], 49f.

[16] H. Diels, *Parmenides. Lehrgedicht* (Berlin 1897), 107, is sceptical about the identification at *Amat.* 756. F.J. Hershbell, *Plutarch and Parmenides*, in *GRBS* 1972, 193ff., tentatively suggests that Plutarch had read the poem; I think this is certain. Martin, *o.c.*, 61, 64f., who treats both passages [note that *Fac.* 927 A is lacking in *Vorsokr.* Ch. 28, being quoted only ad Fr. 31B27, I, 333, 18f.] argues that Plutarch sets out to correct Plato and Aristotle, but seems to imply that Plutarch had no Parmenidean evidence upon which to base his identification.

It is a definite possibility that Plato and Aristotle, in the doxographical passages at issue, used the sophist Hippias' compendium of "important and related ideas" (τὰ μέγιστα καὶ ὁμόφυλα) collected from "Orpheus" and "Musaeus" and "Hesiod" and "Homer" and "other poets and prose writers, both Greek and non-Greek" [Hippias, *Vorsokr.* Fr. 86B6; this capital reference to Orpheus — repeated *Vorsokr.* Fr. 1A13 — has been missed by Kern]; see B. Snell, *Die Nachrichten über die Lehren des Thales und die Anfänge der griech. Philosophie- und Literaturgeschichte*, in *Philologus* 1944, 170ff., repr. in C.J. Classen (ed.), *Sophistik* (WdF 178), Darmstadt 1976, 478ff., and W. von Kienle, *Die Berichte über die Sukzessionen der Philosophen* (diss. Berlin 1961), 38ff. If this is acceptable, it becomes all the more remarkable that neither Plato nor Aristotle refers to an *Orphic* Eros, since elsewhere (*Crat.* 402b ~ *Met.* A3, 983b21ff.) they quote Orphic lines or refer to Orphic ideas in such "Hippian" doxographic passages. It is also remarkable that no trace survives of Early Stoic interest in an Orphic Eros: Zeno interpreted that of *Hesiod* allegorically (*SVF* I, 104, 105). As yet, the only witness for an early (Orphic? this is not what he calls it) Eros is Aristoph., *Av.* 693ff. (*Vorsokr.* Fr. 1A12, Orph. Fr. 1 Kern), but it should never be forgotten that Aristophanes' aim is to amuse, not to inform. See further below p. 291.

Ἀνάγκη / πείρατ' ἔχειν ἄστρων. Note (1) that in Fr. 28B10 the stars are distinguished from sun and moon and (2) that, according to Aët. II 15, 7 = *Vorsokr.* Fr. 28A40a, Parmenides located the stars below the sun]. Necessity, then, is a more likely identification of the goddess than Aphrodite. There is some confirmation in Aët. II 7, 1 = *Vorsokr.* Fr. 28A37, I p. 224, 8-10: the midmost of the mixed rings — this obviously derives from a not too accurate paraphrase of Fr. 28B10, 1f.[17] — is for all of the cosmic rings the beginning and cause of "motion" (κινήσεως) and "coming into being (γενέσεως), "and he also calls her steering goddess (δαίμονα κυβερνῆτιν, cf. Fr. 28B10, 3 δαίμων ἣ ... κυβερνᾷ) and holder of allotments (or lots, κληροῦχον)[18] and Justice (Δίκην) and Necessity" (Ἀνάγκην, cf. Fr. 28B10, 6). "Holder of allotments" — this should probably be connected with Simplicius' obscure statement[19] about the goddess, viz. that she sends the souls of men from the visible to the invisible and back. Support for this connection may be derived from Fr. 28B10, 4: the goddess holds sway over "gruesome *birth*". "From the visible to the invisible" may mean from life to death, and "the other way round" then pertains to birth; it is noteworthy that Parmenides associated life and light, death and darkness according to Theophrastus, *De sensu* 4 = *Vorsokr.* Fr. 28A46, I, 226, 13f. Aët. II, 7, 1 — cited above — *only deals with the divinity which is active in the universe.* I have argued above that this divinity is perhaps not only responsible for arranging the elements, but also co-responsible for their being constituted (see p. 265f.). Aëtius, *loc. cit.*, says the divinity is also in charge of the *coming into being* of the rings, which, however, need not mean more than that it constructs them out of elements that are already there.

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[17] Fränkel, *Wege und Formen frühgr. Denkens*, München ²1955, 183f.; for Cicero cf. above, n. 13.

[18] So the ms.; κληδοῦχον Fülleborn, Diels-Kranz (cf. Fr. 28B1, 14); J. Burnet, *Early Greek Philosophy*, London ⁴1930, 190 n. 3, argues against this incommendable emendation. The word is analogous to e.g. σκηπτοῦχος. Note that Phil., *Vit. Mos.*, I, 255, has ᾖδον εἰς τὸν κληρούχον θεόν, and that Diels (!) conjectured κληδούχους at *Aet. mu.* 73 τὸν γὰρ τελειότατον ὁρατῶν περίβολον καὶ τοὺς ἐν μέρει περιέχοντα κληρούχους [this is about the universe and the lesser gods; cf. *Aet. mu.* 10 = Arist., *De phil.* Fr. 18 Rose/Ross and E. Bignone, *L'Aristotele perduto e la formazione filosofico di Epicuro*, II, Firenze ²1973, 141]. In the myth of Er, Plat. *Rep.* X, 617, κλῆροι lie in the lap of Ananke's daughter Lachesis. — If, as I believe, Moira "holding the lots" is identical with the δαίμων ἣ πάντα κυβερνᾷ, it is permissible to quote Lucr. V, 107: "*Fortuna gubernans*", cf. Aesch., *Ag.* 663-4, and, for τύχη in early Greek thought, my diss., 13ff., 20.

[19] W. Burkert, *Das Proömium des Parmenides und die Katabasis des Pythagoras*, in *Phronesis* 1969, [1ff.], 28f., argues convincingly that this is about metempsychosis. An interesting parallel to Simplicius' language is to be found Plut., *An recte*, 1129 F f., where Plutarch interweaves ideas culled from a variety of sources, exploiting them and subordinating them to his general theme that to be known is better than to be unknown: life is a gift of God, before birth man is ἄδηλος, ... ὅταν δὲ γένηται, ... καθίσταται δῆλος ἐξ ἀδήλου καὶ φανερὸς ἐξ ἀφανοῦς (1129 F); εἰς ἀιδὲς καὶ ἀόρατον ἡμῶν ὅταν διαλυθῶμεν βαδίζοντων (see H. D. Betz, *Observations on Some Gnosticizing Passages in Plutarch*, in *Proc. Int. Coll. Gnosticism Stockholm 1973*, Stockholm-Leiden 1977, 169ff.).

Ananke (Necessity), however, not only commands heaven, but is also one of the divine beings that hold Being in fetters (Fr. B8, 20). Can Aëtius' statement — often ignored by scholars — that *cosmic* Ananke is also called Dike (Justice) be justified? There is not, as in the case of Ananke, evidence among the remains of the second part of the poem. In a remarkable passage of the prooemium (Fr. 28B1, more about which shortly), however, Dike is said to guard the Gates of the paths of Night and Day (lines 11-14), which, if one translates the language of myth, means that she has power over the motions of the heavenly bodies;[20] cf. κινήσεως in Aët. II, 1, 7, cited above. This agrees with the function of Ananke in Fr. 28B10. Furthermore, in the same line which states that she guards the Gates, Dike is called "severely punishing" (τῶν [sc. the Gates] δὲ Δίκη πολύποινος ἔχει κληῖδας ἀμοιβούς, line 14). There is a definite suggestion here that Dike's function is not only cosmological, but also — as is only to be expected of Justice — has something to do with men in general. This, again, affords a transition to other epitheta and functions: "holder of allotments" (Aët.) and "she commands over birth" (Parm.) would be apt characteristics of Moira (Destiny), who, like Dike and Ananke, holds Being in its bonds in the first part of the poem (Fr. 28B8, 27; she is the last of the triad to be mentioned there). In the prooemium, the revealing goddess says to the poet-philosopher that it is "not evil destiny" which escorted him hither, but "right and justice" (οὔτε σε μοῖρα κακὴ προὔπεμπε νέεσθαι / τήνδ᾽ ὁδὸν ... / ἀλλὰ θέμις τε δίκη τε, Fr. 28B1, 26-28). "Evil destiny" sounds like a euphemism for death (cf. *Il.* XIII, 603); one is reminded of the "holder of lots" (κληροῦχον) and indeed of the goddess who, as Simplicius has it, sends the souls of men "from the visible towards the *invisible*": for behind the Gates guarded by Dike lies the Palace of *Night!* (Fr. B1, 9-11). "Right and justice" — indeed, it was Justice (Dike) who let him pass through the Gates.[21] "Not an evil destiny" amounts to: a good destiny. Moira has two faces, just as Dike, who is capable both of granting and of denying admission (she has to be persuaded, in the prooemium, to open up). In any case, the Moira which holds Being in its bonds (Fr. 28B8, 17) is not evil.

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[20] Cf. Burkert, ib. 9f., esp. 11: "Dike in ihrer gleichsam astronomischen Funktion"; Pfeiffer, *o.c.*, 54.

There is, indeed, much to be said for the assumption that Justice, Necessity and Destiny are different names for one and the same female divine power, πολλῶν ὀνόματων ἐπώνυμος, which both reigns in the universe and dominates Being.[22] [I would not, today, argue that this divinity is also the revealing goddess.[23]] This, again, strengthens the assumption that divine deception plays a part in the being constituted of the elements, for the only forces capable of *pretending* to slacken the bonds of Being are, precisely, those who hold them. [Also, the fact that this formidable triad is necessary to keep Being fettered perhaps suggests that Being is prone to behave unbeingly — it would be wrong to say unbecomingly — if not closely and forcefully guarded].

What is there about this conception of the origin of the universe that could be called 'Gnostic'? *First*, the idea that the world of heaven and earth and of human life is absolutely inferior when compared to the perfection of Being. *Secondly*, that 'something happened' which made this inferior world and its misguided inhabitants possible: a human error or self-deception, perhaps compounded with a deception or error on the part of the divine; at the very least, divine powers are responsible for the (deceptive) elaboration of the original error. *Thirdly*, that the cosmopoetic powers are shared out among a plurality of divinities. Plato, who in the *Timaeus* spoke of other gods created by the Demiurge which construct, as demiurges of a lower order, our bodies and the mortal parts of our souls,[24] was not the first to propose such a distinction. Parmenides has his cosmogonical goddess create Eros, who undoubtedly further carries out the task (the coupling) she is said to supervise at Fr. 28B12, 6-8, and other functions — not all of them pleasant — will have been delegated to the other created gods. *Fourthly*, the goddess who presides over the combination of the elements, i.e. directs the construction of the world, is placed "in the midst" of what are to be the *heavenly bodies*. If she is indeed the Ananke of Fr. 28B10, it is she who binds the stars to heaven. This makes one think of the part played by the planetary Archons assisting the Gnostic Demiurge; indeed, in some Gnostic systems, the Demiurge as first Archon is put on top of the other seven. *Fifthly*, the goddess "commands" (ἄρχει, Fr. 28B12, 4). This is perhaps an innocuous word, although it has at least clear associations with Anaximander's invention, the *arche* that "surrounds and steers [κυβερνᾶν, cf. Parm. Fr. 28B12, 3] all things" (*Vorsokr.*, Anaxim. Fr. 12B1, A15, A11(1)). In any case, it is also used — perhaps again innocuously — of the subaltern demiurgic gods, among whom are the heavenly bodies, by Plato (*Tim.* 42e, ἄρχειν). However, P. Boyancé, who pointed this out in a very perceptive paper, noted that Plato in two other passages calls the subaltern gods that administrate the world *archontes* (ἄρχοντες, *Plt.* 270d; *Lg.* X, 903b).[25] He also reminds us that the lesser gods in the *Timaeus* are co-responsible for moral evil by constructing the inferior parts of our souls, and for physical evil to the extent that they construct our bodies (although these are the best possible), and he suggests that this distinction between the good Demiurge and the lesser gods prefigures that which, in Gnosticism, operates between the Highest God on the one hand and the Demiurge and Archon on the other.[26] I would, at any rate, be prepared to defend the proposition that Plato's plurality of demiurges, to some extent of course, echoes that of Parmenides whom he very much admired [for the additional echo of Empedocles see below] — even if his First Demiurge, as he came to be called by later writers, is *toto coelo* different from the goddess-in-the-midst-of-the-rings. In any case, in Parmenides, Plato, and the Gnostics, the lower demiurges are created by the first.

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[21] Pfeiffer, *o.c.*, 99, argues that μοῖρα κακὴ and θέμις τε δίκη τε are "formelhaft"; this does not appeal to me, especially because οὔτι ... μοῖρα κακὴ is also to be connected with Fr. 28B1, 24 ὦ κοῦρ' ἀθανάτοισι συνάορος ἡνιόχοισιν. In the company of such immortal guides, the obstacles of mortality are overcome.

[22] Cf. e.g. W.K.C. Guthrie, *Hist. Gr. Phil.*, II, Cambridge 1965, 72; W.J. Verdenius, *Der Logosbegriff bei Heraklit und Parmenides*, II, in *Phronesis* 1967, [99ff.], 100f.; Mourelatos, *o.c.*, 25f.; some scholars, as the present writer in his diss., include the revealing goddess. [It is noteworthy that in Empedocles' *Katharmoi* it is Ananke who has given the "oracle" which is also "an ancient decree voted by the gods" according to which the divinity (*daimon*) who sins by killing is condemned to metempsychosis (*Vorsokr.* Fr. 31B115, 1-2; cf. below, p. 284). G. Zuntz, *Persephone*, Oxford 1972, 403, points out that Empedocles' Ananke derives from Parmenides'. This would support our identification of the goddess at Parm. Fr. 28B12, Simpl., *In phys.*, *loc. cit.*, etc.].

[23] I accept the argument of my critics (Burkert, in *Phronesis* 1969, 13; Pfeiffer, *o.c.*, 103f.; Ch. H. Kahn, in *Gnomon* 1970, 113f.).

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[24] *Tim.* 41aff.

[25] *Dieu cosmique et dualisme. Les archontes et Platon*, in *Origini* (SHR XII), Leiden 1967, [340ff.], 353-4. [On the Archons see now K. Rudolph, *Die Gnosis*, Göttingen 1978, 66, 75, 82, 111f.]. Solmsen's otherwise excellent analysis, *o.c.*, 480ff. = 339ff., puts insufficient emphasis upon the distinction between Plato's Demiurge and his lesser gods.

Yet Parmenides' universe, however wrong it may be from an epistemological and ontological point of view, is still the best of possible worlds. This constitutes a radical difference with Gnosticism. Not only each of the elements separately, but also the cosmos as a whole share in at least some of the fundamental characteristics of Being.[27] The information concerning the world which Parmenides is to receive is the best available (Fr. 28B8, 61). What is more, Parmenides really is a man with a scientific purpose; he systematically explains everything, from astronomical phenomena (Fr. 28B10, B11, B14, B15, B15a) down to the determination of the sex of infants in the womb (Fr. 28B17, B18). Presumably, we should say that the world, such as it is, constitutes the best possible mistake. On the other hand, there is not, in Parmenides, as there is in the *Timaeus*, a gradual lessening of perfection, a clear continuity from the highest to the lowest things. In Parmenides, there is and remains a gap between the encapsulated ball of Being and the universe, for all his and our efforts to bridge it. The fundamental question: how can this mistake, i.e. this universe, have happened, cannot be silenced. The reference to a mistake made by men and to divine deceit is not exactly rational. The ideas of error, and of a gap between our world and what lies beyond, powerfully remind one of Gnostic thought.

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[26] *O.c.*, 355-6. Boyancé, however, tends to play down the difference between Plato's splendid Demiurge and that of the Gnostics. *Tim.* 42e, ἔμενεν ἐν τῷ ἑαυτοῦ κατὰ τρόπον ἤθει is not "négatif": Plot., *Enn.* V 4 [7], 2, describes the One in terms borrowed from precisely this passage.

[27] Each element is identical with itself, Fr. 28B8, 57-8; for Being, cf. B8, 29, 49. The universe is a *plenum*, Fr. B9, 3; for Being, cf. B8, 24. See further my diss., 134ff., 151f.; Verdenius, *Parm.*, 46ff., and in *Phronesis* 1967, 116f.; Burkert, in *Phronesis* 1969, 15; A.P.D. Mourelatos, *Heraclitus, Parmenides, and the Naive Metaphysics of Things*, in *Exegesis and Argument* (Festschr. Vlastos), Assen 1973, [16ff.], 42.

There is, I would say, a *sixth* element in the thought of Parmenides which may be pondered in connection with Gnosticism.[28] The poem, as we have seen, for the most part consists of a revelation; the prooemium describes the poet's journey to the revealing goddess, and tells us how she receives him. This journey may be read as going either in the upward direction towards some sort of heavenly region or as being directed towards the mythically remote ends of heaven and earth.[29] However this may be, the revelation itself, as I argued in my dissertation, should at any rate be taken seriously,[30] although it is not, as I would now like to add, a revelation pure and simple. The goddess is not just to be believed on her word; on the contrary, she offers rational arguments one is to judge for oneself (e.g. Fr. 28B7, 4-5).[31] For all that, the prooemium describes what looks like — or is meant, seriously, to look like — a real experience. We start *in medias res*, when the poet is already on his way on the "path of the goddess" (ὁδὸν ... δαίμονος,[32] Fr. 28B1, 2-3), "far away from the walks of men", as the revealing goddess affirms when she welcomes the poet (Fr. 28B1, 27). Undoubtedly, the philosopher-poet has been chosen c.q. is destined to receive his revelation (Fr. 28B1, 26-28; B8, 61). In a way, the extraordinary things which happen here remind one of the Gnostic 'Ruf',[33] for instance of the opening scene of the *Poimandres*.

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[28] The attempt was already made by H. Leisegang, *Die Gnosis*, Stuttgart ^{4}1955, 364, though rather unsatisfactorily; besides, he unnecessarily called the prooemium 'Orphic'.

[29] Upwards: cf. my diss., 244f.; Pfeiffer, *o.c.*, 52f., 57ff. Catabasis: J.S. Morrison, *Parmenides and Er*, in *JHS* 1955, 59ff. To the remote ends of heaven, earth and Hades: Burkert, in *Phronesis* 1969, 1ff. [Note that Er, who has to return to mankind as ἄγγελος to tell what he has seen, travels to a place where heaven and earth and underworld are very near to one another; cf. also Hes., *Th.* 736-57]. Pfeiffer points out that Dike is one of the Horai (Hes., *Th.* 901f.) and that, in Homer, these ladies guard the Gates of Heaven (*Il.* V, 749f.); Burkert's parallels are equally impressive. What today, on the umpteenth reading of the prooemium, strikes me most of all is the contrast between (a) the clarity of the technical details (moving wheels, opening Gates) and (b) the majestic vagueness of the topography. I admit (or rather still believe) that Fr. B1, 11 ἔνθα πύλαι refers to the vicinity of the Palace of Night (ib., line 9), but one cannot be sure where exactly is this Palace. One is lead to believe that the precision concerning the technical details is somehow effective and compels acceptance of the other paraphernalia. In fairy-tales, too, some details can be very precise and realistic. In the words of Aristotle, *De phil.* Fr. 15 Ross (Synes.): Ἀ. ἀξιοῖ τοὺς τελουμένους οὐ μαθεῖν τι δεῖν ἀλλὰ παθεῖν καὶ διατεθῆναι, δηλονότι γενομένους ἐπιτηδείους. — R.J. Clark, *Catabasis: Virgil and the Wisdom-Tradition*, Amsterdam 1979, 33f. and n. 49, puts "Parmenides' ... experience" into the class of 'exstatic', not into that of 'catabatic' journeys ("a kind of astral travel ... by a person's projected self"), but does not enter into the interpretative difficulties of the prooemium; it is useful to realize, however, that Parmenides belongs to what Clark calls the "wisdom-tradition".

[30] Diss., 247; 251 (for what I really should have said see Pfeiffer, *o.c.*, 148 n. 0). Cf. Burkert, in *Phronesis* 1969, 15f. Pfeiffer, *o.c.*, 149, argues that the prooemium is a "literarische Fiktion", one of his reasons being that the poet uses traditional language and imagery; if this were true, no writer of love poems should be believed to have ever been in love. I note that ib., 144-5, Pfeiffer says: "Es ist richtig, dass Parmenides die Epiphanie einer Göttin erlebt haben muss".

The Gates of Day and Night at the borders of the universe[34] guarded by Dike through which the poet passes remind one of the central Gnostic tenet that the soul, on its way upwards, has to pass through each of the gates guarded by the Archons.[35] These Archons have to be persuaded. Also Dike has to be persuaded: the Daughters of Sun who are Parmenides' companions and guides speak to her "with gentle arguments and knowingly persuade her" (τὴν δὴ παρφάμεναι ... μαλακοῖσι λογοῖσι / πεῖσαν ἐπιφραδέως, Fr. 28B1, 15-16). We are not told what it is that they say, but the implication is clear: they know *what* they have to say. This is a remarkable incident, which, to the best of my knowledge, has not been the subject of scholarly inquiry. In a way, what happens is normal: whoever wants to pass closed and guarded doors must identify himself or even know the password. Here, however, we have not a normal situation. The only parallel I know from early Greek literature is to be found in the texts of the so-called Orphic grave-amulets which, perhaps, had better be called

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[31] See Verdenius, in *Phronesis* 1967, 99f.; Pfeiffer, *o.c.*, 135, 145.

[32] Burkert, in *Phronesis* 1969, 4f. Is this *daimon* the many-named divinity again? — For parallels of "the road of the goddess" see Verdenius, *Parm.*, 66.

[33] See R. Haardt, *Die Gnosis. Wesen und Zeugnisse*, Salzburg 1967, 11; W. Foerster, *Die Gnosis* I, *Zeugnisse der Kirchenväter*, Zürich/Stuttgart 1969, 8f.; Rudolph, *Die Gnosis*, 137f.

[34] According to Aët. II 7, 1 (*Vorsokr.* Fr. 28A37, I p. 224, 5) the firmament constructed during cosmogony lies round all things "like a Wall" (τείχους δίκην). Although the topography of the prooemium, as befits a mythopoetic context (see above, n. 29), is vague, I still like to think that there may be a connection between Dike's Gates and this Wall.

[35] Rudolph, *o.c.*, 186f.; S. R. C. Lilla, *Clement of Alexandria*, Oxford 1971, 177, 182.

Bacchic,[36] but there the guardians who have to be persuaded by correct words do not guard gates.[37] There are, however, early Egyptian parallels for gates in the Nether World to the guardians of which the soul has to say certain things;[38] these parallels have been adduced to explain the scene depicted in the Greek grave tablets (where, as we saw, there are no gates). Perhaps Parmenides took the motif of the *mot de passe* from such Orphic-Bacchic examples and transposed it to his Gates; perhaps he had some information about Egyptian lore. This must remain speculation. The parallel with what is found in Gnostic thought is not less surprising for this reason, even if — as is, on the whole, the most probable explanation — the Gnostics took over their plurality of gates from Egyptian religion, transposing them from the Nether World to the Heavens.

There is one detail which I have reserved up till now, since it makes the most immediately 'Gnostic' impression of all and certainly, I dare say, would have appealed to any Gnostic who happened to read the text. In the very first lines, the travelling poet is designated as "a man who knows" (εἰδότα φῶτα, Fr. 28B1,3). Burkert has argued impressively in favour of the thesis of Diels and Jaeger that what is meant by these words is an "initiated person".[39] I still do not know that this is correct, since the goddess elsewhere calls men "mortals knowing nothing", a traditional epitheton[40] with no obvious reference to whatever mysteries (βροτοὶ εἰδότες οὐδέν, Fr. 28B6, 4). There is nothing mysterious, i.e. secret, about the revelation, once received, either: Parmenides 'publishes' a poem, which may be read by anyone who is interested; he is not the founder of a religion or of a sect. Furthermore, "the man who knows" is given this qualification *before* he had heard what the goddess has to say,[41] i.e., if one speaks in terms of mysteries, he is called 'initiated' before he has been initiated. Or should we perhaps think of some sort of lesser preliminary initiation, as at Eleusis? This would amount to what may be simplest solution of all, viz. that the traveller has been told or has understood what is his destination,[42] which by no means implies that he would be able to get there on his own or that he already knows what he will experience when he will have arrived.[43] For this reason, a 'Gnostic' interpretation of εἰδότα φῶτα must be excluded; the 'Gnostic' aspects of the prooemium should be limited to the possible association with the 'Ruf' and to the little conversation at the Gates.

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[36] Splendidly edited by Zuntz, *o.c.*, 275ff. A few years after his book had been published a new tablet was found, the earliest so far (c. 400 B.C.); see G. Pugliese Carratelli, *Par. di Pass.* 1974, 108ff.; M. West, *ZPE* 1975, 229ff.; Pugliese Carratelli, *Par. di Pass.* 1975, 226ff.; G. Zuntz, *WS* 1976, 129ff. There is a fascinating treatment of all of them by W. Burkert, *Le laminette auree: da Orfeo a Lampone*, in: *Atti 14. Convegno Magna Grecia*, Napoli 1975, 83ff. In his *Griech. Religion der archaischen und klassischen Epoche*, Stuttgart etc. 1977, 432-51, a survey of Orphism and related phenomena, Burkert now appears to believe that the "laminette auree' are Bacchic.

[37] In the Hipponion poem, line 7f., there are φύλακες (of the cold water of Memory) who have to be persuaded by the soul, who identifies itself, to let it drink. This is paralleled in two other tablets (Zuntz, Nr. B 1 and B 2), whereas the others only contain the little speech of the soul (ib., Nr. B3-B8). A related motif, perhaps, is that of the ἄνδρες ... ἄγριοι, διάπυροι ἰδεῖν, παρεστῶτες at the bellowing mouth of the chasm of hell at *Rep.* X, 615d-e, who grab tyrants and such-like people; cf. J. Kroll, *Gott und Hölle*, Leipzig-Berlin 1932, 91 n. 3. [There is at least some association between Dike's Gates and the πύλαι ᾽Αΐδαο]. — For the Gates of Heaven in earlier Greek literature see Pfeiffer, *o.c.*, 67f. and for those to the Nether World the — somewhat slovenly — survey in B. Haarløv, *The Half-Open Door*, Odense 1977, 57ff. — H. Diels, *Ein Orphischer Totenpass*, in *Philotesia* (Festschr. P. Kleinert), Berlin 1907, [41ff.], who is skeptical as to the validity of the Egyptian parallel (43 n. 3), aptly characterizes this type of document as a "Reisepass", but does not dwell on the fact that the more extensive texts start with a "Reiseführer". The analogy between the Orphic/Bacchic tablets and the Gnostic texts about the voyage of the soul was noticed by R. Crahay, *Éléments d'une mythopée gnostique dans la Grèce classique*, in *Origini* [323ff.], 331: "le thème des 'gardes' qui n'accordent le passage de retour qu'aux âmes préalablement instruites".

[38] *The Book of the Dead* and other texts, cf. Zuntz, *Pers.*, 370f., and P. Boyancé, *Le culte des Muses chez les philosophes Grecs*, Paris 1936, ²1972, 79, who refers to earlier literature.

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[39] H. Diels, *Parmenides' Lehrgedicht*, Berlin 1897, 49; W. Jaeger, *Die Theologie der frühen griechischen Denker*, Stuttgart 1963, 116; Burkert, in *Phronesis* 1969, 5, who adds that the revealing goddess is anonymous (just θεά, Fr. 28B1, 22), as the gods often are in the context of the mysteries. His other parallel, however, Athena, "für die Athener ... ἡ θεὸς schlechthin" shows that there is no necessary link between this form of anonymity and mysteries. — If any 'initiation' is suggested in B1, we, its readers, are also 'initiated' by reading it (cf. above, n. 29).

[40] See my diss., 3f.

[41] Ib., 227f.; Pfeiffer, *o.c.*, 79ff.

[42] Pfeiffer's argument *contra* (*o.c.*, 79), viz. that if Parmenides knew what his destination was he would also know how to get there is weak, as everyone who has travelled will testify. Parmenides may have been told by his guides where they would go, or he may have inferred this when he recognized them for the daughters of Sun and the chariot as Sun's, too. — The idea that one knows where one is going and still may be needing some help can be paralleled from the gold leaves: the longer texts of Zuntz's B-group and the Hipponion text begin with a little Baedeker of the underworld (no personal escort here).

[43] My former interpretation of Fr. 28B1, 3 (*o.c.*, 227f.) can no longer be upheld, since it has been proved that there is no ms. support for ἄστη. Pfeiffer's interpretation, *o.c.*, 99ff., is to be rejected for the same reason.

However, are not revelation and 'Entrückung' fairly universal phenomena in religious or religiously coloured literature? Indeed, if only the prooemium could be taken into account, it would be otiose to consider Parmenides in the present investigation. However, in combination with the other 'Gnostic' aspects of Parmenides' thought, the 'Gnostic' associations evoked by the prooemium become relevant. There are differences, of course, apart from those already spelled out above; if the divinity which permets and favours the poet's journey (the *daimon* of Fr. 28B1, 3? Dike? Moira?) is also responsible for what has gone on and still does on in the universe, this benevolence is different from the attitude of the Gnostic Demiurge *qua* god of the world, although the dissimilarity partly vanishes if the persuasion-scene is taken seriously: we have noticed that Dike needs to be persuaded, just as a Gnostic Archon needs to be. Furthermore, the 'Ruf', just as in Gnosticism,[44] comes from a divinity other than that which dominates the universe, if indeed we may consider the Daughters of Helios, who have left the House of Night to which they return together with the poet, to be the messengers of the revealing goddess; they are not, of course, themselves 'Erlöser' in the sense that they also instruct the poet about the truth. A sort of special act of grace appears to be necessary in Parmenides' case, just as in Gnosticism; that this is at issue has, in both cases, to be accepted by those less privileged mortals who only have access to their prophets' words.

I am far too ignorant to risk posing as a structuralist. On the other hand, the notion of 'structure' in the sense of a coordinative pattern assembling a variety of elements is a heuristically useful one. The 'Gnostic' elements in Parmenides are perhaps insignificant when viewed in isolation, but the configuration which keeps them together is strikingly evocative. Hence a knowledge of Gnosticism may afford some help to those who try to understand Parmenides' difficult thought, even if, in Parmenides, what is beyond the universe is the only Thing that can be really known, whereas, in Gnosticism, the God beyond is cognitively largely unaccessible and *gnosis* is mostly concerned with the drama which resulted in the origin of the universe and in our banishment thereto, and with the way back. [Note, however, that most of the terms used by Parmenides to describe Being (Fr. 28B8) are negative].

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[44] Rudolph, *Die Gnosis*, 136ff.

3. *Empedocles*

I have argued that Parmenides' explanation of the origin and condition of the universe is not a rationally satisfactory one. Indeed, much of subsequent Presocratic natural philosophy can be explained as a search for better answers to Parmenides cosmological question. This story has often been told,[45] and it need not concern us here; moreover, Anaxagoras, Leucippus, Democritus and Archelaus are not cosmological pessimists. However, there is also the strange and fascinating figure of Empedocles, who, like Parmenides, is a man from Western Greece. He, like the others, follows in the footsteps of the great Eleatic; unlike that of the others, however, his solution to Parmenides' puzzle is, in parts, 'Gnostic' (in other parts definitely not).

Empedocles, as will be familiar, introduced the concept of a cosmic cycle forever repeating itself. It used to be believed that this cycle is a double one and that Empedocles' moving principles, Love and Hate, are by turns responsible for a cosmogony and a zoogony; there would be two 'opposite' worlds. The fragments in *Vorsokr.* have been disposed so as to suit this assumption. Today, a majority of scholars (among whom the present writer) is convinced that the cycle is not double, viz. that there is no cosmogony of Love just as there is no zoogony of Hate.[46]

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[45] Cf. Guthrie, *o.c.* (subtitled: *The Presocratic Tradition from Parmenides to Democritus*).

[46] For the obsolete *communis opinio* see e.g. Kirk-Raven, *The Presocratic Philosophers*, Cambridge ^{2}1960, 326ff. *Contra*: F. Solmsen, *Love and Strife in Empedocles' Cosmology*, in *Phron.* 1965, 109ff., repr. in *Kl. Schr.* I, 274ff., and in D.J. Furley-R.E. Allen, *Studies in Greek Philosophy*, II, London 1975, 221ff.; U. Hölscher, *Weltzeiten und Lebenszyklen*, in *Hermes* 1965, 7ff., repr. w. add.; in: *Anfängliches Fragen*, Göttingen 1968, 173ff.; J. Bollack, *Empédocle*, I, Paris 1965, II-III (Paris 1969); and already H. von Arnim, *Die Weltperioden des Empedokles*, in *Festschr. Gomperz*, Wien 1902, 16ff. See further H. Hoffman-Loss, *Die Wiedergabe der empedokleischen Physik durch Aristoteles*, diss. Göttingen 1966; J.C. Luth, *Die Struktur des Wirklichen*

Aristotle is quite peremptory: "he leaves out the [sc. cosmogony] under Love" (παραλείπει τὴν [sc. τοῦ κόσμου γένεσιν] ἐπὶ τῆς Φιλότητος, *Cael.* Γ 2, 301a15f. = *Vorsokr.* Fr. 31A42). The ancient evidence — verbal fragments, doxography — as distinct from ancient interpretation only allows for one cosmogony, viz. that of Hate.

Empedocles 'corrects' Parmenides by elevating his own (four) elements to the status of Being. In one stage of the cycle, the four have been thoroughly mingled by Love in the great god Sphairos; this god is then destroyed by Hate (Fr. 31B26-B28; Fr. B30-B31). In this way, the great cosmic masses are separated and made to occupy the sections of the universe where they are now. I cite some passages: Arist., *Met.* A, 4, 985a24f. = *Vorsokr.* Fr. 31A37, I, 290, 18f. — the less suspect in that Aristotle here is *criticizing* Empedocles for making *Hate perform a task* (sc. agglomeration) *which*, properly speaking according to Aristotle, *should be that of Love*:[47] "at any rate, ...

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im empedokleischen System, Meisenheim/Gl. 1969; J. Mansfeld, *Ambiguity in Empedocles B17, 3-5*, in *Phronesis* 1972, 17ff. Guthrie, *o.c.*, 167ff., ably presents the earlier orthodoxy, which is capably defended also by D. O'Brien, *Empedocles' Cosmic Cycle*, Cambridge 1969; and now again by J. Barnes, *The Presocratic Philosophers*, 2, London 1979, 6ff., in an 'ideal' reconstruction not much based on Empedoclean texts. W. Burkert, rev. Bollack II-III, in *Gnom.* 1972, [433ff.], 441, does not defend the theory of opposite worlds but suggests that there may be minor oscillations during the cycle, a view I accept (see below, p. 284). A.A. Long, *Empedocles' Cosmic Cycle in the Sixties*, in Mourelatos, *Presocr.*, 397ff., argues — mainly against O'Brien — in favour of a single cycle.

[47] Aristotle's criticism (also voiced by him elsewhere) that Empedocles is inconsistent in that he makes Hate unite [viz. parts of one and the same element] and Love destroy [viz. the compound beings in the universe when all things become Sphairos] has impressed too many scholars, e.g. still Long, *o.c.*, who tries to account for the agglomeration of parts of one element in terms of Love and so gives Love a share in the cosmogony of Hate. There is no inconsistency in Empedocles, however, as long as one accepts that Love only combines *different* elements and Hate separates from one another *different* elements only (on *Vorsokr.* Fr. 31B22 see the end of this n.). At *GC* II 6, 333b12, moreover, Aristotle, because his criticism has for the moment shifted its focus, is quite unambiguous: ... ἡ φιλία καὶ τὸ νεῖκος· συγκρίσεως γὰρ μόνον [sc. φιλία], τὸ δὲ [sc. νεῖκος] διακρίσεως αἰτίον. When, a few lines later, he says (b 20f. = *Vorsokr.* Fr. 31A40) καίτοι τά γε στοιχεῖα διακρίνει οὐ τὸ νεῖκος ἀλλ᾽ ἡ φιλία τὰ φύσει πρότερα τοῦ θεοῦ, his critical point is again that also found at *Met.* 985a24f., cited in the text, viz. that it should really be Love which unites each element with itself (less likely e.g. M. Migliori, *ad loc.*, *Aristotele. La Generazione e la Corruzione*, Napoli 1976). — From *Vorsokr.* Fr. 31B22 four things follow: (1), lines 1-3: the relation of each separate element to its parts is a spontaneous one, independent of Love; (2), lines 4-5: compounds have been formed by Love, and those which have been

Hate often combines, because whenever *the Whole is separated into the elements by Hate*, fire and each of the other elements are agglomerated into a unity" (cf. also *Cael.* B, 13, 295a29f.). There is a description of this process in Aët. II, 6, 3 = *Vorsokr.* Fr. 31A49 (cf. also Phil., *De prov.* II, 60 = *Vorsokr.*, ib.) and in ps.-Plut., *Strom.* ap. Euseb., *PE* I, 8, 10 = *Vorsokr.* Fr. 31A30. From these passages it is clear that during the process of separation also the heavenly bodies [about which Empedocles, by the way, had some curious ideas] are formed (*Vorsokr.* I, 288, 25f., cf. especially what is said there about the moon, consisting of air which has been "left by" fire; 292, 19f., 30f.). From Fr. 31B35, 8-10, where we have the poet's own words, it is clear that even while Love, in the centre, has already begun to combine elemental parts so as to create living beings, the rest of the elements is still kept "aloof" by Hate, who by no means has left the whole of the cosmic mass.[48] Love, on the other hand, is only responsible for the gradual

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made rather like one another feel attracted to one another; (3), lines 5-6, compounds which have not been made like one another hate one another, because of (4), lines 7-8: the original aversion of the elements vis-a-vis one another dating from their original separation by Hate. Now, (1) and (2) are both concerned with the attraction of like to like, (1) in the case of uncompounded elemental parts, and (2) in the case of compounds — but only (2) is a case of Love; (3) and (4) are both concerned with the aversion of unlike from unlike, (3) in the case of compounds, and (4) in the case of uncompounded elements. There is a beautiful symmetry of thought in these lines [for a good interpretation in terms of the old orthodoxy see C.W. Müller, *Gleiches zu Gleichem. Ein Prinzip frühgriechischen Denkens*, Wiesbaden 1965, 34ff.]. — For the 'spontaneous' behaviour of the elements cf. Müller, *o.c.*, 29; see also Verdenius, *Parm.* 24, on the fact that in Empedocles all of nature, i.e. also the elements, is sentient (and ib., 27f.), and esp. *Hylozoism in Early Greek Thought*, in *Symposium. Hooykaas and the History of Science*, Utrecht 1977, [25ff.], 32.

[48] *Empedocles'* cosmogony, i.e. the change from Sphairos to the separation of the elements by the intervention of Hate (inclusive of the distribution of the heavenly bodies!) is sung by 'Orpheus' in Apollonius Rhodius, *Arg.* I 496ff. = *Orph.* Fr. 29 Kern, *Vorsokr.* Fr. 1B16 [air is not mentioned, and the more poetic "earth and heaven and sea" replace the elements, cf. F. Bömer on Ovid, *Met.* I 22 (*P. Ovidius Naso, Metamorphosen*, Komm. I-III, Heidelberg 1969, p. 25)]:

Ἤειδεν δ᾽ ὡς γαῖα καὶ οὐρανὸς ἠδὲ θάλασσα
τὸ πρὶν ἐπ᾽ ἀλλήλοισι μιῇ συναρηρότα μορφῇ
νείκεος ἐξ ὀλοοῖο διέκριθεν ἀμφὶς ἕκαστα
ἠδ᾽ ὡς ἔμπεδον αἰὲν ἐν αἰθέρι τέκμαρ ἔχουσιν
ἄστρα σεληναίη τε καὶ ἠελίοιο κέλευθοι·

This, again, is followed by what must be the result of a first mingling of elements in the centre; [note that, in Empedocles (Plut., *De pr. frig.* 953 E = *Vorsokr.* Fr. 31A69) *mountains* are thrown up by fire in the earth, etc.]:

return of things to the *status quo ante* in Sphairos; this implies that its responsibility for the present condition of things *in the cosmos* is minimal, its only contribution being that parts of other elements (esp. fire) "dive" into the earth (Fr. 31B54; B52; A68). On the one hand, this provides Love with the materials indispensable to zoogony; on the other, and simultaneously, this is a prelude to the final reunion of all things in Sphairos which will destroy the cosmos created by Hate, and also Love's own creatures. Meanwhile, Love's primary occupation is the creation of parts of living beings and then of whole living beings, by combining elemental pieces (Fr. 31B35; B57-B98).

Empedocles' solution to Parmenides' riddle is twofold. For one thing, the distinction between the universe and Being is abolished in as far the elements themselves constitute Being, a Being periodically united

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(continued): οὔρεα δ᾽ ὡς ἀνέτειλε καὶ ὡς ποταμοὶ κελάδοντες
αὐτῇσι νύμφῃσι καὶ ἕρπετα πάντ᾽ ἐγένοντο.

This passage has been neglected by recent students of Empedocles (not in Bollack; O'Brien, *o.c.*, 322-3, only adduces it to parallel Empedocles' use of caesurae and the incantatory effect of his poetry!). *Vorsokr.* ad Fr. 1 ('Orpheus') B16 cryptically states that Ap. Rhod. I, 496-502 are "aus Empedokles, nicht aus d. Orphica (Schol.)"; cf. also E. Bignone, *Empedocle* (Torino 1916, Roma ^{2}1963), 588-9 n., who acknowledges the Empedoclean echo (νεῖκος), but states that I, 496-8 also echoes Eurip. Fr. 488, 2-3 ^{2}Nauck (*Vorsokr.* Fr. 59 — Anaxagoras — A62), ὡς οὐρανός τε γαῖά τ᾽ ἦν μορμὴ μία· / ἐπεὶ δ᾽ ἐχωρίσθησαν ἀλλήλων δίχα; note, however, that in Euripides not only (θάλασσα and) συναρηρότα are absent, but also, conspicuously, νεῖκος. Kern *ad loc.*, 99f., says: "*Vs. 496-502 Empedoclei sunt (v. Schol.)*" [presumably, the source of Kranz' remark], but the scholia, which he prints, are confused, that to I, 498 attributing the διάκρισις to both Hate and Love; cf. W. Spoerri, *Späthellenistische Berichte über Welt, Kultur und Götter*, Basel 1959, 49: "bei Apollonios (erfolgt) die διάκρισις der Grundstoffe durch den Neikos. Falsch ist deshalb die Deutung der Scholien". H. Fränkel, *Noten zu den Argonautika des Apollonios*, München 1968, 77, comments: "Der empedokleische Einschlag in dieser Kosmogonie beschränkt sich auf das weltweite Wirken des νεῖκος; die Gegenkraft φιλία fehlt. Wäre hier das Paar vollständig, so würde die Theorie für Orpheus anachronistisch sein". One wonders, however, if Neikos alone is not already sufficiently anachronistic. It should be noticed, moreover, that the sketchy theogony which follows ["*unde* ... *hauserit obscurum*", Kern; Fränkel suggests Hesiod as a remote example. For theogony following upon cosmogony cf. Plat., *Tim.* 40d-41a, with in the theogony itself a possible reference to Orpheus and Musaeus: *Vorsokr.* Fr. 1B8 = Orph. Fr. 16 Kern] and which similarly emphasizes the action of disruptive forces (war among the gods), only *intimates* that the reign of Zeus changes things. This explains why Love is not mentioned at Ap. Rhod. I, 500-1. Orpheus sings because he wants to compose a quarrel. The lack of explicitness as to to the influence of love [cosmogony] and law [theogony] in the whole passage is poetically most effective.

For other echoes of Empedocles in Ap. Rhod. see below, n. 62.

in Sphairos, whereas Parmenides' Ball of Being was permanent. For another, the origin of the universe (less perfect than Sphairos!) is *explained* by the intervention of a pernicious force, Hate (Fr. 31B17, 19 Νεῖκος ... οὐλόμενον), the antagonist of Love. In Parmenides, the origin of the universe is *not* explained in a rationally acceptable way, for human error and divine deception as causes still conflict with the idea that Being is permanently inviolate; in Empedocles, the ball of Sphairos is periodically and understandably violated. Yet there are definite links between Empedocles' moving principles Love and Hate and what can be found in Parmenides. His Love is the direct successor to the coupling goddess of Parm. Fr. 28B12 and to the subordinate Eros of Fr. 28B13. Now Arist., *Met.* A 3-4, 984b 20-985 b 10 (cf. ib., 985 a 29-31), in his comparison of the "moving cause" as formulated by Hesiod and Parmenides on the one hand[49] and by Empedocles on the other, suggests that Empedocles, the first to introduce duality in the moving cause, *added* Hate to Parmenides' Eros. This is not wholly correct, for (a) — as Plutarch pointed out already[50] — there is, in Parmenides, a 'moving cause' superior to Eros, and (b), according to Cicero, there were, apart from the supreme God of the universe, also gods such as Love and Hate (*Cupiditas* and *Discordia*, which translate φιλία and νεῖκος[51]) in Parmenides' world. In Parmenides, both Love and Hate are subordinate to a superior divinity; in Empedocles, they are themselves supreme. I have argued above that there is, perhaps, a sort of duality in the Parmidean goddess Dike-Ananke-Moira, not only in the sense that she operates both in the sphere of Being and in that of the universe, but also in that her cosmic activity is both favourable and unfavourable;[52] the idea of this duality may have influenced Empedocles as well. Significantly, however, Empedocles demotes Ananke to a lower status, viz. to that of a divinity only operating inside a world: Fr. 31B116, from the *Katharmoi*, opposes Charis and Ananke.[53]

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[49] Cf. above, n. 15, n. 16, and text thereto.

[50] Cf. Martin, *o.c.*, 64f.

[51] See above, n. 13. For *discordia* = νεῖκος and *cupiditas* = ἔρως cf. A.S. Pease on Cic., *ND* II 28, p. 223f. For *discordia* = νεῖκος and *amicitia* = φιλότης cf. Cic., *Lael.* 24: "*Agrigentinum quidem doctum quendam virum carminibus Graecis vaticinatum ferunt, quae in rerum natura totoque mundo constarent, quaeque moverentur, ea contrahere amicitiam, dissipare discordiam*" (passage not in *Vorsokr.*, Bollack, O'Brien). For *Discordia* as Empedoclean Νεῖκος in Ennius' *Annales* (266f. + 521f. Vahlen) see E. Norden, *Ennius und Vergilius*, Berlin 1915, Stuttgart ^{2}1966, 10ff., esp. 12f., and E. Bignone, *Ennio ed Empedocle*, in *RFIC* 1929, 10ff., repr. in *Studi sul pensiero antico*, Napoli 1938, Roma ^{2}1965. Norden had argued, however, that the *body* of Discordia consists of the four elements in equal portions ("*cui par imber et ignis, spiritus et gravis terra*"); Bignone points out that this recalls Love, not Hate, and suggests, correctly no doubt [see also Kranz, *Vorsokr.* I, p. 498, 38f.], that *Vorsokr.* Fr. 31B17, 18-19 should be compared. L.M. Oostenbroek, *Eris und Discordia. Zur Entwicklungsgeschichte der ennianischen Zwietracht*, diss. Leiden 1977, 67, again follows Norden, but does not answer Bignone's arguments. For *Empedocles*, Norden's translation is out of the question.

Thus, Empedocles really speaks of a divinity that creates the *physical universe* — a Demiurge, to borrow the later terminus technicus[54] —, and an evil one at that; see Arist., *o.c.*, 985a6f., τὸ δὲ νεῖκος [sc. αἰτίαν] τῶν κακῶν — *also* in the cosmogonical sense, ib., 985 a 24-27, 29-31. The demiurgic function of Love is restricted to attracting a few parts of the other elements to the earth and to creating the *world of living beings*. This division of labour points ahead, in a striking way, to that in Plato's *Timaeus*, where it is the Demiurge who builds the universe and where lesser gods construct the bodies of living beings (see below, p. 296f., for the tremendous differences between Empedocles and Plato).[55] If we look back to Permenides, we may state that, in Empedocles as in Parmenides, the world we inhabit is inferior to another, perfect condition of things. There is no longer, however, a puzzling gap between Being and the universe, but a real and only temporary rupture caused by a definite and identifiable force. Empedocles' cosmology, unlike Parmenides', has no need of being deceptive (*Vorsokr.* Fr. 31B17, 26).[7]

Hate, then, is a 'Gnostic' element in Empedocles' thought. For all that, his world-view is largely un-'Gnostic': there is a cycle, i.e. the process repeats itself *in perpetuum*, and thus there is, in the poem *On Nature* at least, a clear balance between the forces of good and evil. Surprisingly, our bodies, being the work of Love, are good, even if human life in general, just as in Parmenides, is depicted in morose terms (Fr. 31B2; cf. Fr. B15, Fr. B62, 1).

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[52] Above, p. 265f., p. 269f.

[53] Χαρίς ... στύγεει δύστλητον Ἀνάγκην, "as Neikos is countered by Philia" (Zuntz, *o.c.*, 404). For the oracle of Ananke see below, p. 286.

[54] Cf. U. Bianchi, *Origini*, 338; *Selected Essays* (SHR XXXVIII), Leiden 1978, 52. In a way, the term is not good, because Hate is destructive, not creative: only Love creates, i.e. is a Demiurge. It is the work of Love which is formally compared to that of artists (*Vorsokr.* Fr. 31B23).

[55] Solmsen, *Kl. Schr.* I, 480, says "the range of activities given to ... [Plato's] Demiurge is large enough to embrace ... the manipulations of Empedocles' Cypris"; but Cypris' (Love's) task is only to a very limited extent that of the Demiurge and much more that of the lesser gods.

In the *Purifications*[56] (much influenced by Pythagoreanism: metempsychosis, vegetarianism) the emphasis upon man's unhappy lot is much stronger. A *daimon* speaks, who long ago put his trust in mad Hate, *killed*, and was exiled for thirty thousand seasons during which he was condemned to take on one body after another and to wander from one element to another; all hated him and threw him out (Fr. 31B124; B139). There is a lesson here for humanity, for men themselves have been produced by feuds and laments (Fr. 31B124). Men go on *killing*, not knowing that human souls have been imprisoned in the animals that are sacrified (Fr. 31B137, B136). The Golden Age of Love, without bloodshed, lies far back (Fr. 31B128). It looks as if, for the time being, Love's progress towards final reunification (known from the physical poem) has been arrested by Hate, who is assisted by human agency.[57] Men should at once change their ways; there is salvation in vegetarianism and in abstaining from certain plants (Fr. 31B136, B140, B141, B144, B145).

It is perhaps an insoluble question whether Empedocles called the souls of *all* men *daimones*;[58] some, at least, were, for it would be captious to deny that the "I" who tells us about his adventures during metempsychosis is also the "I" who writes a letter to his friends at Acragas to inform them that he now goes about among men as a god, viz. Empedocles (Fr. 31B112). Fr. 31B129 speaks of a "human being" (ἀνήρ), perhaps Pythagoras or Pherecydes, whose memory bears comparison with that of the *daimon*, since he easily remembered what had happened up to twenty lives ago. We also hear about those who, eventually, become "seers, singers, doctors and leaders among men" and that from these come forth gods who live and eat together with the other gods (Fr. 31B146, B147). The capital sin of men, on the other hand, viz. the slaying and eating of relatives, is, as we have seen, similar to the original sin of the *daimon*. Yet, I believe that we should distinguish the *daimones* (some of them also appearing as humans) from the souls of the majority of mankind.[59]

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[56] The basic new edition of the fragments, with commentary, is now that of Zuntz, *o.c.*, 181ff. See also Ch.H. Kahn, *Religion and Natural Philosophy in Empedocles' Doctrine of the Soul*, in *AGPh* 1960, 3ff. (repr. in J.P. Anton-G.L. Kustas, *Essays in Ancient Greek Philosophy*, Albany N.Y. 1971, 3ff., and — without the app. — in: Mourelatos, *Pres.*, 426ff.).

[57] This interpretation supports Burkert's hypothesis (above, n. 46), which is argued by him, however, on different grounds.

[58] M. Detienne, *La démonologie d'Empédocle*, in *REG* 1959, 1ff., argues that in Empedocles *daimon* means several things, among which 'soul'; see further Kahn, in: Mourelatos, 434f., and Guthrie, *HGrPh* II, 263, who accept that *daimon* = 'soul'. E.R. Dodds, *The Greeks and the Irrational*, Boston ^{2}1957, 153, argues that in Empedocles the "occult self" of *each* human being which persists through metempsychosis is *daimon*, not *psyche*; this cannot be proved: R. Heinze, *Xenokrates*, Leipzig 1892, Hildesheim ^{2}1965, 86f., suggests, correctly no doubt, that the *daimones* οἵτε μακραίωνος λελάχασι βίοιο are the same as the θεοὶ δολιχαίωνες (*Vorsokr.* Fr. 31B115, 5 ~ B21, 12; B23, 8); cf. also Fr. B146-B147. The first, to my knowledge, to equate the immortal part of the soul persisting through metempsychosis with *daimon* is Plat., *Tim.* 90a (not yet *Rep.*

X, 617a: here the souls *choose* their *daimon* = character/destiny before they are reincarnated). Hipp., *Ref.* I, 3 = *Vorsokr.* 31A31 is interesting because apparently distinguishing between a great many *daimones* who administrate things on earth and "all souls" who migrate to all sorts of animals; but (1) at *Ref.* VII, 29, 6, explaining Fr. 31B115, 4-5, 'Hippolytus' says that *daimon* = *psyche* (*Vorsokr.* I, p. 356, 11f.), and (2) in *Ref.* I, 3-4, the theories of Empedocles and Heraclitus have been thoroughly conflated, and the administrating *daimones* attributed to Empedocles may in fact be the φύλακες of Heracl., *Vorsokr.* Fr. 22B63, for which 'Hippolytus', *Ref.* IX, 10, 6, is our only source. — Verdenius, *Parm.* 71, rightly points out that "in the Καθαρμοί Empedocles emphasizes the contrast between mortals and himself". Cf. also below, n. 69, and text thereto.

[59] I have refrained from referring to the "unfamiliar place", the "meadow of Ate" and the "roofed-over cave" (Fr. 31B118 + 121, B120) visited by the *daimon* after the fall because, with Zuntz (who follows Wilamowitz), *o.c.*, 199ff., 254f., I believe that it refers not — allegorically! — to our own world, but indeed to the Nether World. For the other view see Dodds, *o.c.* (below), 298, Guthrie, *o.c.*, 254 n. 3, and A. Motte, *Prairies et Jardins de la Grèce Antique*, Bruxelles 1973, 380f. (also for references). Burkert, rev. Zuntz, in *Gnom.* 1975, [321ff.], 325, argues that the anonymous scholar [τοῦ ... τῶν σοφῶν, who explains what a μυθολογῶν κόμψος ἀνὴρ had said] cited Plat., *Gorg.* 493aff., gave an allegorical interpretation of Hades myths, applying them to life on earth, and suggests that this scholar was influenced by Empedocles. This does not convince me. Dodds *ad loc.* (*Plato. Gorgias*, Oxford 1959, 296f.) suggests the scholar interpreted an "old religious poem" written by the μυθολογῶν ... ἀνήρ. For such interpretations we now have the parallel of the Derveni papyrus, a commentary of the late 5th cent. on an earlier poem (see Burkert, *Lore and Science in Ancient Pythagoreanism*, Cambridge Mass. 1972, 248 n. 48, and below, n. 74 and text thereto); it seems to me highly doubtful that we should read back such interpretations into the poetry itself — in the present case, into that of Empedocles. Ancient evidence for his underworld as a symbol of the world is late, the earliest example, Clem., *Strom.* III 14, being doubtful (γένεσις here is not "the world of becoming" but "being born"). [Dodds' suggestion

The fate of this *daimon* and, by implication, that of men according to Empedocles has been often compared to the idea of man's earthly exile in Gnostic though.[60] What has not, to the best of my knowledge, been emphasized sufficiently before is that this fall, this exile, and the continued fate of man, have been caused and continue to be caused by Hate, i.e. by Empedocles' *evil Demiurge*. Hate has special powers over *daimones* and human *souls* and is able to counteract the in the long run a-cosmic activity of Love. Some of this recalls Parmenides' cosmic goddess — who is by no means as evil as Hate is — who likewise has a special psychopompic function. Furthermore, the sinning *daimon* is punished according to an "oracle of Ananke" which is simultaneously an "old law voted by the gods" (Fr. 31B115, 1-2); it is a reasonable assumption that this Ananke derives from that of Parmenides, i.e., if I have argued correctly, from one of the aspects of the latter's cosmic goddess.[61] In Plato, again, it is the (good!) Demiurge who creates the immortal parts of souls and proclaims the laws of

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that the σόφος is a Pythagorean is plausible. There is a possible link with Philolaus, *Vorsokr.* Fr. 44B13 — not accepted as authentic by Burkert, *Lore* 247 —, who appeals to οἱ παλαιοὶ θεολόγοι καὶ μάντιες for the idea that the body is a tomb. DK, quoting *Gorg.* 493aff. ad Fr. 44B14, suggest that Philolaos is the κόμψος ἀνὴρ, not the σόφος, *quod non.* Dodds cites Frank for the argument that "the Pythagoreans could not accept the traditional underworld literally, since their astronomy left no room for it". This, again, is valid only for the astronomy of Philolaus, for which see Burkert, *o.c.*, 337ff.; which, again, is definitely later than that of Empedocles, whose earth is at the centre of the universe].

[60] Cf. the literature reviewed by H. J. W. Drijvers, *The Origins of Gnosticism as a Religious and Historical Problem*, *NTT* 1967/8, [321ff.], 342, transl. in K. Rudolph (ed.), *Gnosis und Gnostizismus* (WdF 262), Darmstadt 1975, 798ff.; ib., 826f.; and by K. Rudolph, *Gnosis und Gnostizismus: Ein Forschungsbericht*, in *TR* 1971, 41ff. (Empedocles, Orphics). — Note, however, that A. Dieterich, *Abraxas*, Leipzig 1891, does not mention Empedocles, and that his 'Orphics' have been influenced by the Stoa (*o.c.*, 83)! A.H. Armstrong, *Gnosis and Greek Philosophy*, in *Gnosis* (Festschr. H. Jonas), Göttingen 1978, 87ff., 94f., speaks of the fallen, "alienated" soul in Empedocles but does not refer to the context in which this idea, in Empedocles, occurs. Burkert, *Kephal.*, 143 and n. 55, argues that the *Purifications* anticipate the Gnostic myths about the fall and fate of the soul and refers to a definition of *Gnosis* by C. Colpe which does not include the cosmological aspect. R. Crahay, *o.c.* (above, n. 37), had already set out a whole Greek scenario, assembled from various bits and pieces, in which the Gnostic myth and drama are anticipated; here, too, the cosmological aspect remains outside the picture. See further below, p. 292f.

[61] For Ananke in Parmenides and Empedocles see e.g., Zuntz, *Pers.*, 403f.; see further above, n. 22, n. 53.

metempsychosis that hold for them (*Tim.* 41d-42e). Although Plato develops the idea of human responsibility in a way which is not only more elaborate, but also rather different from what we find in Empedocles, he, too, associates the Demiurge with metempsychosis.

That the fallen *daimon* preaches the gospel of metempsychosis and vegetarianism reminds one of the Gnostic "Erlöser"; with the big distinction, of course, that he is a sinner himself.

In conclusion, I would say that Parmenides' dualism was both attenuated and accentuated by Empedocles, who is somewhat less original than he is sometimes supposed to be. The advantage of the present approach, viz. that from a 'Gnostic' point of view, is that it brings out Empedocles' dependance upon Parmenides in more detail.

As far as we know, Parmenides' fame as a poet was outshone by the much less difficult Empedocles; presumably, he was more of a success with philosophers such as Plato than with the world of literature in general. There are several indications that Empedocles continued to be read and appreciated. In Apollonius Rhodius, there are several passages where arguments and descriptions are clearly imitated, and there are quite a few verbal echoes in the *Argonautica*, some of them even from the *Purifications*;[62] and Ennius must at least have read the poem *On nature*.[63] The longer of these passages should have been printed in the C-section of the Empedocles-chapter in *Vorsokr.* It is not unlikely that the *Purifications* were read in some circles as a source for Pythagorean anthropology and ethics, since Timaeus of Taormina accused him of "having stolen the theories" of Pythagoras,[64] and also Theophrastus, in his influential historical work, appears to have connected him with the Pythagoreans.[65] Note that Parmenides was made the pupil of an otherwise unknown Pythagorean by Sotion (early 3rd cent. B.C.).[66] Furthermore, Empedocles' cosmic Hate became part of the imagery of poetry.[67] The investigation of Parmenides' and Empedocles' 'Nachleben' cannot be pursued here; much of this heritage, of course, had been incorporated into the great Platonic synthesis, i.e. had become tralaticious.

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[62] Cf. above, n. 48. There is another passage of some length at *Argon.* IV, 672-4, 676, where the poor monstrous fellows inhabiting Circe's island are described in Empedoclean terms (cf. *Vorsokr.* Fr. 31B61); ib., 676-80, they are said to have been produced by the earth before the sun was a strong as it is now (cf. Fr. 31A70, I p. 296, 1-2; A75; and the 'doubtful' Fr. 31B154, now accepted by Kranz as genuine, I p. 501, 31f.). Not all of these parallels have been noted by Fränkel, *Noten* 77f., 531f. — Other echoes have been pointed out by G. Boesch, *De Apollonii Rhodii Elocutione*, diss. Berlin 1908, 4; from the *Kath.*: III, 1015-6 ~ B138; III,298 ~ B136, 2; IV,1184 ~ B112, 11; from the phys. poem: IV,676f. [cf. above, n. 48]; III,1263 ~ B43, 1; E. Livrea, *Ap. Rh. Arg. Lib. IV*, Firenze 1973, 205f. on II, 672f., adds I,854 ~ B59, 2 and 5; IV,1024 ~ B100, 11. Burkert, *Keph.* 142-3, gives a number of other references concerned with what was known of Empedocles in Hellenistic times.

[63] Above, n. 51; cf. also below, n. 151.

[64] *FGrH* 566 F 14 ap. D.L. VIII, 54 [for other names of authorities see D.L. VIII, 54-56] = *Vorsokr.* Fr. 31A1, I p. 277, 31f.: ἀκοῦσαι δ' αὐτὸν Πυθαγόρου Τίμαιος διὰ

One exception, however, must be made. When the above had been written, I became aware, to my surprise, that an *interpretatio Gnostica* of Empedocles still survives. This, at least, is what is argued by J. Frickel in a splendid paper dealing with *Unerkannte gnostische Schriften in Hippolyts Refutatio*.[68] The passage concerned is *Ref.* VII, 29-31. I

τῆς ἐνάτης ἱστορεῖ, λέγων ὅτι καταγνωσθεὶς ἐπὶ λογοκλοπίᾳ τότε ... τῶν λόγων ἐκωλύθη μετέχειν.

[65] *Phys. op.* fr. 3 Diels ap. Simpl., *In Phys.* 25, 19f. (*Vorsokr.* Fr. 31A6), and similarly ap. D.L. VIII, 55-6 [discount an interpolation: Hermippus Fr. 26 Wehrli, which should stop at συνδιατρῖψαι], *Vorsokr.* I, 277, 31f. Cf. also Verdenius, *Parm.* 25. It should, however, be noted that Theophrastus, in his *Opinions of the Physicists*, the fragments of which as collected by Diels are for the most part concerned with a discussion of their *archai*, can only have had the physical poem in mind. The link, then, which he may have suggested between the Pythagoreans and Empedocles must be sought in the analogy between Love : Hate as a pair of opposed principles (good : bad) and similar distinctions in, perhaps, the Pythagorean table of opposites discussed by Arist., *Met.* A 5, 986 a 22ff., and especially that between the (Platonic!) principles Theophrastus attributes to the Pythagoreans at *Met.* 11a26ff., viz. the One and the Indeterminate Dyad [on this passage see Burkert, *Lore*, 62-3]. Remarkably, no fragments from the *Phys. op.* dealing with the Pythagoreans have as yet been identified.

[66] Fr. 27 Wehrli, ap. D.L. IX, 21 (*Vorsokr.* I, p. 217, 24f.). F. Wehrli, *Die Schule des Aristoteles*. Supp. II: *Sotion*, Basel/Stuttgart 1978.

[67] See Bömer, *o.c.*, 17, and on *Ov.*, *Metam.* I, 17. R. Reitzenstein, *Zwei religionsgeschichtliche Fragen*, Strassburg 1901, 66, argues that "die Kosmogonie in der hellenistischen Poesie oft behandelt ist". Spoerri, *o.c.*, 47f., correctly points out that the cosmogony in Ap. Rhod. I, 496f. is significantly different from that to be found with so many Latin poets [but he has missed the (cosmological) passage in Ennius, which, although probably derived from Ennius' own reading of Empedocles and not necessarily dependent upon Hellenistic Greek poets, is itself a Hellenistic example and one which influenced the later Latins].

[68] In: *Gnosis and Gnosticism* (NHS 8), Leiden 1977, [119ff.], 126ff. Apparently, Frickel is not familiar with the new views on Empedocles (see above, n. 46 and text thereto), and he does not refer to the very useful paper by J.P. Hershbell, *Hippolytus' Elenchus as a Source for Empedocles Re-examined*, in *Phron.* 1972, 97ff., 187ff., or to that of Burkert in *Kephal.* The new facts presented by Frickel, however, render a new investigation of this problem inevitable. [I may perhaps add that my own view

believe, however, that the proofs as offered by Frickel are not yet complete; at any rate, his suggestions prompted me to indulge in a bit of *Quellenforschung* of my own, the results of which I intend to publish elsewhere. Personally, I am fully satisfied that *Ref.* VII, 29-31 is indeed a Gnostic piece (Hippolytus' interpolations, moreover, can be easily distinguished). There are several remarkable features to these chapters. What, in the present paper, is of most interest to us is the fact that, *pace* this anonymous Gnostic, Love has *no* demiurgic function *at all*, since even the living beings (ourselves included) which according to the real Empedocles are the work of Love are here the creations of Hate. Love's only remaining function is that it still brings about non- or postcosmic unity and assists souls [no distinction here between *daimon* and human soul, cf. p. 213, 3 W.][69] to escape from the cosmos. Love, to our surprise, is assisted by a force intermediate between itself and Hate: (Empedocles') Muse, also called *Dikaios Logos*, who plays the part of the Gnostic 'Erlöser'/'Offenbarer'. In a typically Gnostic way, not only (Empedoclean) vegetarianism is preached, but marriage and procreation are prohibited as well: to beget children is to assist Hate,[70] and Hate is designated, *expressis verbis*, as τὸν

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of Hippolytus' working-methods is a sort of compromise between that of Frickel, *Die "Apophasis Megale" in Hippolyts Refutatio*, Roma 1968, and that of K. Koschorke, *Hippolyts Ketzerbekämpfung und Polemik gegen die Gnostiker. Eine tendenz-kritische Untersuchung*, Wiesbaden 1975].

[69] This lack of discrimination is first found in Plutarch, cf. Hershbell, *Hipp. Elench.*, 189, 193f.

[70] P. 214, 9f. Wendland. Dodds, *Gr. Irr.*, 154f. and 176f., n. 23, tends to accept this as valid for Empedocles, and so does O'Brien, *o.c.*, 209-10, who needs this passage for a zoogony of Hate in the double cycle. O'Brien adduces some other passages in support; but Gellius' allegorical interpretation of the taboo on beans, *NA* IV, 11, 9-10(*Vorsokr.* ad Fr. 31B141) is about too much sex, not about no sex at all. Note that Clement, *Strom.* III, 24, 1-2, gives exactly the same interpretation of the bean taboo and that in the larger context, ib. III, 12 and 21-25, where he argues against the Marcionite ban on marriage [and Marcion, *pace* Hippolytus, plagiarized Empedocles], he quotes a number of lines from Greek poetry against having children and no doubt would also have quoted Empedocles if this had been possible [he quotes other lines of Empedocles in this polemic, III, 14, 2-3]; on Plut., *De soll. an.* 964 D-E see Burkert, *Kephal.* 138. On Gnostic abstinence generally see Rudolph, *Die Gnosis*, 263f.; in the chapter preceding those on Empedocles Hippolytus deals with Saturnilus, attributing to him both vegetarianism and the ban on sex (p. 209, 14f. W.) — this has been stolen from Irenaeus: cf. *Adv. Haer.* V, 18, p. 198 Harvey: "*nubere autem et generare a Satana dicunt esse; multi autem ex iis, qui sunt ab eo, et ab animalibus* (cf. Empedocles!) *abstinent*". See also Hershbell, *Hipp. El.*, 207.

δημιουργὸν τοῦδε τοῦ κόσμου.[71] Hate, again, is responsible for the fall of the *daimon*, i.e., *pace* this Gnostic, for that of human souls generally (*Vorsokr.* Fr. 31B115, completely preserved only here, is quoted in support).[72]

4. *Early Orphism (and Early Pythagoreanism)*

I shall not go deeply into the difficult subject of Orphism, although to Professor Quispel this is a very dear topic.[73] Of course, skepticism towards Early Orphism in general is no longer possible after the discovery and partial publication of the Derveni papyrus.[74] We now have an incontrovertible *terminus ante quem* (c. 330 B.C.) for *Orph.* Fr. 21a Kern, lines 2, 4a, and 7,[75] and the commentary in the papyrus also discusses lines that were new to us. As to the fragment ap. Kern as a whole, judgement must be postponed until all of the papyrus has been published. [This modern 'Orphic mystery' has its own initiated, who are obliged to remain silent]. Even if, provisionally, Fr. 21a Kern as a whole would be accepted as a genuine Early Orphic piece, it still would be irrelevant to our present discussion (though not, perhaps, to that of monistic or pantheistic side-currents in Gnosticism): there is no sign of a depreciation of the universe in these lines, for Zeus, the supreme deity (line 7), "is" earth and heaven, breath and fire, the sea, the sun, and the moon.[76] No Phanes/Eros here, let alone an Evil Demiurge, since it is Zeus himself who produces all things out of himself.

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[71] VII, 29, p. 212, 17f.; cf. p. 211, 14f. W. — Burkert, *Kephal.* 140f., points out that 'Hippolytus'' fundamental dualism agrees fairly well with Plutarch's "philosophische Position", but argues that Plutarch himself depends on an earlier source, a point of view to which I would agree (cf. below, n. 152).

[72] It should be noted that Zuntz, in his edition of the fragments, does not deal with the special character of the chapters in Hippolytus.

[73] *The Demiurge in the Apocryphon of John*, in *Nag Hammadi and Gnosis* (NHS 14), Leiden 1978, 10f.; *God is Eros*, in *Early Christian Literature and the Classical Tradition* (Festschr. R.M. Grant), Paris 1979, [189ff.], 200f.

[74] S.G. Kapsomenos, *Der Papyrus von Derveni*, in *Gnom.* 1963, 222f.; Ὁ ΟΡΦΙΚΟΣ ΠΑΠΥΡΟΣ ΤΗΣ ΘΕΣΣΑΛΟΝΙΚΗΣ, in *Arch. Delt.* 1964, 17ff.; *The Orphic Papyrus Roll of Thessalonica*, in *Bull. Am. Soc. Pap.* 1964-5, 3ff. See further Ch. Picard, in *Mélanges Carcopino*, Paris 1966, 737ff.; R. Merkelbach, in *ZPE* 1967, 21ff.; W. Burkert, *Orpheus und die Vorsokratiker*, in *Antike und Abendl.* 1968, 93ff., and *La génèse des choses et des mots*, in *EPh.* 1970, 443ff.; P. Boyancé, *Remarques sur le papyrus de Derveni*, in *REG* 1974, 91ff. For another early commentary on an old religious poem see above, n. 59.

[75] Plato, *Lg.* IV, 715c (*Vorsokr.* Fr. IB6, *Orph.* Fr. 21 Kern) paraphrases line 1. *Orph.* Fr. 168 Kern, which contains some lines from Fr. 21a, shows the unstable character of this literature: additions to the old stock were freely made. R. Reitzenstein, in: Reitzenstein-Schäder, *Studien zum antiken Synkretismus*, Leipzig-Berlin 1926, repr. Darmstadt 1965, 68ff., believed that the long version — Fr. 168 — is old and drew some fantastic conclusions.

It is, as yet, impossible to say whether the poem expounded in the papyrus is older than the 5th cent. B.C.; the commentary appears to be dateable to the end of the 5th cent. (cf. especially Burkert's fundamental exegesis).

As to the Orphic Eros/Phanes, there is — in spite of Aristophanes and of one of the more mysterious gold leaves[77] — as yet no evidence to put him in (let alone before) the Presocratic period. His conspicuous absence from Fr. 21a Kern is not, however, decisive. Orphic literature seems to have been of all sorts.[78] But if Aristophanes' tirade would be accepted as evidence for an Early Orphic Phanes/Eros, the conclusion that this sort of Orphic literature[79] is as irrelevant to the present paper as that represented by Fr. 21a Kern would still follow. In Aristophanes' cosmogony, there is not the slighest hint that the subsequent, i.e. actual, condition of things is inferior to their original condition — quite the reverse.

The only pre-Platonic Orphic (or Orphico-Pythagorean) doctrine which can be — and actually has been[80] — fruitfully compared to a Gnostic doctrine is the belief that incarnation is a punishment;[81] see Plat., *Crat.* 400c = *Orph.* Fr. 8 Kern, *Vorsokr.* Fr. 1B3, and the other texts cited by Kern together with Fr. 8. The suggestion that the crime involved is that committed by the Titans against Dionysus cannot be rejected out of hand.[82] There is nothing cosmological about this crime and punishment, however; the one 'Gnostic' parallel in Early Orphism is anthropological only. Of course, if, as the Orphics said, "the body is a prison", there must be something wrong with bodies. There is no sign, however, that human bodies were ever thought of by the Orphics as natural phenomena or that they inferred that, if these are wrong, all of nature must be wrong, too. As a matter of fact, a pessimistic anthropology is, historically speaking, perfectly compatible with an optimistic cosmology (cf. Fr. 21a Kern).

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[76] Boyancé, *REG* 1974, 95, calls this pantheism; so also U. Bianchi, *La religione greca*, Torino 1975, 235. K.M. Fischer, *Tendenz und Absicht des Epheserbriefes*, Göttingen 1973, 71f., argues that "die Allgottvorstellung" is a universal phenomenon; *Orph.* Fr. 168 Kern, which he dates to the Hellenistic period, is characterized by him as *not* Gnostic.

[77] See above, n. 16, *in fine*. — *Orph.* Fr. 47 Kern, a text on a gold leaf from Thurii from which Diels reconstructed an Orphic poem (*Vorsokr.* Fr. 1B21; "durchaus hypothetisch") has to be written off as unintelligible, cf. Zuntz, *Pers.*, 344ff.; line three ΤΕΦΑΝΗΣ can be read as τ᾽ ἐφάνης or as τε Φάνης, and those who, backed by D. Comparetti's first accessible report (in *JHS* 1880, 114), read the latter, drew wild conclusions from it.

[78] See P. Boyancé, *Sur l'Orphisme*, *REA* 1938, 163ff.; M.L. West, *Graeco-Oriental Orphism in the Third Cent. B.C.*, in *Trav. VIe Congr. Ét. Class.*, Madrid București-Paris 1976, [221ff.], 221. — For an up-to-date authoritative survey of Early Orphism and related phenomena see W. Burkert, *Griech. Rel.*, 432-51.

[79] West, *o.c.*, dates this class of Orphic writings to the Hellenistic period. [I cannot enter here into the influences of later Orphic upon Gnostic literature].

There is a good parallel for this compatibility. The anthropological doctrine of the Pythagorean Philolaus (2nd half 5th cent. B.C.), viz. that "the body is a tomb", is even more pessimistic than its Orphic counterpart.[83] A dualistic view of the relation between body and soul with a clearly puritanical colouring is typical for early Pythagoreanism generally. But there is no sign of pessimism in the cosmology of Philolaus; on the contrary, in his world all things are held together by "harmony".[84] Compare also the Pythagorean theory cited Plat., *Gorg.* 507e-508b:[85] heaven and earth, and gods and men, are held together by love and orderliness and wise restraint, and this is precisely why the world is called κόσμος; all these relations depend on "geometrical equality". This is as un-Gnostic as can be, and significantly anticipates the cosmology of the *Timaeus*.[86]

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[80] Cf. Rudolph, *Die Gnosis*, 303, and above, n. 60. Bianchi, *Rel. gr.* 230, admits that Orphic dualism is concerned with body/soul only.

[81] and the body a prison. There is a difference between this view and the σῶμα-σῆμα doctrine [cf. Philol., *Vorsokr.* 44B14] also mentioned by Plato in this passage. The views are, however, related; at *Phaed.* 62b = *Vorsokr.* Fr. 44B15 the idea that the body is a prison is attributed to Philolaus.

[82] See S. Reinach, *Une allusion à Zagreus dans un problème d'Aristote*, in *Cultes, Mythes et Religions*, t. 5, Paris 1923, 61ff.; the paper by Boyancé cited above, n. 78; the somewhat skeptical I.M. Linforth, *The Arts of Orpheus*, Berkeley/L.A. 1941, repr. New York 1973, 307ff.; M. Detienne, *Dionysos mis à mort ou le bouilli rôti*, in *ASNPisa* 1974, 1193ff.

[83] Above, n. 81; cf. also n. 59.

[84] *Vorsokr.* 44B1, B2: ἁρμονία binds together the constituents of the universe. The "one in the centre of the sphere" is τὸ πρᾶτον ἁρμοσθέν, Fr. 44B7. See Burkert, *Lore*, 251f., 268.

[85] See Dodds *ad loc.*, 337f. Burkert, *Lore*, 77f. and esp. n. 157, argues that all the ideas in this passage, when taken separately, can be paralleled from non-Pythagorean

The main lesson to be drawn from this brief overview of Early Orphism and Early Pythagoreanism is, or so I believe, that a dualistic and pessimistic anthropology alone does not yet constitute a 'Gnostic' phenomenon. Gnostic anthropology is unthinkable without a very definite and pessimistic view of the universe and its creator. Parmenides may have been influenced by the Pythagorean doctrine of the relation between body and soul, if, that is, Simpl. *In Phys.* p. 39, 20f. is indeed about metempsychosis;[87] but this influence is certainly not the most important strand of his anthropology.[88] His originality, as compared with Orphism and Pythagoreanism, is that this anthropology has been linked up in a consistent way with a pessimistic *cosmology* — not, as we have noticed, in the sense that the world is evil, but in as far as there is a definite gap between the mistaken universe and a better condition of things. In Empedocles' anthropology, the Pythagorean strands, in the *Purifications* at least, are flagrant; as we have noticed, however, he has been even more deeply influenced by Parmenides and by his struggle to answer the latter's unanswered question. This is eminently visible in his physics, where we encounter a distinction between the present condition of things (∼ the universe) and their future and past condition (∼ Sphairos). Strictly speaking, therefore, Parmenides and Empedocles are far more 'Gnostic' than Early Orphism and Early Pythagoreanism[89] can be said to be.

5. *Plato and Aristotle on the Demiurge and the Universe*

The Plato of the early and the mature dialogues is not interested in cosmology as such. He is a Parmenidean — and more of one than

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literature (although he admits that it has a "distinctly Pythagorean flavor"). But it is their combination which is decisive.

[86] Cf. Burkert, *Lore*, 78.

[87] Above, p. 268f. and n. 19.

[88] Above, n. 4, and text thereto.

[89] For Parmenides and Empedocles as influenced by Pythagoreanism and as 'Pythagoreans' see above, p. 287f.; for Theophrastus' platonizing interpretation of 'Pythagoreanism' see above, n. 65.

the Presocratic physicists who make up the Parmenidean tradition[90] — in as far as he posits perfect and really real Things (the Ideas) beyond this world of ours. The ascetic anthropology of the *Phaedo*, to be sure, has been much influenced by Orphic and Pythagorean ideas, and the suggestion, in the myth (*Phaed.* 109bf.), that we live in one of the numerous hollows near the real surface of the earth has a disparaging ring. In the same dialogue, however, Anaxagoras is singled out for special criticism because he had failed to show that things in our world have been arranged in *the best way possible* (97cff.; at 99b-c, this criticism is extended to all physicists). This is cosmological optimism.[91] Plato, after all, is much concerned with bridging the gap between the world and the Ideas : things here reflect, imitate, participate in the Ideas. Plato's pessimism, I would say, is anthropological, not cosmological, and it is mitigated by his conviction that a measure of contact with the higher reality of the Ideas is possible, if not for everybody, then at least for the leaders of a just society. This, of course, is what the argument in the *Republic* is about. Here, too, there are passages which have a pessimistic ring: in the famous allegory of the cave, *Rep.* VII 514aff., the world of ordinary human experience is reduced to a shadowy performance at the dead end of a subterranean hollow [cf. the imagery of the *Phaedo*-myth], with men as prisoners. The latter image, no doubt, echoes the Orphic idea of the body as a prison.[92] In the story of the cave, there is, if I may use the Gnostic term, an 'Erlöser' who *frees* one of the prisoners and not only shows him what really goes on inside the subterranean world, but also takes him up the steep path to the real world outside. Plato explains that this is an image for the journey of the soul away from this world to the true world of the Ideas; the anonymous 'Erlöser' turns out to be education, i.e. philosophy.[93] In this passage, too, the emphasis is on the anthropological and epistemological, not on the cosmological aspect. There is no suggestion whatever that the whole show inside the cave has been arranged, let alone the cave been created, by a malicious power. It is, though, interesting to note in what way Plato uses tralaticious motifs for his own purposes: that of the body as a prison, and that of the underworld interpreted — as by the σόφος in the *Gorgias* — as a symbol for the world of our own experience.

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[90] Cf. above, n. 45, and text thereto.

[91] For *Gorg.* 507ef. cf. above, n. 86, and text thereto.

[92] See above, n. 81, and on this idea in the allegory of the cave Guthrie, *Hist. Gr. Phil.*, IV, Cambridge 1975, 517f.

[93] τῆς ψυχῆς ἄνοδον: *Rep.* 517c; for the comparison with leaving Hades ib. 521c; for παιδεία as τέχνη ... τῆς περιαγωγῆς [sc. of the "fettered" soul] ib., 518b-d; for the rôle of μαθήματα and φιλοσοφία ib., 521cff. In *Rep.* X, 614d, Er is to be ἄγγελος (a different concept from that of "Erlöser"); cf. further K.W. Tröger, *Mysterienglaube und Gnosis in Corpus Hermeticum XIII*, Berlin 1971, 162, with references.

In the masterpiece of his old age, the *Timaeus*, Plato sets out to accomplish what Anaxagoras, as had been argued in the *Phaedo*, had failed to do. He explains how it has come to be that the world and what is contained therein reflect and resemble[94] the Ideas: a supreme divinity, the Demiurge, made the world after an ideal pattern, and caused it to be filled with beings which likewise resemble ideal things. The introduction of the ideal paradigm is an original feature of this cosmology; so is also Plato's invention of the predecessor of Aristotle's matter, viz. the Mother of Becoming, Place, Nurse, Receptacle or Erring Cause, which had been there before the Demiurge began his work and is indispensable to it, but remains a source of inevitable imperfection. The world is good, but only the Ideas are perfect.

After what has been said above,[95] it is not necessary to return to the subject of the division of labour between the Demiurge and the "young gods".[96] At present, I am more concerned with the special emphasis put by Plato on the *goodness* of the Demiurge (*Tim.* 29a, 29d-30a, 37a). He *explicitly* rejects the suggestion that such a Demiurge could be *not* good: "if this world is beautiful and its maker is good, clearly he looked to the eternal [sc. model], but if they are what cannot even be uttered without blasphemy, he looked to a [sc. model] which has come to be" [εἰ μὲν δὴ καλός ἐστιν ὅδε ὁ κόσμος ὅ τε Δημιουργὸς ἀγαθός, δῆλον ὡς πρὸς τὸ ἀίδιον ἔβλεπεν· εἰ δὲ ὃ μηδ᾽ εἰπεῖν τινι θέμις, πρὸς γεγονός, *Tim.* 29a]. Consequently, in what is perhaps Plato's most widely read and studied work, one finds the *notion of an evil Demiurge*, even if this notion is only introduced to be immediately and totally rejected. It is, of course, a tantalizing question what "model which has come to be" Plato's Demiurge could have looked to at all, had he not been good. The only possible candidate (since there is not, as yet, a world or another world) is, I would say, Lady Mother of Becoming, who already is in a condition of sorts *before* the Demiurge begins to build: she is said to contain "traces" (ἴχνη) of the elements which she moves and by which she is moved at random, with a sort of "winnowing" of like to like as a result (*Tim.* 30a; 52c-53b).[97] What sort of world would result if a Demiurge would use this condition of things as a model? A world such as that of Anaxagoras, I suppose, whose cosmic Intellect is a source of movement and of the separation of the constituents of the original agglomeration only (*Vorsokr.* Fr. 59B12, B13),[98] and this, it will be recalled, is the sort of world Plato rejected already in the *Phaedo*.

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[94] Cf. B. Witte, *Der Eikos Logos in Platos Timaios*, in *AGPh* 1961, 63ff. (rather than Guthrie, *Hist. Gr. Phil.* V, 250f.).

[95] P. 271, 272.

[96] νέοις ... θεοῖς, *Tim.* 42d. This should not be translated with "new gods"; the Demiurge, who has created them, is 'older', and he teaches them how to work.

There is much, in the *Timaeus*, that is implicitly polemical. We should not, however, think only of Anaxagoras in this respect, but also of Empedocles. I believe that the special emphasis put by Plato on the goodness of the Demiurge implies that he rejects Empedocles' use of "accursed Hate" as a cosmological agent, viz. as the entity responsible for the distribution of the great elemental masses and for the installation of the heavenly bodies. He also rejects the idea that the cosmos is periodically destroyed by a Love creating the perfect Sphairos. The world such as it is *here and now* is as perfect as is possible: it is the Demiurge whos has already made *this* world a perfect ball, described by Plato in terms which recall Empedocles' description of the non-cosmic God made by Love.[99] The Demiurge, also, reorganizes the confusedly moving mass of the Receptacle by giving specific shapes to the elemental particles and molecules (*Tim.* 53cff.) and by setting out the elements according to the order of an ἀναλογία (*Tim.* 31b-33b): the *present* distribution of the great elemental masses is not the work of a disruptive, but that of an *organizing* force, and for this reason the condition of things becomes a stable one: the world shall forever remain as it has been organized by the Demiurge *now*. What the Demiurge, ordering the previously only minimally informed (ἴχνη!) elements in this way, brings about among them is φιλία (*Tim.* 32c); the polemical point against Empedocles is unmistakable.[100] The organization and putting into position of the heavenly bodies, too, is the work of the good Demiurge; here, too, the rôle of "harmony" is decisive (*Tim.* 35bff.). A cosmic cycle such as that taught by Empedocles is no longer possible: the larger rôles of Love and Hate have, so to speak, been telescoped, so that a permanent condition of things results, whereas the zoogonic rôle of Love has been taken over by the Young Gods, as demiurges of a lower order.

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[97] There is already γένεσις before there is a world (*Tim.* 52d).

[98] It should be noted that in Anaxagoras, each thing in the world reflects the original condition of things (*Vorsokr.* Fr. 59B4, the beginning; B6; B11). — For Plato's criticism of Anaxagoras see e.g. Solmsen, *Kl. Schr.* I, 339; for the original mass in *Vorsokr.* Fr. 59B1 as a material principle cf. Arist., *Met.* K 6, 1064b 29f.; Λ 2, 1069b 21; and H. Cherniss, *Aristotle's Criticism of Presocratic Philosophy*, Baltimore 1935, repr. New York 1976, 77 n. 313, 236. Aët. I, 7, 5-6 explicitly compares Anaxagoras and Plato: Anaxag. says εἱστήκει κατ᾽ ἀρχὰς τὰ σώματα, νοῦς δὲ αὐτὰ διεκόσμησε θεοῦ κ.τ.λ. [cf. Arist., *Phys.* Θ I, 250b 24f.]; Plato, however, οὐχ ἑστηκότα ὑπέθετο τὰ πρῶτα σώματα, ἀτάκτως δὲ κινούμενα [cf. *Tim.* 30a, κινούμενον ... ἀτάκτως]· διὸ καὶ ὁ θεός, φησίν, ἐπιστήσας, ὡς τάξις ἀταξίας ἐστὶ βελτίων [cf. *Tim.* 30a εἰς τάξιν ... ἐκ τῆς ἀταξίας, ἡγησάμενος ἐκεῖνο ... ἄμεινον], διεκόσμησεν αὐτά.

There is no Hate in Plato's universe, only Love, and what is not very good there (the fact that we are mortal, for instance, or do not live as long as we could have if our skulls had been thicker)[101] is either inevitable or all for the best.

This reading of the *Timaeus* with Empedocles' cosmology in mind has the additional advantage of bringing out to the full the character of the pre-cosmic agglomerative mass, which, in Plato's view, was perhaps not even three-dimensional,[102] but at any rate not spherical. Here Love is absent, for this is introduced only later by the Demiurge. Should we say that Hate is present? Plato does *not* say so at *Tim.* 52c-53b; rather, the interactions of the traces of the elements and the receptacle are described as a sort of blind and irrational process, which has gone on for ever and ever: there is no need, as in Empedocles, of a disruptive force to dismember a Sphere, because there never had been such a Sphere. Such separation, however, as does take place in the Receptacle — (the "winnowing") — before the intervention of the Demiurge could be *interpreted* in terms of Empedocles' Hate as the force responsible for the agglomeration of separate elements. Actually, this is how it was interpreted by later authors, who read back Empedocles' Hate into Plato's pre-cosmic mass. One may think, for instance, of the cosmogony at the beginning of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*: there is a chaotic mass of disordered elements and no ordered universe; "*frigida pugnabant calidis, umentia siccis*" etc., until "*hanc deus et melior litem natura diremit*" by separating the elements from one another and organizing the physical universe.[103] We also find it in Plut., *Fac.* 926E-927A, who explicitly compares the condition of things under Hate as in Empedocles to that in the *Timaeus* before the Demiurge sets to work.[104] These, however, are later developments, and the fact that the pre-cosmic condition as in the *Timaeus* does not, strictly speaking, correspond to that of the physical universe under Hate as in Empedocles[105] should not make us unwilling to accept that Plato's cosmogony *as a whole* is (also!) a critical response to that of Empedocles, and that this, in part, explains why he calls the Demiurge good, and anyhow fully explains why he explicitly rejects the idea that a Demiurge could be not good.

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[99] *Tim.* 33aff. ∼ Emp., *Vorsokr.* Fr. B28, B29, cf. B134. There are also echoes of Parmenides' description of the Sphere of Being, *Vorsokr.* Fr. 28B8, 42f.; also this Sphere is, so to speak, made immanent.

[100] Cf. e.g. Guthrie V, 278 n. 1. The idea is already to be found in the *Symposium*: 186d-e (microcosm), 188a-b (macrocosm). — J.P. Hershbell, in his careful study *Empedoclean Influences on the Timaeus*, in *Phoenix* 1974, 145ff., argues that such influences are minimal or nonexistent. His criteria for determining influence are: (1) explicit reference by the author of the influenced work; (2) obvious and significant verbal echoes; (3) similar or identical concepts or ideas (*o.c.*, 146). I believe that a fourth criterium should be added: critical reaction or correction (cf. Hershbell, *o.c.*, 153). — I have no wish to deny, of course, that Plato's use of 'analogy' and 'harmony' is inspired by Pythagoreanism (cf. above, n. 84 and text thereto). The point, however, is that the Demiurge in Plato uses the properties of number to shape the body and soul of the Universe, while Empedocles' Love only uses proportion to create the parts of living beings (cf. *Vorsokr.* Fr. B96, B98) and, one may presume, the a-cosmic Sphere.

[101] *Tim.* 75bf., followed by Chrysippus (*SVF* II 1169; cf. II 1176, 1178).

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[102] Cf. *Tim.* 31b 4ff.: God gives the universe βάθος and makes it στερεοειδῆ (32a-b); note that *stereos*, in this passage, is ambiguous: both 'three-dimensional' and 'hard', i.e. material.

[103] The lines quoted are *Metam.* I, 19 and 21. On this cosmogony in Ovid and others see the excellent study by Spoerri, *Späthell. Ber.*, 1-113, who rightly emphasizes its platonizing colouring. There is, however, also an Epicurean aspect to the war of the elements; cf. Bignone, *o.c.*, 106ff. Note that the expression "god and nature" is Aristotelian (cf. *Cael.* A4, 271a33).

[104] Spoerri, *o.c.*, 75, points out that Plutarch is closer to Plato than Ovid c.s. because he does not speak of the pre-cosmic battle of the elements. But Plutarch refers to Titans and Giants (926 E), i.e. to war, and to the speculative idea of the destruction (διάλυσις, i.e. into its elements) of the cosmic order, and in one and the same breath to τὸ νεῖκος ... τὸ Ἐμπεδοκλέους. — To illustrate the pre-cosmic condition Plutarch (926 E) quotes *Vorsokr.* Fr. 31B27, 1-2, which is also quoted by Simplicius, who says it refers to the condition of things in Sphairos, i.e. not, as in Plutarch, to that under the dominion of Hate. Cherniss, in the Loeb-ed., *ad loc.*, p. 82f. n. *c*, argues that Plutarch's interpretation may be right. But Simplicius had the text before his eyes. Plutarch, as so often, is probably quoting from memory [for a splendid example of ἐπελθόντα τῇ μνήμῃ κατὰ τὴν γραφὴν see the whole of

Aristotle believed that Plato, in the *Timaeus*, meant what he said, viz. he assumed that Plato was serious when he spoke of cosmogony.[106] He also accepted Plato's central and novel view that the divine is (1) perfect, or wholly good, and (2) never changes.[107] According to Aristotle, however, the world is eternal,[108] and this rules out cosmogony. The idea of a Demiurge, in consequence, has to be rejected. Aristotle's argument (or rather part of it) against this idea has been preserved

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Vit. Per., c. 24], and this is why there is a stopgap variant (ἀγλαὸν εἶδος instead of Simplicius' ὠκέα γυῖα) at the end of line 1. — See also H. Görgemanns, *Unters. zu Plutarchs Dialog De Facie*, Heidelberg 1970, 100f., and my paper *Hesiod and Parmenides in Nag Hammadi*, to be publ. in *VigChr.* 1981.

[105] J.B. Skemp, *The Theory of Motion in Plato's Later Dialogues*, Cambridge 1942, enl. repr. Amsterdam 1967, 59 and 140, compares Empedocles' Hate and Plato's Mother of Becoming, both, in his view, responsible for the movement of like to like. But in Empedocles, Hate (cf. above, n. 47) is not the cause of this movement, but only of the breaking-up of Sphairos and other compounds, while in Plato it derives from the interaction between the "traces" of the elements and the Receptacle. Hershbell, *Emp. Infl.*, 155, following O'Brien (*o.c.*, 312f.), argues against Skemp that 'like to like' is caused by both Love and Hate; see, however, above, n. 47. — For a good discussion of these passages in the *Tim.* see W. Spoerri, *Encore Platon et l'Orient*, in *RPh.* 1957, [209ff.], 212f.

[106] *Cael.* AI, 10-12; this was accepted by Theophr., *Phys. op.* Fr. 10 and Fr. 11 Diels. Xenocrates, Fr. 54 Heinze, and Speusippus, Fr. 54b Lang, argued that Plato did not say what he meant, since what he really meant was that the universe can no more have a beginning than an end. From this it would follow that Plato did not tell his pupils how to interpret the *Timaeus*, i.e. literally (Aristotle) or allegorically (Speusippus-Xenocrates). For the discussion in antiquity see M. Baltes, *Die Weltentstehung des platonischen Timaios nach den antiken Interpreten*, Leiden 1976; the other Peripatetics generally followed Aristotle (Baltes, *o.c.*, 83ff.). Cf. also Phil., *Aet. mu.* 14-16.

[107] Plato, *Rep.* II, 378eff.; Arist., *De phil.* Fr. 16 Ross ap. Simpl., *In Cael.* p. 288, 28-289, 15 Heiberg. Simplicius points out Aristotle's debt to Plato. On the Demiurge in the *Tim.* as being good see above, p. 295f.

[108] *Cael.* A, 10f., cf. A 3, A 9, 279a 17f., B 1, *Mete.* A 14, 352a 17ff.; *De phil.* fr. 19a-c Ross. Aët., II 5, 1.

by Philo, *Aet. mu.* 39-43 = Arist. Fr. 21 Rose, *De Phil.* Fr. 19c Ross.[109] This is chiefly concerned with a Demiurge's motives for destroying a universe and so Plato is not its only target since according to Plato the world is not destroyed; but it includes Plato in as far as it also deals with the implications of a universe's being constructed by a possible Demiurge. Aristotle argues that, if a universe is constructed, this entails a change, i.e. also a change of the activity of the Demiurge. Such a change, however, is contrary to the perfect and therefore unchanging nature of God (cf. also *Simpl.*, *In Cael.* 288, 28ff. = Arist. Fr. 16 Rose, *De phil.* Fr. 16 Ross). The fashioning of a new universe to replace an old one would entail that the substitute is either (a) worse than or (b) equal to or (c) better than the actual universe. If (a), then God's nature will have changed for the worse, which contradicts the definition of the divine. If (b), God would behave like a foolish child and be a ματαιόπονος[110] — *quod non.* If (c), also the Demiurge will have become better than before, hence when he made the former universe his art and understanding must have been less good than they are this time: a sacrilegious thought (ὅπερ οὐδὲ θέμις ὑπονοεῖν ἐστιν). This perhaps even echoes *Tim.* 29a, ὃ μηδ᾽ εἰπεῖν τινι θέμις.[111] Aristotle, in other words, not only, like Plato, rejects the idea that God should ever destroy the world, but in addition to this also refuses to believe that he should have made one, for even this suggestion implies the blasphemous thought that something would have been wrong with the nature of God. Also note that, *if only for argument's sake*, Aristotle studies the possibility that a Demiurge would have made or makes a world which is *not* as good as it could be, just a Plato, though only negatively, had formulated the notion of a bad Demiurge.[112]

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[109] The arguments in *De phil.* lean heavily on Plato's arguments that the world cannot be destroyed: Fr. 19a, about internal and external causes of destruction ~ *Tim.* 32c-33b, *Laws* 903b; Fr. 19c, that the Demiurge shall not destroy the universe, depends on the main cosmological argument of the *Tim.* See further J. Mansfeld, *Providence and the Destruction of the Universe in Early Stoic Thought*, in M.J. Vermaseren (ed.), *Studies in Hellenistic Religions* (EPRO 68), Leiden 1979, [129ff.], 140ff.

[110] This may echo an expression of Plato: at *Tim.* 40d, the speaker says that a further exposition of astronomical theory without the help of instruments would be a μάταιος ... πόνος. Echoes of Heraclitus may also be involved: *Vorsokr.* Fr. 22B52, the ἀιών as a playing child; Fr. B70, on παίδων ἀθύρματα, cf. Hom., *Il.* XV, 361f. See B. Effe, *Studien zur Kosmologie und Theologie der aristotelischen Schrift "Über die Philosophie"*, München 1970, 20 n. 68. In its present form in Philo, however, argument (b) is perhaps better understood as being directed against the Stoic theory that each universe made by God is an exact replica of its predecessor (cf. EPRO 68, 169ff.); for anti-Stoic amplifications of Aristotle's arguments see Effe, *o.c.*, 18f., and below, p. 310f. To be sure, the idea can be paralleled in the Epicurean argument against the Demiurge ap. Aët. I, 7, 9, *Dox.* 301a, 6-7: κεναῖς ... πράξεσιν (so Effe, *o.c.*, 23), but 'Aëtius' does not argue against repeated cosmogonies.

[111] See above, p. 295. — The expression itself may have been varied somewhat by Philo; cf. *Op. mund.* 17, λέγειν ἢ ὑπονόειν οὐ θεμιτόν; *Leg. all.* II 3 (on God: if he is greater or smaller, he is perishable, ὅπερ οὐδὲ θέμις νοῆσαι); *Aet. mu.* 32, ὑπονοεῖν οὐκ εὐαγές; 81, ὑπονοεῖν τὸ ἀδύνατον; 84 (God will die), ὃ μηδὲ θέμις ὑπονοεῖν.

It will perhaps be argued that Aristotle's arguments in *De phil.* Fr. 19c Ross cannot have been directed against Plato, because he also argues against the destruction of the universe which is excluded by Plato. I have already said above that Plato is not the only target of the argument: this is confirmed by *Cael.* I 10 (10-12 as a whole are against Plato), which argues against all the physicists (279b12ff.), and singles out Empedocles and (surprisingly) Heraclitus for special mention. Now part of the third argument of *De phil.* Fr. 19c is easily applicable to Plato. Furthermore, we know that Aristotle, in the *De phil.*, also argued against Plato's unique cosmogony; this follows from Cic., *Luc.* 119 = Arist. Fr. 22 Rose, *De phil.* Fr. 20 Ross: "*neque enim ortum esse unquam mundum, quod nulla fuerit novo consilio inito tam praeclari operis inceptio*". Cicero continues with what is a brief recapitulation of *De phil.* Fr. 19a (ap. Phil., *Aet. mu.* 20f.), which shows that the brief version of the other argument just quoted belongs in the same context; and it is anyhow related to *De phil.* Fr. 19c. *Novum consilium*, of course, applies to the *Timaeus*, where the Demiurge decides to plan an order of things. Effe, in his excellent study of the *De phil.*, has argued that this argument against the cosmogony of the *Timaeus* was used and adapted by Epicurus and his followers in their criticism of (not only Plato, but also of) the Stoics.[113] It survives in three versions: (1) Aët. I, 7, 4-10; (2) Lucr. V, 156ff.; (3) Cic., *ND* I, 21f.[114] The sections of this argument which deal with the Stoic idea that the universe would have been made *for the sake of man* cannot, of course, derive from Aristotle, and may be discounted. However, I accept Effe's proof that part of the argument was taken over from the *De phil.*[115] I shall concentrate on the version of Aëtius, which explains Cicero's "*novum consilium*" by focussing on the condition of God (= the Demiurge) *before* he decided to create. He must have existed, and cannot have been asleep, for God is eternal, and an eternal sleep equals death. If awake, he was either unhappy or happy; if the first, he would not have been God; if the second, he would not have troubled himself with κέναις ... πράξεσιν, i.e. by creating a world. Effe points out that 'Aëtius' does not argue from unchangeability and perfection, as Arist. *De phil.* Fr. 19c, but from eternal being and eternal bliss[116] as attributes of God. This is not the whole truth. Aët. I, 7, 4ff. argues against both Anaxagoras and Plato[117] because both, *pace* Aëtius, hold that God intervenes in order to build the world from elements: immobile elements in Anaxagoras' case, disorderly moving ones in Plato's case. Both, he says, are wrong to assume (a) that God bothers about men [it should, of course, be noted that Providence is not only an important factor in Stoic theology, but also in that of Plato!] and that (b) for this reason he constructed the universe (τὸν κόσμον κατασκευάζοντα, *Dox.* 300a8). For the divinity — described with Epicurean epithets — *is not receptive towards whatever evil* (κακοῦ πάντος ἄδεκτον); if he would shoulder the burden and worry about the construction of the universe (εἰς τὴν τοῦ κόσμου κατασκευὴν) he would be as unhappy (κακοδαίμων) as a labourer or carpenter. From this it would follow, again, that a Demiurge *cannot be good.* Finally, according to Phil., *Aet. mu.* 10 = Arist. Fr. 18 Rose, *De phil.* Fr. 18 Ross, Aristotle accused those who hold that the universe has come to be and will be destroyed of "shocking atheism" (δεὶνην ... ἀθεότητα), because they believe that the "visible god" (sc. the world) in no way differs from "things manufactured by hand" (τῶν χειροκμήτων). Now Philo, in the sequel, only dwells upon Aristotle's sarcastic rebuttal of those who believe that the world will be destroyed like a house built by men. On the part of a pious person who himself believes in the creation of the universe this is understandable. Aristotle, however, was also concerned with the refutation of cosmogony, and although he will not, presumably, have accused Plato of "terrible atheism" and have preferred to attack others in this harsh way, Plato's theory as in the *Timaeus* is included among the theories attacked.[118] The term χειροκμήτων, after all, refers to what a (human) 'demiurge' would make, and it is used by Aristotle in a related context: *Cael.* II, 5, 287b14f.: the cosmos is a perfect sphere, and nothing "made by hand" stands comparison (σφαιροειδὴς ... ὁ κόσμος ... καὶ ... κατ᾽ἀκρίβειαν ἔντορνος ὥστε μηθὲν ... χειρόκμητον ἔχειν παραπλησίως).[119]

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[112] See ibid.

[113] *O.c.*, 23ff.

[114] I shall return to the Epicureans shortly.

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[115] The structure of the argument *Dox.* 300a 17-301a 8 is the same as that of *De phil.* Fr. 19a and c; the idea of an inactive God is an Aristotelian motif; the argument is used by Boethus, ap. Phil., *Aet. mu.* 83f., who depends on *De phil.* fr. 19a-b-c.

[116] Effe, *o.c.*, 25 and n. 95, adds that these epithets are also valid for Aristotle's God.

[117] Cf. above, n. 98, *in fine*; both are again the target at *Dox.* 300a 19f. ὅτε ἦν ἀκίνητα τὰ σώματα ὃ ἀτάκτως ἐκινεῖτο. The suspicion that Aristotle, in the *De phil.*, argued against both Anaxagoras and Plato cannot be avoided.

To sum up: both Plato and Aristotle argue by using the idea of a bad Demiurge and a bad world. They both believe that the world is good. Plato therefore infers that the Demiurge is good, whereas Aristotle argues that there can be no Demiurge.

Speusippus and Xenocrates and Aristotle and his followers all held that the world is eternal. The Stoics and Epicureans, on the other hand, were of the opposite opinion. The question continued to be debated until the end of the Hellenistic period, and even later. In this debate, the arguments which had been developed by Plato and Aristotle were of constant service. This means that also the position of the Demiurge was argued about again and again.

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[118] Effe, *o.c.*, 9, argues that Aristotle's opponents are the Atomists, whom Philo mentions ib., 8f. But Philo says "Democritus with Epicurus and the great mass of Stoic philosophers", and Stoics and Epicureans cannot have been attacked by Aristotle. From *Cael.* I, 10 it follows that he attacked all who had argued that the world has been generated c.q. has been generated and is destructible. When Arist., Fr. 18, speaks about (a) the violent winds or terrific storms and (b) the lapse of time, or neglect on the part of the builder, as causes of the destruction of the house, which in this comparison represents the universe, this clearly alludes to the διτταὶ αἰτίαι, external and internal, of *De phil.* fr. 19a Ross.

[119] See J. Bernays, *Die Dialoge des Aristoteles*, Berlin 1863, Darmstadt ^{2}1968, 166; at *Phys.* B 1, 192b 29 οἰκία καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν χειροκμήτων ἕκαστον are opposed to what has φύσιν.

6. *The Debate about the Duration of the Universe among the Stoics and their Opponents*

Jonas and others have characterized Gnosticism as a sort of anti-Stoicism. There would be a sharp and fundamental contrast between Stoic optimistic monism and Gnostic pessimistic dualism. As a rough, preliminary description this will do. A closer look, however, reveals the hazards of simplification.

The Stoics (with some exceptions: see below, p. 307) believed that the world is periodically destroyed and periodically reborn. There is a cosmic cycle forever repeating itself in exactly the same way. This theory had to be defended against the well-known arguments of Plato and Aristotle which I have outlined in the previous paragraph. Since I have studied the arguments which were used or may have been used in these contexts by the Stoics at some length elsewhere,[120] I shall here only set out some of their more important features.

The Stoic God, like Plato's and Aristotle's, is good. The ordered world is good; inside it are God and Providence, who penetrate, construct, sustain and eventually destroy it. This destruction by a God who had also made the world could only be defended against the arguments of Plato and Aristotle (a) by arguing that the destruction of the world is inevitable because of its physical constitution and (b) by arguing that this destruction or conversion into fire is not bad but good, inasmuch as the condition of things when all have become fire = God is far superior to the variety of things in the world. The world, in other words, although splendid and as good as can be: rational, administrated by Providence, etc., is inferior to another, metacosmic condition of things. This superior condition, on the other hand, cannot last forever, again because of its physical constitution; when total conflagration has occurred, the fire is gradually extinguished until only a 'seed' of fire survives within the liquid mass that remains. This is the starting-point of a gradual reconstruction, resulting in another world and, in due time, in another supreme moment of total conflagration. Such evil as there is in a world is, as the Stoics somewhat cavalierly argued, inevitable or all for the best of the whole.

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[120] *O.c.* (above, n. 109), 144ff.

To an important extent, this amounts to a revival of Presocratic ideas. It has long been recognized (in fact, already by the Stoics themselves) that Zeno and his followers, by choosing fire as their element and principle, also chose a predecessor: Heraclitus. It is even quite probable that they accepted a curious hint of Aristotle, seriously elaborated by Theophrastus, according to which Heraclitus would have held that the world periodically arises from and disappears into fire.[121] [This is not valid for the real Heraclitus].[122] However Aristotle, in the passage in the *Cael.* where he appears to speak in this way. had coupled Heraclitus with Empedocles, for whom this interpretation is indeed valid; for Empedocles argued that there is a cosmic cycle.[123]

The Stoic view, then, actually is a close parent of that of Empedocles; although our information on this point is scanty, there are a few traces of their interest in Empedocles (the theory of the four elements).[124] Although they differ from him in making the same agency responsible for both the construction and the destruction of the world, they agree with him in holding the destruction to be a positive event. They sharply differ from him, though, in assuming that the construction, although less positive than final conflagration, is also positive. In Stoic cosmology, the worst moment in the cycle has come when almost the whole of fire has turned into a liquid mass: the watery world with only a germ of fire in it is *Chaos*.[125] The divine spark of fire confronts these waters in the manner of Plato's Demiurge approaching the precosmic mass of the Mother of Becoming — but this Stoic Demiurge is *inside* matter and contains *in itself* the 'spermatic logoi' of all things to be, whereas Plato's Demiurge is not inside the precosmic mass and has to look to Ideas which are separate from both it and him. It is important to note, moreover, that according to Zeno part of the liquid mass first turns into earth *before* the Demiurge sets to work. This is, anyhow, how he interpreted Hesiod's cosmogony: first Chaos, then Earth, then Eros — for Eros is "more fiery".[126] This amounts to an implicit rejection of Empedoclean cosmogonic Hate.

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[121] *Cael.* A 10, 279b 14f.; Theophr., *Phys. op.* Fr. 1 Diels, *Dox.* 475, 14-476, 2, cf. Diog. Laert. IX, 8. See G.S. Kirk, *Heraclitus. The Cosmic Fragments*, Cambridge 1954, ²1962, 22f., 319f.; J. Kerschensteiner, *Der Bericht des Theophrast über Heraklit*, in *Hermes* 1955, 385ff.

[122] Kirk, *o.c.*, 314f.

[123] See above, p. 278f.

[124] See EPRO 78, 171f.

[125] *SVF* I, 104 = Schol. Ap. Rhod. I, 498 ... Ζήνων δὲ τὸ παρ' Ἡσίοδῳ χάος ὕδωρ εἶναι φησιν. *SVF* I, 103.

What, in this theory, is comparable to Gnostic views recalls what has been said above concerning Parmenides and Empedocles.[127] Like the Gnostics, the Stoics believed that our world, as compared to a better condition of things, is not perfect; like them, they saw its destruction as a positive event. Unlike them, however, they still saw the world and its Demiurge as good.

Although their theory was consistent and well-argued, it met with much opposition. For one thing, the Stoic theodicy, i.e. their explanation or justification of evil in this world, was felt to be rather unsatisfactory by many people; and it is so indeed.[128] Evil was explained away rather than explained. For another, their view of God and Providence as responsible both for the destruction and the construction of the world was not fully proof against the old arguments of Plato and Aristotle, which were repeated and further refined by later Academics and Peripatetics. There were efforts to make this theory more palatable: Zeno (ap. Alexander of Lycopolis 12; 19, 2f. Brinkmann, not in *SVF*) had said that the universe will be consumed by "*fire*", and Cleanthes (Phil., *Aet. mu.* 90 = *SVF* I, 511) had said this consummation will be accomplished by "flame". 'Fire' and 'flame' somehow sound grim; Cleanthes, however, attempted to furnish a total conflagration with a more positive colouring by stating that the sun, which at *ekpyrosis* assimilates to itself the other heavenly bodies and the other elements (*SVF* I, 510, 536), is the "torch-bearer" in the μυστήριον which is the cosmos (*SVF* I, 538). Stoic theology is a sort of mystery-religion (*SVF* I, 538)! Chrysippus made *ekpyrosis* sound very harmless when he said that the change is to "brightness" (αὐγή, *SVF* II, 611, Phil., *Aet. mu.* 90), and he stressed the positive aspect by affirming that the cosmos does not die but is completely absorbed into the World-Soul (*SVF* II, 604, 605).[129] All things splendidly become God. Chrysippus, following Cleanthes, stated that theology, i.e. the supreme part of physics and philosophy, is to be described in terms of τελεταί (*SVF* II, 22, cf. 1008). Such attempts at bolstering up a cosmological *theory* are a symptom of the difficulties inherent to it: one is invited to leave the domain of rational and cognitive discussion. No wonder, then, that many thinkers refused to be initiated and stuck to argument.

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[126] Ib.: τρίτον δὲ Ἔρωτα γεγονέναι καθ' Ἡσίοδον, ἵνα τὸ πῦρ παραστήσῃ· πυρωδέστερον γὰρ πάθος Ἔρως, and *SVF* I, 105 = Schol. Hes., *Th.*, 117 τρίτον δὲ Ἔρωτα γεγονέναι.

[127] P. 270f., 283, 287.

[128] For references see EPRO 78, 131f., 157f., 185.

Much, of course, has been lost; we still, however, have some bits and pieces concerned with what these others said. Carneades' incompletely preserved arguments against the Stoic concept of Providence use the conceptual implications of the notion of the divine in a way reminiscent of the arguments of Plato and Aristotle.[130] The Peripatetic Critolaus, ap. Phil., *Aet. mu.* 74,[131] used at least one of Aristotle's cosmological arguments. Chrysippus' successor, Zeno of Tarsus, suspended judgement as to *ekpyrosis* (*SVF* III, Zeno Tars. 5); so did another pupil of Chrysippus, Diogenes of Babylon (who went with Critolaus and Carneades to Rome on the famous mission) — but only in his old age (Phil., *Aet. mu.* 77 = *SVF* III, Diog. Bab. 27). Boethus of Sidon, a pupil of Diogenes, went over to the opposition; in one of his arguments, he used the theological argument of Arist., *De phil.* Fr. 19c Ross[132] (Phil., *Aet. mu.* 78-84 = *SVF* III, Boeth. Sid. 7). Panaetius either suspended judgement (Cic. *ND* II, 118 = Fr. 64 van Straaten) or affirmed that the world is eternal (Frs. 65, 66, 68, 69 van Straaten). Other late Hellenistic Stoics, not identified by Philo, tried to escape from the theological dilemma by affirming that the Demiurge only creates the world and that not he, but fire destroys it (*Aet. mu.* 8 = *SVF* II, 620: γενέσεως δὲ αὐτοῦ [sc. τοῦ κόσμου] θεὸν αἴτιον, φθορᾶς δὲ μηκέτι θεὸν κ.τ.λ.).

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[129] See EPRO 78, 135f. For the possible rôle of fire in the Eleusinian mysteries see C.-M. Edsman, *Ignis Divinus*, Lund 1949, 224f.; H. Ludin Jansen, *Die Eleusinische Weihe*, in *Ex Orbe Rel.* (Festschr. Widengren), Leiden 1972, I, [287ff.], 293f.; N.J. Richardson, *The Homeric Hymn to Demeter*, Oxford 1974, 231f. In the discussion concerned with *H. Dem.*, 311f. (and with pictorial material showing torch-bearers) the capital testimony of Cleanthes has not yet been exploited.

[130] See EPRO 78, 185f.

[131] Ib., 186.

[132] Effe, *o.c.*, 11f.; cf. ib., 29f., for Boethus' (also originally Aristotelian) argument concerned with God's inactivity during *ekpyrosis*.

Much of our information, as we have noticed, is from Philo's *On the Incorruptibility of the World.* This work as a whole shows that, even in Philo's time, the issue was very much a live one. Philo himself does not just report, in doxographical fashion, the views of others, but emphatically takes part in the discussion himself; he continuously interpolates and adds arguments of his own, and argues at length against the Stoics *Aet. mu.* 85ff. It is Philo who has transmitted Arist. *De phil.* Fr. 19a-c Ross as *anonymous* arguments, which shows how important they were and how much they had been used. Not only used again and again they were, however, but also adapted. Effe points out a clearly anti-Stoic amplification in the body of Fr. 19a,[133] and it is arguable that a similar amplification occurs in Fr. 19c, viz. that concerned with a Demiurge who, by continually building worlds equal to those he destroyed, is labouring in vain.[134] In this context, the statement with which Philo introduces the theological argument concerned with a Demiurge's possible motives (Fr. 19c)[135] is significant: "There is another, absolutely cogent proof, proudly used, as I know, by *innumerable* persons, who consider it to be absolutely pertinent and virtually irrefutable" (*Aet. mu.* 39). <Aristotle's> third argument, it appears, was absolutely famous, and in continuous use.

Philo's treatise is not the only evidence of the continuing actuality of this discussion; large sections of Cicero's *De natura deorum*, for instance, are devoted to it. There is also other evidence. Cicero's contemporary Diodorus of Sicily, in the introductory chapters of his *History*, gives us a cosmogony and zoogony followed by a history of culture (I, 7-8). That this constitutes only a selection from a wide range of consistently arranged material is what he virtually tells us himself, ib., I, 6, 3: There were two schools of thought παρὰ τοῖς νομιμωτάτοις τῶν τε φυσιολόγων καὶ τῶν ἱστορικῶν: some believed that the universe cannot have been generated and is indestructible and that the human race is eternal, others that the universe has come to be and is perishable and that the human race had first beginnings in time. The argument concerned with the eternity of the human race is traditional and Peripatetic: it was used by Dicaearchus (Fr. 47 and

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[133] *O.c.*, 18 (I would not attribute this to Philo).

[134] Above, n. 110.

[135] See above, p. 300.

Fr. 48 Wehrli) and by Critolaus ap. Phil., *Aet. mu.* 55 (= Fr. 13 Wehrli). Unfortunately, Diodorus gives us no arguments on either side; he himself comes down abruptly on the side of those who assume that the world and mankind are *not* eternal.[136] Fragmentary evidence for the opposite option is available in the case of Antiochus of Ascalon, who "*appellabatur Academicus, erat quidem, si perpauca mutavisset, germanissimus Stoicus*" (Cic., *Luc.* 132). A 'Stoic', however, who thought like Boethus of Sidon, for he believed that the universe is eternal,[137] and it can be shown that he used (at least) one of the Aristotelian-Platonic arguments, though not the theological one of Arist., *De phil.* Fr. 19c Ross.[138] The view, then, which continued to be held by the majority of Stoics, infused a new and continuous actuality into the old arguments, although, in the first cent. B.C., there are no dogmatic Platonists or Aristotelians around, and only symptoms of a largely syncretistic revival of interest in the theories of the great classical philosophers are to be discerned.

7. *The Epicureans*

In his prolix and biased, but indispensable study of Epicurus' philosophical development,[139] Bignone argued that the polemical sections of Lucretius' famous exposition of the arguments concerned with the coming to be and perishability of worlds in the *De rerum natura*, bk. V, are directed not against the Stoics, but against Plato, Aristotle, and Theophrastus. "Lucrezio ... rivive, nell'anima sua ardente di poeta e nell'ammirazione di Epicuro, le lotte antiche del maestro".[140]

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[136] Spoerri, *Späthell. Ber.*, who splendidly comments on ch. 7-8, has neglected I, 6, 3.

[137] Antiochus' physics has been recently studied by J. Dillon, *The Middle Platonists*, London 1977, 81ff.; on his Stoicism see now J. Glucker, *Antiochus and the Late Academy*, Göttingen 1978, 27f., and ib., 90f. (no 'school' of Antiochus at Alexandria); ib., 379: no more than a superficial relation between Antiochus and Middle Platonism.

[138] Cic., *Ac. pr.* I, 28-29: "... *mundum*, (a) *extra quem nulla pars materiae sit nullumque corpus* [cf. Plat., *Tim.* 32c-33b; Arist., *De phil.* Fr. 19a], (b) *partes autem esse mundi omnia quae insint in eo quae natura sentiente teneantur, in qua ratio perfecta insit* [this sounds Stoic, but is also a development of *Tim.* 30bf.] *quae sit eadem sempiterna, nihil enim valentius esse a quo intereat*" [cf. Plat., *loc. cit.*, and *Laws* X, 903bf.; Arist., *loc. cit.*]: the δίτται αἰτίαι — argument.

[139] *O.c.* (above, n. 18), 64ff., 101ff. Bignone's view is to a large extent accepted by P. Boyancé, *Lucrèce et l'Épicurisme*, Paris 1963, 214ff., but with important corrections concerned with the anti-Stoic features of the argument. For a similar problem, cf. W. Kullmann, *Die Teleologie in der aristotelischen Biologie* (SBHeidelberg 1979), 29f.

This is by no means the whole truth. In the previous paragraph, we have noticed that old arguments were kept very much alive, and dominated the discussion down to the first cent. B.C. — which may even have seen a rivival of interest in such questions — and later. This is also valid for the Epicurean contribution to the debate. Epicurus and his followers indeed used some of Aristotle's arguments concerned with the assumption of a Demiurge; but they used these not only against Plato, but also against the Stoics. Actually, the Epicurean argument, as it survives in Lucretius, Cicero, and Aëtius,[141] somewhat confusedly shoots away at all possible targets simultaneously. This appears very clearly in Cic., *ND* I, 20f., where the opponents are Plato *and* the Stoics. In the context of the present inquiry, this conflation is of outstanding interest. Epicurus, or at least his faithful followers, fused the arguments against the assumption of a Demiurge with another one concerned with the actual condition of our world, an argument which is not, of itself, necessarily concerned with a Demiurge. This other argument deals in the first place with the Stoic theodicy.

The Aristotelian argument, adopted by the Epicureans (Aët. I, 7, 5f.; Cic., *ND* I, 21f.; Lucr. V, 168-173, 174-180), according to which a period of lazyness before creation contradicts the definition of God, has already been mentioned above.[142] It is aimed at Plato, but could also be taken to heart by Stoics, as the defection of Boethus of Sidon shows.[143] Another argument, which only occurs in Lucretius (V, 180-194) and for which there are, to my knowledge, no Aristotelian parallels, is hardly applicable to Stoic cosmology. For "the gods", says Lucretius, there can be no other paradigm then what nature herself already has provided (no *exemplum gignundis rebus* (181) ... *si non ipsa dedit specimen natura creandi* (186)). This stands *Plato's* argument that a good Demiurge cannot have looked to a model that has come to be[144] on its head. We may infer that, according to Lucretius, a Demiurge or a plurality of demiurges are superfluous if nature on her own is already capable of producing anything that can be imagined. But this argument is not pertinent to the Stoic theory, because, in Stoic thought, God and nature are one.[145] Very much anti-Stoic, and hardly pertinent to Plato's view, on the other hand, is the argument (Aët., *loc. cit.*; Lucr. V, 156-167, 174) that the world cannot have been created for the sake of men.[146] It is this latter argument, again, which is closely linked up with the argument against the Stoic theodicy. Providence has to be rejected because the world is evil. Lucretius' lines (V, 198-9) are famous [note that V, 195-199 = II, 177-181]:

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[140] *O.c.*, 70.

[141] See Effe, *o.c.*, 23ff.

[142] See previous note. It has been established that Irenaeus used a doxographic handbook of the Aëtius-family (for *Adv. Haer.* II, 14, 1-6; 287ff. Harvey see Diels, *Dox.*, 171f.; for II, 28, 1-2; 349f. Harvey, see R.M. Grant, *After the New Testament*, Philadelphia 1967, 160f., and W.C. van Unnik, *Theological Speculation and its Limits*, in *Festschr. Grant*, 33ff.). What does not seem to have been observed is that in the latter chapter (II,28, 4; 252-3 Harvey) Irenaeus *answers* the argument concerned with the activity or inactivity of God before creation to be found at Aët. I, 7 (ps. Plut.): "*... si quis interrogat, antequam mundum faceret Deus, quid agebat? dicimus quoniam ista responsio subiacet Deo. Quoniam autem mundus hic factus est apotelesticos a Deo, temporale initium accipiens, Scripturae nos docent; quid autem ante hoc Deus sit operatus, nulla Scriptura manifestat. Subiacet ergo haec responsio Deo*". This pious answer is similar to the solution to the 'physical problems' enumerated at II, 28, 2: "*multa fugerunt nostram scientiam, et Deo haec ipsa committimus ... quod autem verum est et certum et firmum, adiacet Deo*"; etc.

nequaquam nobis divinitus esse paratam
naturam rerum: tanta stat praedita culpa

and so is the passage in which he argues this at length (200-234): most of the world is not inhabitable; men have to till the earth in order to get something to eat, but harvests often are destroyed; the earth is crawling with dangerous animals; the seasons bring diseases; many die before their time; the new-born infant wails;[147] animals, however, breed at their ease and find what they need. Only man is unhappy! — It has occasionally been suggested that this extreme pessimism is not attributable to Epicurus and that, even if Epicurus said something similar, it is Lucretius who is responsible for the passage as a whole.[148] What has not, however, been noticed before is that an echo of this idea also occurs in Aët. I, 7. The statement that God made the world for the sake of mankind has been interwoven with the originally Aristotelian argument (I, 7, 5f.) against the assumption of a Demiurge (I, 7, 7), and this is further elaborated ib., I, 7, 10: πῶς δὲ εἴπερ ὁ θεὸς ἔστι καὶ τῇ τούτου φροντίδι τὰ κατ᾽ ἄνθρωπον οἰκονομεῖται, τὸ μὲν κίβδηλον εὐτυχεῖ, τὸ δὲ ἀστεῖον τἀναντία πάσχει; Agamemnon and Heracles[149] were shamefully murdered!

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[143] See above, p. 307.
[144] See above, p. 295.
[145] Cf. e.g. *SVF* II, 937, 1024.
[146] Cf. Ernout-Robin and Bailey *ad loc.*
[147] Lucr. V, 222-227; this recalls Empedocles, *Vorsokr.* Fr. 31B118 (from the *Kath.*).

Even if this argument is not originally one of the master himself, the similar passages in Lucretius and Aëtius show that it was Epicurean in the first cent. B.C. It is original with the Epicureans in the sense that no other Greek philosophers argued that the world is not good. It is noteworthy, however, that for the (later) Epicureans, the argument concerned with theodicy is only one of a number of arguments against the assumption of a Demiurge and of Providence, and that their only inference from their conviction that the world is not good is that the gods do not bother with worlds and do not create (or destroy) them either.[150]

8. *Conclusion*

In the first cent. B.C., a substantial literature was available which was concerned with the question of the duration of the world and with the arguments dealing with the assumption of a Demiurge and with Providence. Part of this literature will have been of a more or less doxographical sort and will have contained abstracts representative of the more important positions. Books of this nature must have been used by Diodorus Siculus and Philo, and presumably also by Cicero. From such literature, each person who was sufficiently interested could, if he wished, work his way back to the works of the seminal thinkers (Cicero often did).

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[148] Boyancé, *Lucr.*, 219. Bignone, *o.c.*, 94, adduced Polistratus, Π. ἀλ. καταφρ. Col. IVa 8 Wilcken; see however M. Isnardi-Parente, *Opere di Epicuro*, Torino 1974, 577f. n. 4, but also, on the other hand, Armstrong, *o.c.* (above, n. 60), 91 n. 5, on Epicurean *Angst*.

[149] On Heracles as a Stoic Hero see e.g. W.C. Stephens, *Two Stoic Heroes in the Metamorphoses*, in *Ovidiana*, ed. N.I. Herescu, Paris 1958, 273ff.

[150] Cf. also Armstrong, *o.c.* 91f., who, however, treats Epicureanism as an isolated phenomenon and ignores the larger context of Lucr. V, 196-199.

The most important possible positions which had retained their actuality can be roughly schematized in the following way:

I the world is good ∼ (a) there is a good Demiurge (Plato, the Stoics)
∼ (b) there is no Demiurge (Aristotle)
II the world is not good ∼ (c) there is no Demiurge (the Epicureans)

Note that Aristotle and the Epicureans derive an identical conclusion from contradictory premisses, and that, given the above scheme, a fourth position is equally possible:

(II the world is not good) ∼ (d) there is an evil Demiurge

This fourth position, that of the Gnostics, is not that of any Greek school of thought. Given the discussion among the Greek philosophers themselves, however, and given the fact that some of them, if only to reject it immediately, had toyed with the idea of an evil Demiurge, and also given the fact that the Epicureans, if they had wished to stand the whole Platonic-Stoic position, and not part of it, on its head, could have concluded to an evil Demiurge [which, for obvious reasons, they did not], it is hardly surprising that at a given moment some outsider(s) introduced position IId: the world not good ∼ an evil Demiurge. For one thing, the information concerning these problems, as we have seen, was readily available in various forms. For another, the fourth position may have been considered, by its semi-Hellenized author(s), to be not absolutely different from the others. It *filled a lacuna* in the grid of possible options, and was affiliated, in various ways, to some of these. As we have noticed above, there are dualist aspects to Stoic and Platonic cosmology. Plato's world, however good, is not perfect: the Ideas are better. The Stoic world is inferior to the condition of things during *ekpyrosis*. We have also noticed that, before Plato, there are interesting indications of dualism in Presocratic cosmology, and that a least one of these early thinkers, Empedocles, was rediscovered around the beginning of the Christian Era.[151]

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[151] Cf. above, n. 2. Lucretius, as is well known, read and admired Empedocles

In conclusion, I would say that the original Gnostic dualistic impulse cannot be fully derived from Greek antecedents, although, to a certain extent, it may perhaps be explained as a critical response to Greek ideas, which coincided with other ideas that were not at all Greek. Enough resemblances of a partial nature, however, can be indicated to make the fact that the Gnostic religion was capable of flourishing in a Graeco-Roman environment somewhat more understandable. Even the history of the single motif studied in the present paper[152] reveals that the phenomenon of the Hellenization of Gnosticism in a variety of more or less intellectual ways is fully comparable to the Hellenization of another Oriental religion: Christianity. Plotinus' view that Gnostic dualism is nothing but perverted Platonism is far too narrow, but it can be justified to a certain degree, and it may well be symptomatic of an understanding that was by no means restricted to circles outside the Gnostic movement, even if this understanding was only limited and not, of course, as devastatingly critical as that of Plotinus.[153]

(cf. e.g. Boyancé, *Lucr.*, 60; Bollack, *Emp.* I, 306f.); this cannot be only Italian tradition or the influence of Ennius, but is best explained in terms of a contemporary Empedocles-revival.

[152] Important in this context, no doubt, is also Neo-Pythagorean dualism from Eudorus onwards; I intend to investigate this phenomenon (and some of its relations with Gnosticism) elsewhere. Cf. also above, n. 71.

[153] I wish to thank Drs. G. van der Geijn, who impeccably typed my manuscript, and at lightning speed. The ms. itself was completed March 1980.

CATALOGUES OF SINS AND VIRTUES PERSONIFIED
(NHC II, 5)

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The Gnostic treatise dealing with the creation to which the modern title has been given of "On the Origin of the World" (abbreviated: *OrgWld*) contains the following passage: "Then since Death was androgynous, he mixed with his nature and begot seven androgynous children. These are the names of the males: Jealousy, Wrath, Weeping, Sighing, Mourning, Lamenting, Tearful Groaning. And these are the names of the females: Wrath, Grief, Lust, Sighing, Cursing, Bitterness, Quarrelsomeness. They had intercourse with one another, and each one begot seven so that they total forty-nine androgynous demons. Their names and their functions you will find in "The Book of Solomon".

Next we learn that in order to have some counterweight against these demons "Zoe, who exists with Sabaoth, created seven androgynous good powers. These are the names of the males: One-who-is-not-jealous, the Blessed, Joy, the True One, One-who-is-not-envious, the Beloved, the Trustworthy One. (As for) the females, however, these are their names: Peace, Gladness, Rejoicing, Blessedness, Truth, Love, Faith. And many good and guileless spirits are derived from these. Their accomplishments and their functions you will find in "The Schemata of the Heimarmene of the Heaven which is Beneath the Twelve".[1]

This passage is interesting not only because it offers two parallel catalogues consisting of seven pairs of personified sins and other evils, and seven pairs of personified virtues and good powers, but also because these catalogues have been made part of a genealogy. Earlier in his treatise the author has told that Death and Sabaoth were both sons of Ialdabaoth, the First Father of Chaos, while Zoe was the daughter of Pistis (106, 19-24; 26-29). Several well-known religious and literary phenomena, therefore, appear here together: catalogues of sins and virtues, the reduction of their members to a specific number, personification and genealogy. We should like to comment in this paper on these various aspects in their mutual combinations.

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[1] Translation by H. G. Bethge-O. S. Wintermute in; J. M. Robinson (ed.), *The Nag Hammadi Library in English*, San Francisco 1977, 167 (NHC II 106, 27-107, 17). I have changed their contradictory "androgynous sons" to "androgynous children", which is equally possible on the ground of the Coptic text.

The closest parallels to these series of *personified virtues* are provided by Hermas and Lucian of Samosata. The former's *Visio* III, 8, 3-7 depicts a tower, symbolizing the Church, round which there stand seven women who have the following names: Πίστις, Ἐγκράτεια, Ἁπλότης, Ἐπιστήμη, Ἀκακία, Σεμνότης, Ἀγάπη, while each is said to be the daughter of the preceding one. In Lucian's satyrical dialogue "*The Fisherman*" a person called "Parrhesiades", who is nothing but the author's own frankness displayed in an earlier treatise "*Philosophies for Sale*", — has to defend himself against various philosophers. 'Philosophy' proposes now that this trial will take place in the Acropolis and asks seven advocates, Ἀρετή, Σωφροσύνη, Δικαιοσύνη, Παιδεία, Ἀλήθεια, Ἐλευθερία, Παρρησία, to assist Parrhesiades. She also calls for the help of "Investigation" (Ἔλεγχος) and "Proof" (Ἀπόδειξις) (ch. 15-17). An example of two opposed series of equal numbers of personified vices and virtues is likewise provided by Hermas. In his IXth *Similitude* 15, 2 twelve virgins standing around the porch building of a tower (again: the Church) represent virtues: Πίστις, Ἐγκράτεια, Δύναμις, Μακροθυμία, Ἁπλότης, Ἀκακία, Ἁγνεία, Ἱλαρότης, Ἀλήθεια, Σύνεσις, Ὁμόνοια, Ἀγάπη. But now there are also in the neighbourhood twelve women, clothed in black, who, of course, represent sins: Ἀπιστία, Ἀκρασία, Ἀπείθεια, Ἀπάτη, Λύπη, Πονηρία, Ἀσέλγεια, Ὀξυχολία, Ψεῦδος, Ἀφροσύνη, Καταλαλιά, Μῖσος (*Sim*. IX, 15, 3).

Now the two lists in *OrgWld* are also instances of that special type which contains a *specific number* of members, in this case twice the number of completeness, Seven. The above mentioned parallels from Hermas and Lucian were examples of this special type as well, but the following can be added: the catalogue of seven sins in Matthew XV 19, where Par. Mark VII 21-22 has 13 sins; the seven evils which Beliar causes by the sword (Test. of Benjamin VII 1-2; among them is one sin: φθόνος); the seven spirits of deceit who each affect one of the four senses and other functions of life: πορνεία, ἀπληστία, μάχη, ἀρέσκεια and μαγγανία (together one spirit), ὑπερηφανία, ψεῦδος, ἀδικία (Test. of Ruben II, 3 - III, 7);[2] finally, the seven "vices" connected with the (rulers of the) planetary spheres in Hermeticism and probably also in Gnosticism: αὐξητικὴ ἐνέργεια καὶ μειωτική, μηχανὴ τῶν κακῶν, ἐπιθυμητικὴ ἀπάτη, ἀρχοντικὴ προφανία, θρᾶσος ἀνόσιον, ἀφορμαὶ κακαὶ τοῦ πλούτου, ψεῦδος.[3] The lists in *OrgWld* do not however, resemble any of these heptads adduced, and contain in their turn such rare items as 'Sighing' which is unparalleled.

Equally widespread in the Hellenistic period as 'seven' or 'twelve' is the wellknown tetrad of the cardinal virtues and that of the cardinal vices and corresponding passions. In Jewish literature the cardinal virtues are, for instance, found in Wisdom of Solomon VIII, 7 and 4 Macc. I, 18. These tetrads often served as 'headings' to subdivide 'open' catalogues, since all further vices and virtues were considered to be varieties of the cardinal ones. One of the most spectacular instances is the list of the philosopher Andronicus of Rhodes, which contains 27 kinds of ἐπιθυμία, 5 sorts of ἡδονή, 13 types of φόβος, 25 varieties of λύπη, together 70 vices.[4]

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[2] There is an eigth, general spirit, who affects all the senses and functions: "sleep", cf. Matt. XII, 45.

[3] *Poimandres* 25: the list does not contain vices only; seven kinds of sinners, not connected with the spheres are listed in ch. 23 (the senseless, the bad, the evil, the envious, the greedy, the murderers, and the impious). Irenaeus, *Adv. haer.* I, 29, 4, speaks with regard to the Barbelognostic doctrine of one planetary archon, Proarchontes, and six sins: authadia, kakia, zelos, phthonus, erinnys, epithymia. A remnant of this system may be present in *Authoritave Teaching* (NHC VI, 23, 13-16) according to R. v.d. Broek, *The Authentikos Logos: A New Document of Christian Platonism*, in *VC* 33, 1979, 264. For a general survey see A. Kehl, *Gewand (der Seele)*, in RAC X, Stuttgart 1978, 957-958.

[4] *SVF* III, 262ss. cf. A. Vögtle, *Die Tugend- und Lasterkataloge im Neuen Testament*, Münster 1936, 61. By its extent this list even surpasses the catalogue of evils in *OrgWld* which consists of seven males and seven females, who are said to have had 49 children: together 63. For these 49 demons and their functions the author refers to a *Book of Solomon*, and this is no surprise, since that king's power over demons is already mentioned by Josephus, who tells us how a certain Eleazar exorcized demons in the presence of the emperor Vespasian swearing an oath by Solomon (*Ant. Jud.* VIII 45-49). According to J. Doresse, *Les livres secrets des gnostiques d'Égypte*, Paris 1958, 193, this *Book of Solomon* is to be identified with a letter of Solomon to his son Roboam entitled *Hygromanteia*, an astrological work found in a late ms. dating from the 16th century published by J. Heeg - C. A. Ruelle in *Catalogus Codicum Astrologorum Graecorum*, tom. VIII, part. II, Brussels 1911, 143 ss (cf. tom. VII, p. 3

An exact parallel to Andronicus' quadruple catalogue has the *Apocryphon of John* (NHC II, 18, 14-31) "The four chief demons are: Ephememphi who belongs to pleasure, Iôkô who belongs to desire, Nenentôphni who belongs to grief, Blaomên who belongs to fear. And the mother of them all is Esthê(si)s-Ouchepiptoê. And from the four demons passions came forth." Next the author enumerates as coming forth from grief: 8 passions with an "etc." added, from pleasure: 2 and from desire: 5, both with the addition: "and similar things", from fear: 4 passions.

Here we have the four familiar passions as children of Aesthesis, to whom as a third generation four open lists of together 19 passions and some etceteras are added. Open catalogues without a principle of subdivision occur also in the Nag-Hammadi collection.[5] They have their forerunners in the unstructured catalogues in Qumrân-literature (*Manual of Discipline* ch. IV: 13 virtues and 21 vices), the New Testament[6] and the Apostolic Fathers (*Ep. of Barnabas* ch. XX: 39 vices). On the other hand, the numerous open catalogues in such pagan authors as Dio Chysostom may have been of influence,[7] and since

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for the date of the ms.). The full subtitle of this work runs: "Key to the entire Art of Hygromancy found by various experts and by the holy prophet Solomon, in which he seems to write to his son Roboam". This writing does not, however, expose any hygromancy, but is an extensive list of the 7 × 24 hours of the week, with preceptions about what should or should not be done in each of them; it also contains the names of the different angels and demons presiding over the hours, but not their various functions.

The first hour of Sunday, for instance, is governed by Michael and his evil partner Asmodai. The names of the 168 angels end in -ήλ almost without exception, while those of the demons do so only sometimes e.g. Tartaruel (Sunday, 21st hour). In spite of the fact that this list contains ancient elements — some Egyptian deities have found a place among the demons, such as Σαραπιδιέ (Tuesday, 4th hour) and ῾Οσθριδιέ (probably ῾Οσιριδιέ, Tuesday, 11th hour) — I think it rather doubtful that this book of astrology is really the same as the one referred to in *OrgWld.*

[5] NHC I, 80, 5-9; I, 85, 7-10; VI, 31, 1-7; VI, 39, 22-33; VII, 37, 28-35; VII, 84, 20-26; VII, 95, 20-33.

[6] Except, Col. III, 5-17 where the two catalogues of sins and that of virtues consist each of five members, see S. Wibbing, *Die Tugend- und Lasterkataloge im Neuen Testament und ihre Traditionsgeschichte unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der Qumran-Texte*, Berlin 1959, 85; we should like to add Matth. XV, 19: seven sins, in contrast to Mk VII, 21-22: 13 sins.

[7] See G. Mussie<s> *), *Dio Chrysostom and the New Testament* (SCH. II), Leyden 1972, 69-70.

*) Prof. Quispel never pronounces my final *s*: I trust he will in future.

we are on Egyptian soil, and at least some of the Nag Hammadi treatises mention Egyptian details like Apis and Mnevis, and hieroglyphic writing,[8] it should not be forgotten that the Book of the Dead contains the so-called "negative confessions": the deceased hails each of the 42 judges in the underworld in turn and declares in front of him that he has not committed a specific crime: "I have not done iniquity ... I have not robbed with violence ... I have not done violence (to any man) ... I have not committed theft ... etc.[9]

However, catalogues of sins or virtues, in the proper sense, are not found in the Old Testament,[10] and apparently they are likewise absent from Talmud and Midrashim.[11]

Next we have to consider the four heptads of *OrgWld* in their *interrelationships*. For this purpose we present them here side by side, in vertical arrangement:

Evil Powers		*Good Powers*	
male:	female:	male:	female:
1. Jealousy	1. Wrath	1. One-who-is-not-jealous	1. Peace
2. Wrath	2. Grief	2. The Blessed	2. Gladness
3. Weeping	3. Lust	3. Joy	3. Rejoicing
4. Sighing	4. Sighing	4. The True One	4. Blessedness
5. Mourning	5. Cursing	5. One-who-is-not-envious	5. Truth
6. Lamenting	6. Bitterness	6. The Beloved	6. Love
7. Tearful Groaning.	7. Quarrelsomeness.	7. The Trustworthy One.	7. Faith.

At first sight there appears to be some correspondence between the series of the evil powers and those of the good ones, in this sense, that a specific place in the bad series and the corresponding place in the good series are occupied by words that are one another’s antonyms: male ‘Jealousy’ (nr. 1) is opposed to male ‘One-who-is-not-jealous’ (nr. 1), male ‘Weeping’ (nr. 3) to male ‘Joy’ (nr. 3), female ‘Grief’ (nr. 2) to female ‘Gladness’ (nr. 2). In the same way there is some degree of correspondence between the male and female series of the same category in that corresponding places are occupied by more or less synonymous words: male ‘Sighing’ (bad nr. 4) equals female ‘Sighing’, male ‘Joy’ (good nr. 3) equals female ‘Rejoicing’, ‘The Beloved’ (good nr. 6) corresponds to ‘Love’, and ‘The Trustworthy One’ (good nr. 7) to ‘Faith’.

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[8] NHC II, 122, 21-22 ("the two bulls of Egypt"); VI, 61, 18-23.

[9] E. A. Wallis Budge, *The Book of the Dead*, London 1953 (2nd ed.), 366-371.

[10] Wibbing, *o.c.*, 26.

[11] H.L. Strack - P. Billerbeck, *Kommentar zum Neuen Testament aus Talmud und Midrasch*, München 1922-'28, does not adduce any parallels at Matt. XV, 19 except the late Derekh Erets Zuṭa 6 which specifies the seven abominations alluded to in Prov. XXVI, 25 (I, 722); at Rom. I, 29-31 only Hellenistic Jewish instances are given (III, 75). At Gal. VI, 2 is quoted from *Avoth* the full list of the 48 requirements which a competent scholar of the Torah has to meet (6, 5s.): these include many virtues such as humility, not to praise oneself, etc. (III, 577).

On the other hand, however, one can easily see that in the remaining cases the correspondence is weak, or wholly absent e.g. male ‘Weeping’ (bad nr. 3) vs. female ‘Lust’. Moreover, there are some doublets: in the series of male evils nrs. 3 and 7 are actually the same Coptic substantives, but nr. 7 has a genitive adjunct, so according to the principle of concordant translation both should be either ‘Weeping’ or ‘Groaning’; bad nrs. 4 ‘Sighing’ are identical Coptic substantives, and in the male good series nrs. 1 and 5 are synonyms, nr. 1 being vernacular Coptic ⲡⲉⲧⲉⲙⲁϥⲕⲱϩ, nr. 5 the corresponding Greek ⲡⲉⲧⲉⲙⲁϥⲫⲑⲟⲛⲉⲓ. All this together does not make an impression of great consistency and system, and one is tempted to make some kind of rearrangement, but how? Somewhat more equilibrium can at least be created between the male and the female series. To begin with the evils. We have the impression that nr. 7 Quarrelsomeness was originally nr. 1, but had at first been overlooked by the copyist who placed her at the end, when he saw that he still was in need of a nr. 7. If we remove her to the head of the series we get the following list:

male	female
1. Jealousy	7. Quarrelsomeness
2. Wrath	1. Wrath
3. Weeping	2. Grief
4. Sighing	3. Lust
5. Mourning	4. Sighing
6. Lamenting	5. Cursing
7. Tearful Groaning	6. Bitterness

We think that these pairs make better matches except for “Lust’ who is no good wife to any of these males. It is true that the two ‘Sighings’ are now divorced, but in the Copic text both are the same *masculine* word, which makes us suppose that the author filled the place of female nr. 4 by mistake with male nr. 4.

The good list is no less confused, but pairs nr. 1, 3, 6 and 7 appear to be reasonably fitting couples. The order of the remaining three can be restored by removing fem. nr. 4 "Blessedness" to place 2, fem. nr. 5. "Truth" to place 4, and fem. nr. 2 "Gladness" to place 5. In this way we get:

male	female
1. One-who-is-not-jealous	1. Peace
2. The Blessed	4. Blessedness
3. Joy	3. Rejoicing
4. The True One	5. Truth
5. One-who-is-not-envious	2. Gladness
6. The Beloved	6. Love
7. The Trustworthy One	7. Faith

Nr. 5 One-who-is-not-envious, and nr. 2 Gladness do not fit too well, but we suspect nr. 5 to be an erroneous repetition of nr. 1; feminine nr. 2 is at any rate the opposite of the bad couple nrs. 5 and 4. The first three couples, too, are more or less one another's antonyms. For the rest the principle of opposed pairs is not maintained and was probably neither present in the original.

Our passage is also a combination of *genealogy and personification*: the seven pairs of evils are pictured as androgynous 'children' of Death, itself the androgynous child of Ialdabaoth. The seven androgynous good powers are 'created' by another child of Ialdabaoth, Zoe, 'who exists with Sabaoth': this is probably another way of saying that they are the offspring of Zoe, perhaps also of Sabaoth, since it was said earlier in our tractate that Pistis gave her daughter Zoe to Sabaoth. (II 104, 26-31).

Such combinations of pedigree and personification are very old. Homer calls 'Death' the 'brother' of 'Sleep' (Iliad XIV, 231); "Strife" — Ἔρις is the sister of the wargod Ares (Iliad IV, 440-1), who is himself the father of "Fear" — Φόβος.[12] In the Odyssey the "Sun" is the son of Hyperion (12, 176), and the husband of Perse, while Circe is their daughter (10, 138). It is a matter of some dispute, of course, whether Homer's personifications are literary and artificial, or not. If not, he really saw 'Sleep' as a personal being of some kind, a case which some scholars do not consider to be a personification in the proper sense.[13] We shall not differentiate the two kinds here, since we are dealing not only with the beliefs of the author Homer but also with what his audience through the ages thought of such passages. The choice between animistic conception and artificial personification could vary from person to person and in subsequent periods. Historically speaking it is not certain that literary personification — the author knows that the thing personified is not really a person — had its origin in animistic conceptions and gradually supplanted them. What may be seen here and there in Homer is, of course, more clearly worked out by an author such as Hesiod, who makes the family tree of gods and cosmic powers his special subject: Earth marries Sky and gives birth to Ocean, Law, Memory, etc. (*Theog.* 126-135).

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[12] Iliad XIII, 299. Fear is a number of times mentioned together with his companion Δεῖμος-Terror e.g. Iliad XV, 119. For this reason the American astronomer Asaph Hall who was the first to see both the moons of the planet Mars baptized them 'Deimos'

The ancient religions of the Near East offer likewise examples of personifications made part of a pedigree. In Egypt Ma'at (Truth) was the daughter of Sun (Re') and wife of Thot. In the theology of the priesthood of Hermupolis the ogdoad of the primeval gods consisted of Nun (Primeval Water), Amun (the Unseen), Huh (Unendingness) Kuk (Darkness) and their wives Naunet, Amaunet, Hauhet and Kauket.

In Babylonia Shamash (the Sun) was the son of Sin (the Moon), the brother of Ishtar, and the husband of Â. Zoroastrianism, too, had its personifications, although the dividing line between person and abstraction is often difficult to draw. A touch of genealogy is found in *Gatha* 45, 4 where Ahura-Mazdā (Lord Wisdom) is the father of Vohū Manah (Good Thought), and also of Armaiti (Devotion) who is his daughter.[14]

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and 'Phobos' in 1877. In Apuleius' *Metam.* X, 31 Terror and Metus are the companions of Minerva. Phobos was worshipped at Selinus.

[13] See the discussion in A. H. M. Kessels, *Studies on the Dream in Greek Literature*, Utrecht 1978, 7-8 with regard to the Homeric personifications of the dream. On p. 15 n. 13 the distinction is made between 'poetic' and 'unconscious' personification.

[14] J. Duchesne-Guillemin, *Zoroastre*, Paris 1948, 228 translates in such a way that Devotion is the daughter of Good Thought, and hence Ahura-Mazdā's grand-

We have given these well-known examples to contrast them with the Book of Genesis where the genealogies are devoid of personifications. 'Eve' means 'Life' (cf. Ζωή at Gen. III, 20 only, elsewhere Ευα) and if it ever was a personification in an underlying source, it is made undone by the explanation given of the name (Gen. III, 20). At best some of the persons of the primeval pedigree are generic: 'Adam' — 'Man', or eponymous: Cain- 'Smith', but as the latter was a 'tiller of the soil', this too does not function any longer.

Even the phenomenon of personification as such is not frequent in the Old Testament. It is true that towns are addressed as 'daughter' by prophets and psalmists e.g. Zechariah IX, 9 'Rejoice greatly, daughter Zion! Jubilate, daughter Jerusalem!'.[15] But personifications of abstract notions are rare and late, the only examples being 'Wisdom' as a woman in Proverbs (e.g.. IX, 16) and her counterpart 'Lady Foolishness' (IX, 13). However, as no part of this book was written before 350 B.C. and its final redaction occurred in the second century B.C.,[16] these personifications may be due to Hellenistic influence, though not necessarily so: in Psalm LXXXV, 11-14, too, which may be dated to the late-Persian period, a number of abstractions such as love, peace, righteousness are performing human actions. However this may be, henceforward personifications become more numerous in Jewish literature, such as 'Wisdom' in Sirach XXIV, 1-22, and in Philo's *De fuga* 50-51, where he even calls her 'God's daughter'. In the New Testament we find 'the Law' as a pedagogue (Gal. III, 24, cf. 4 Macc. V, 35) and 'Death' as one of the apocalyptic horsemen (Apc. John VI, 8). They also occur in the Talmud: R. Akiba tells a parable about the various afflictions sent out to man and bound by oath to affect him on a special date and to leave him again on a special date (*'Av. Zarah* 55a). And Midrash Rabbah on Exodus makes the Torah a person who stands in front of God and pleads for

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daughter, but Dr. G. Kreyenbroek of the Institute of Iranian Language and Literature, Utrecht, has kindly shown me that this is not right.

[15] Cf. H. G. Mitchell, *Haggai and Zechariah*, Edinburgh 1951 (3rd impr.), 272. The 'head' of an apposition is in Hebrew in the construct state: hence, the translation 'daughter of Zion' is not correct here.

[16] See C. H. Toy, *The Book of Proverbs*, Edinburgh 1970 (repr. 1899), XXVI; XXX. O. Eissfeldt, *Einleitung in das Alte Testament*, Tübingen 3rd ed. 1964, 640: not before IVth or IIIrd century.

mercy for the souls that had fled from Him (Yithro XXIX, 4). However, pedigrees of personifications are absent from all these writings.

Finally we have to discuss the *sex* of personifications. This was determined by a very simple mechanism: when the meaning of a masculine word is personified it automatically becomes a male person, and the meaning of a feminine word a female person, in accordance, of course, with the fact that *most*[17] words denoting males are masculine, and females feminine.[18] The sex is most clearly visible when personifications are further qualified by other words denoting male or female persons, such as 'father', 'mother', 'son', 'daughter', 'brother', 'sister', etc. The instances given above were mostly parts of some genealogical construction, where the family ties show or imply the sex of the personified notions. There are, however, numerous 'isolated' cases which are no part of a pedigree in the strict sense and where e.g. the apposition 'mother of' or 'daughter of' is such a faded personification, that it becomes practically synonymous with 'origin of ...', 'cause of ...', or 'result of ...'.

In this way Heraclitus called πόλεμος 'the father of all things' (fr. 29 Marcovich); Ps-Phocylides, 42, refers to φιλοχρημοσύνη (love of money) as 'mother of all evil', Philo to ἰσότης as 'mother of justice' (*Spec. Leg.* II, 231), the Test. of Benjamin to the sword (μάχαιρα) as 'mother of seven evils' (VII, 1); Palladas of Alexandria (Vth cent. A.D.) addresses gold as 'father of flatterers, son of pain and care' (Anth. Pal IX, 394); Epicharmus made ἐγγύα (security) the daughter of ἄτα (mischief), and ζαμία (damage) that of security (Migne P.G. 9, p. 236); Clement of Alexandria speaks of εὐλάβεια (reverence) as 'the daughter of Law', (*Strom.* II, 20, 123), and of εἰρήνη and ἀγάπη as 'quiet sisters' (*Paed.* I, 12, 99). Compare also Pindar's reference to νόμος as 'king of all' (fr. 152 Bowra), that of Eusebius to the middle porch (πύλη) of the new basilica in Tyre as 'queen' (*Hist. Eccl.* X, IV 41), and finally that of Epicharmus to ῾Ασυχία as a 'woman who lives close to Discretion' (fr. 101 Kaibel).

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[17] In Greek the majority of the exceptions are diminutives, but there are also instances like ἡ ἄρρην ἀλώπηξ 'the male fox'; cf. in French 'la sentinelle', in German 'die Schildwache'. In Bretonic the word for 'the woman' *ar plac'h* is of the masculine gender (according to G. Royen, *Die nominalen Klassifikations-Systeme in den Sprachen der Erde*, Mödling 1929, 414; 835, quoting H. Pedersen's *Vergleichende Grammatik der keltischen Sprachen*).

[18] The procedure was criticized by Arnobius, *Adv. gentes* III, 8, in connection with God: "*Non enim deus mas est, sed nomen eius generis masculini est.*"

The mechanism holds for Hebrew, too : in Proverbs IX, 13 'Foolishness' (כְּסִילוּת) is a woman (אֵשֶׁת־), and as names of towns are feminine both in Hebrew and in Greek, on the analogy of fem. *῾ir* and πόλις, Zechariah IX, 9 has 'daughter Zion', 'daughter Jerusalem', and 4 Ezra X, 7 'mater Sion' (translated from the Greek).[19]

Even when for the sake of speculation something denoted by a feminine word is said to have a male character the personification can still be in line with the grammatical gender of that word. An instance is found in Philo's *De fuga* 50-51 where Sophia is said to be a rather manly virtue; nevertheless he calls her there 'God's daughter'. And Hermas depicts ῾Εγκράτεια as ἀνδριζομένη, but she is still the 'daughter of Faith' (*Vis.* III, VIII, 4). There are, however, also exceptions as we shall see below.

In another way the sex of personifications is shown when they are portrayed as men or women by sculptors, painters or other artists. On an epinetron the Eretria-painter depicts *int. al.* the preparation of the wedding of Cadmus. He represents as women Harmonia, Peitho and Hebe, and Himeros, the twin-brother of Eros as a man.[20] It is needless to give instances of the numerous pictures of Τύχη, ῾Ομόνοια, ῾Υγίεια as goddesses on coins.[21] Especially Roman coins offer many examples, which have been collected by Gnecchi in 1905 : he listed then 40 examples, sometimes of very prosaic or technical notions, such as ANNONA 'Corn Supply', which all together occurred on 1175 different coin issues, dating from Pompey to Constantine the Great.[22] The rather material character of some personifications is also illustrated by CIVITAS "Citizenship" to whom an inscription is dedicated probably by a freedman, and DISCIPLINA MILITARIS deified in all probability by the emperor Hadrian in connection with his military reforms.[23] No great wonder that such a practice became the object of mockery to Christians like Arnobius who begins his IVth Book 'Against the Heathen' as follows: "We should like to ask you (sc. non-Christians in general), and especially you, Romans, lords and leaders of the world, whether you think that 'Piety', 'Concord', 'Safety', 'Honour', 'Virtue', 'Happiness', and other such names to which we see altars built by you and magnificent sanctuaries, have divine power and live in the heavenly regions?"

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[19] Cf. also Lamentations ch. I-II and Ezech. XVI, 11-12. The picture is not different with Latin authors; Cicero in his prayer to *'Philosophia'* addresses her as *'indigatrix'*, *'expultrix'*, *'inventrix legum'* and *'magistra morum'* (*Tusc.* V, 5); St. Augustine speaks of the *'ecclesia'* as *'mater'* (*Conf.* I, XI, 17; cf. VII, I, 1) and of the *'catholica via'* as *'nondum ... victrix'*, (*Conf.* V, XIV, 24); *'arbor'* is mother of the *'ficus'* (*Conf.* III, x, 18), *'lux'* is *'regina colorum'* (*Conf.* X, XXXIV, 51), Jerusalem is referred to as *'matrem meam'* (*Conf.* XII, XVI, 23), Carthago as *'aemula ... imperii Romani'* (*Civ. Dei* I, 30).

[20] National Museum, Athens, nr. 1629.

[21] Cf. also Pausanias VI, 2, 7; IX, 39, 3, and Pliny, *N.H.* XXXV, 141, where images of these three are mentioned.

[22] F. Gnecchi, *Le personificazioni allegoriche sulle monete imperiali*, in *Rivista Italiana di Numismatica* XVIII, 1905, 349-359.

The Greek language and Latin had also *neuter* words. These could be personified in different ways. Hesiod tells us how in the beginning female 'Night' became pregnant by (τὸ) Ἔρεβος — 'Darkness' and gave birth to 'Aether' and 'Day' (*Theog.* 124-125). Here the neuter becomes a male. Philolaos, on the other hand, spoke of τὸ πῦρ as 'mother of the gods' (Aetius II, 7, 7). Sometimes neuter words were left unaccompanied by specifications which bring out their sex. Vergil personifies 'mortiferum... Bellum' along with Luctus, Morbi, Senectus, Metus, without further additions.[24] In Coptic all this could mean problems since it had no neuter gender; when Greek neuters were borrowed they were generally treated as masculine words,[25] for instance, in our list of male bad powers nr. 5. ⲡⲡⲉⲛⲑⲟⲥ is Greek τὸ πένθος. But what to do in Coptic with Greek neuters personified to females?

As is well known Gnosticism in its many varieties made an excessive use of personifications and genealogies. Tertullian speaks in this connection of 'those inexplicable genealogies of the Valentinian aeons': Et cum ... dicit (sc. Isaiah XLVI, 9 'Ante me deus non fuit' nescio quas illas Valentinianorum Aeonum genealogias pulsat. (*De carne Christi* XXIV, 2). The sketches which the Churchfathers give of their different systems illustrate this characteristic abundantly. And the writings of the Nag Hammadi Library, whether Gnostic or at least open to Gnostic interpretation, are quite in line with this picture. To mention only some examples: the 'Aeons' are 'fathers' (I, 68, 10), 'brothers' of the Logos (I, 81, 32), 'Sophia' is a 'barren woman' (II, 59, 30-34), she is a 'sister' (II, 23, 20), the 'wife' of Immortal Man (III, 88, 6-7), the 'mother' of the angels (II, 63, 30-32), of the Universe (III, 104, 17-18; 114, 14-15), also of Achamoth (V, 35, 7-9), she is loved by the Archon of the Western Regions (VI, 44, 14-20); 'Matter' (ⲑⲩⲗⲏ) is 'mother' of Sabaoth (II, 95, 14-17); 'Life' (ⲍⲱⲏ) is the 'daughter' of Pistis Sophia (II, 95, 5-6); cf. also from Irenaeus: the First Τετράς is the 'mother' of the Second Τέτράς, while the Ὀγδοάς is the 'mother' of the thirty Aeons (*Adv. haer.* I, 15, 2; 16, 2). There are here, however, also exceptions, which we shall discuss below.

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[23] H.L. Axtell, *The Deification of Abstract Ideas in Roman Literature and Inscriptions*, Chicago 1907, 49 (CIL VI, 88), and 35 (e.g. CIL VIII, 9832).

[24] *Aeneid* VI, 274-276. Cf. from Axtell, *o.c.*, 50, the inscription dedicated to 'Tempus Bonum' (CIL III, 13747).

[25] W. Till, *Koptische Grammatik*, Leipzig 1955, 55.

If with such instances in mind we now look at the *gender* of the personifications in *OrgWld* II, 106, 27ss. we perceive something rather strange: in spite of the fact that of two series the members are explicitly introduced as females they do not contain feminine words only but also some masculine ones ⲡⲁϣⲉϩⲟⲙ, ⲡⲥⲁϩⲟⲩⲉ (female evil powers nrs. 4 and 5), and ⲡⲟⲩⲣⲁⲧ, ⲡⲧⲉⲗⲏⲗ (female good powers nrs. 2 and 3). As there is no speculation worded here about the rather manly nature of these female beings, as it was done in Philo's *De fuga* 50-51 about 'Sophia' (see above), such a type of reasoning cannot be adduced to explain the discrepancy between female sex and masculine gender in our passage. These inconsistencies, we think, can only find their explanation in the fact that this part of *OrgWld* was not originally composed in Coptic but was translated from a language in which four feminine words correspond with these four Coptic masculine ones. This explanation implies, however, that a Coptic translator had here no feminine equivalents at his disposal.

There is, of course, no doubt about the fact that in the Imperial period the most important language in Egypt was Greek, and if, therefore, some book or treatise in the less important vernacular Coptic is a *translation*, the most natural assumption is, that it has been translated from the Greek. Now it is generally taken for granted that all the writings contained in the Nag Hammadi Library once existed in Greek, either as the language of the original composition, or as an intermediate stage, although to only some of the writings a Greek parallel version is extant.[26] This holds good of the 'Gospel of Thomas' (II, 2), the "Hermetic Prayer of Thanksgiving" (VI, 7), 'Asclepius' (VI, 8), the 'Sentences of Sextus' (XII, I), and, of course, the Plato fragment (VI, 5).[27] For the remaining tractates the evidence is only circumstantial; the 'Prayer of the Apostle Paul' (I, 1) has its title and colophon subscribed in Greek: ⲡⲣⲟⲥⲉⲩⲭⲏ ⲡⲁ[ⲩⲗⲟⲩ] ⲁⲡⲟⲥⲧⲟⲗⲟⲩ ⲉⲛ ⲉⲓⲣⲏⲛ[ⲏ] ⲟ ⲭⲣ(ⲓⲥⲧⲟⲥ) ⲁⲅⲓⲟⲥ: is this the only part untranslated, or is it a Greek title given or later added to an originally Coptic composition? There is also the large amount of Greek words in these writings, in one of them up to 36% of the total text.[28] These loan words are often assumed to have been taken over from the supposed Greek originals, but this is not certain, for anyone knows that Coptic literature and papyri generally contain much Greek. Where parallel Coptic versions are extant, for instance, of the Apocryphon of John, they contain different amounts of Greek words, which seems to suggest that different translators were at work who each made his own choice from a Greek original, but it is also thinkable that a copying purist reduced the number of Greek loans in a Coptic original. Sometimes the Greek loans are not identical ones in the different versions, which further complicates the matter.[29]

At best therefore such facts point to extensive language mixing, not necessarily to translation. Even the fact that an 'Apocalypse of Allogenes' is likely to have been consulted by the Greek writing philosopher Plotinus, does not prove that the Nag Hammadi tractate entitled 'Allogenes' (XI, 3) existed in Greek, because Plotinus was born in Lycopolis (Upper Egypt) and may quite well have known Coptic or some Coptic.[30]

Nevertheless, in spite of all these remarks of an *advocatus diaboli*, we believe that in some cases linguistic proof of a Greek original can be found in the treatment of the personifications. In *Org Wld* II, 106, 27 ss. the four masculine personifications make as such no sense in lists of females, but a translator had here no choice: to none of them there existed feminine synonyms in Coptic, to judge by the cross references in the English and German word lists made up by Crum, Spiegelberg and Westendorf.[31] Three are used in other texts to translate Greek words of feminine gender: ⲡⲥⲁϩⲟⲩⲉ renders κατάρα or λοιδορία, ⲡⲟⲩⲣⲁⲧ εὐφροσύνη and ⲡⲧⲉⲗⲏⲗ ἀγαλλίασις.[32] The spoil-sport is ⲡⲁϣⲉϩⲟⲙ 'sigh', which is the normal rendering of masculine στεναγμός,[33] and also of βρυγμός 'gnashing', likewise masculine and χασμή 'yawning', but these latter two are rather 'marginal' renderings, and 'yawning' cannot figure very well in a catalogue of vices and evils. Tardieu has backtranslated this word by κραυγή, but this renders ⲁϣ only, not the complete compound ⲁϣⲉϩⲟⲙ.[34]

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[26] Robinson, *o.c.*, 2 and 12.

[27] See Robinson, *o.c.*, 12 and the different introductions on p. 117, 298, 299, 454.

[28] R. Kasser - M. Malinine - H. Ch. Puech - G. Quispel - J. Zandee, *Tractatus Tripartitus, Pars I De supernis*, Bern 1973, 34 and note 4.

[29] See W. Till - H.M. Schenke, *Die gnostischen Schriften des koptischen Papyrus Berolinensis 8502*, Berlin 1972 (2nd ed.), 18: NHC III, 1 has more Greek than BG 2; 15: NHC III, 36, 15 ⲃⲁⲥⲁⲛⲟⲥ corresponds to BG 71, 2 ⲕⲟⲗⲁⲥⲓⲥ.

[30] According to Porphyry, *Vita Plotini* XVI; Plotinus may have spoken Coptic with the Egyptian priest in ch. X. For the identity of the two Allogenes-writings see H. Ch. Puech, *En quête de la Gnose*, Paris 1978, I, 112.

We have seen above that the word ⲡⲁϣⲉϩⲟⲙ in the female series may well be a mistake, an erroneous repetition of the same word figuring in the male series. If one cannot accept this, the only solution left seems to be the supposition that the Greek original had here, not masculine στεναγμός but feminine στοναχή 'sigh', 'groan', which is, however, a rather poetical word, really at home in epics and tragedies.[35] It would match, of course, the male 'Sighing' as the text has it, but also male 'Mourning' in our reconstructed order.

It is only fair that we also check if the current Greek equivalents of the Coptic masculine words that make up the two male series are not by any chance feminine substantives! This happens to be the case in only one instance: male good power nr. 3 'Joy' (ⲡⲟⲩⲛⲟϥ) normally corresponds to Greek χαρά or εὐφροσύνη,[36] but here we are somewhat misled by the Coptic translator. For the series of male good powers in our text has a characteristic which up to now we have left un-mentioned; this third series is not a catalogue of personified virtues or other positive notions, but of constituents which are either substantivized relative phrases with initial ⲡ-ⲉⲧ(ⲉ)- (nrs. 1, 5, 7) or substantivized Greek adjectives (nrs. 2, 4, 6), and with the exception of nr. 3 these words are, therefore, no personifications in the strict sense. Tardieu has remedied this defect by rendering nr. 3 by ὁ Εὔφρων, adducing Εὐφρόνιος from Epiphanius' *Panarion* XXXI, 3, 1 as a parallel.[37] Though we have the feeling that Tardieu is right in this reconstruction, we do not think that the Coptic text allows of it, for in that case it should have run ⲡⲉⲧⲟⲩⲛⲟϥ, with a relative particle as the other ones have. On the other hand we have to say, that from people who can juggle Plato's ἡμέρων δὲ θηρίων ἔχοντος κεφαλὰς κύκλῳ καὶ ἀγρίων 'having a ring of heads of all kind of beasts, *tame* and wild' into 'some *days* indeed it is like the image of a wild beast', anything can be expected.[38] A second check which we have to make about the underlying language is whether it can have been (West-)Semitic, but this is immediately blocked by female 'Peace' (nr. 1) to which would correspond masculine 'Shalom', etc.

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[31] W. Spiegelberg, *Koptisches Handwörterbuch*, Heidelberg 1921, 307-333; W. Westendorf, *Koptisches Handwörterbuch*, Heidelberg 1965-'77, 576-631; W.E. Crum, *A Coptic Dictionary*, Oxford 1939, 845-878.

[32] Crum, *o.c.*, 387b, 490b, 410b.

[33] Crum, *o.c.*, 25a.

[34] M. Tardieu, *Trois mythes gnostiques*, 68 and n. 117 referring to Crum 533b.

[35] It occurs, for instance, in *Ant. Pal.* VII, 142.

[36] Crum, *o.c.*, 485b. For the remaining masculines see Tardieu, *o.c.*, 68-69.

The same method can be applied to some other passages in *OrgWld*. In 101, 24ss it says: 'Seven appeared in Chaos as Androgynous beings. They have their masculine name and their feminine name. The feminine name (of Ialdabaoth) is Pronoia Sambathas i.e. the Hebdomad. (As for) his son called "Iao", his feminine name is "Lordship". Sabaoth's feminine name is "Divinity". Adonaios' feminine name is "Kingship", Eloaios' feminine name is "Envy". Oraios' feminine name is "Ric[hes]", Astaphaios' [feminine] name is "Sophia." Now all these names are indeed feminine in Coptic and can render feminine Greek words (for 'Riches' see below), with the exception of masculine 'Envy', which was nr. 1 of our list of male evils! Here, however, it renders fem. Ζηλοτυπία, to which there is no simple feminine equivalent in Coptic.[39]

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[37] 69, n. 131.

[38] Mistaking uncial ΗΜΕΡΩΝ as ἡμερῶν 'days' instead of ἡμέρων 'tame' etc. (NHC. VI, 49, 20-21).

[39] Cf. Crum, *o.c.*, 132b. He might have used the fem. compound ⲙⲛⲧⲉⲓⲉⲣⲃⲟⲟⲛⲉ. Tardieu, *o.c.*, 65 supposes the Greek name to have been Ζῆλος, but that is masculine. The parallel version in the Papyrus Berolinensis 8502 has *kōht* 'fire' instead of *kōh* "envy" (43, 18), but that does not make any difference in this connection because kōht is likewise a masculine word.

On p. 104, 10-12 Sabaoth is said to hate his father, the Darkness -ⲡⲕⲁⲕⲉ and his mother, the Abyss -ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲛ (!). Here the translator was again in difficulties: he had to render ἡ Ἄβυσσος, but had only masc. ⲛⲟⲩⲛ at his disposal, which clashes with 'mother': the feminine Naunet of the Hermupolis Ogdoad (see above) was no longer remembered. The same can be read in "The Hypostasis of the Archons" (II, 86, 6-7) where Abyss -ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲛ is the 'mother' of Chaos (cf. also Apoc. of Adam V 79, 23-24). A comparable instance is found in the Latin of 4 Ezra XIII 55 which reads: 'et sensum tuum vocasti matrem'. Elsewhere I have given some linguistic proof that this book has been translated from the Greek.[40] This passage can be added, since the discrepancy between masc. *sensus* and *mater* can only be understood on the basis of fem. αἴσθησις, who is of course a 'mother' (cf. the *Apocryphon of John* II, 18, 14-19 where Esthê(si)s is the 'mother' of the four chief demons, and Philo *Quis rer. div. heres* 53 where αἴσθησις is the 'servant girl' of those who truly live). There is even an instance in Roman sculpture and painting which always portray Cupido as a boy, although words ending in -do such as libido, torpedo, etc. are feminine. This god is the Roman version of Ἔρως, a male god in accordance with the masculine gender of his name, whose sex remained unaltered in Roman works of art although his name was changed. Accordingly the *name* was always masculine in Latin, the *substantive* (not personified) was usually feminine, and only sometimes masculine. Hence in Apuleius' *Metam.* X, 32 Venus arrives accompanied by many little boys: "illos teretes et lacteos puellos diceres tu Cupidines *veros...*", but in Ovid's *Metamorphoses* the substantive is both feminine and masculine (e.g. III, 620 vs. VIII, 74).

We have seen that Greek neuters could be personified to either sex, according to choice. Hence Irenaeus mentions Πνεύματα among the female aeons (*Adv. haer.* I, 2, 6). But in those portions that have been preserved in Latin translation only, this results in a female personification of masculine *spiritus*: 'Spiritum ... primam *feminam eum* vocantes (ibid. I, 30, 1); where there is no translation but transcription, there arises of course no such problem e.g. '... et aeonia autem

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[40] *When do Graecisms prove that a Latin Text is a Translation?*, in *Vruchten van de Uithof: Studies opgedragen aan Dr. H.A. Brongers ter gelegenheid van zijn afscheid. (16 mei 1974)*, Utrecht 1974, 100-119.

Zoe *Thelemati* coniuncta est' (*ibd.* I, 29, 1). The *Gospel of Philip* likewise considers the Holy Ghost as a woman (II, 55, 23-26), but the ultimate explanation of this equation is in all likelihood not given by the neuter gender of πνεῦμα in this case (see below). In *OrgWld* 101, 33 the feminine name of Oraios: "Ric[hes]" cannot be explained from ὁ Πλοῦτος, but must be sought in the neuter τὸ Πλοῦτος, a declension variant found in the New Testament and elsewhere.[41]

In some passages are found discrepancies between sex and gender which are of a different character and have nothing to do with any translating mechanisms, because the authors show us that they are aware of the inconsistency, which implies that the change of sex has here been made deliberately. We mean such cases as Irenaeus *Adv. haer.* I, 4, 1 where Sophia is called 'patronymically' the 'father' of Enthymesis, and *ibd.* I, 5, 3 where Achamoth is called 'Lord'; in the same context, however, Sophia is also called the 'mother' of Enthymesis (I, 2, 5) and Achamoth the 'mother' of the Demiurge (I, 5, 2). A similar tendency to supplant the no doubt depreciated female sex by the male is present in the 'Gospel of Thomas', saying 114, probably the best known instance: 'Simon Peter said to them: Let Mary leave us for women are not worthy of Life. Jesus said: I myself shall lead her in order to make her male, so that she too may become a living spirit resembling you males. For every woman who will make herself male will enter the Kingdom of Heaven'. In the *Martyrdom of Saints Perpetua and Felicitas* ch. 10 the same line of thought is undoubtedly present, when we are told that Perpetua the day before she had to fight with the beasts in the arena saw a vision about this fight, in which she was transformed into a man: "... *et facta sum masculus*".[42] The opposite is seen in *OrgWld* II, 101, 28-29 where it says: "(As to) his son called 'Iao' his feminine name is 'Lordship', and 31: "Adonaios' feminine name is 'Kingship'". Instances of female aeons need not here be explicitly mentioned. When on the other hand Lactantius, who treats the word *phoenix* grammatically as feminine (e.g. *De ave phoe-*

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[41] E.A. Sophocles, *Greek Lexicon of the Roman and Byzantine Periods (From B.C. 146 to A.D. 1100)*, New York (repr., no year), II, 897b.

[42] H. Musurillo, *The Acts of the Christian Martyrs*, Oxford 1972, 118 (I owe this reference to Prof. R. v.d. Broek at Utrecht) For further parallels see J. B. Bader, ΤΑ ΘΗΛΥΚΑ ΑΠΑΝΔΡΩΘΕΝΤΑ, in *NTS* VIII, 1961-62, 56-58.

nice 45: 'illa'), nevertheless calls this bird — contrary to the rule — 'her own father': 'ipsa sibi proles, suus est *pater* et suus heres' (*ibd.* 167), he certainly does so not to depreciate the female sex but to underline his previous remark 'femina vel mas haec' (l. 163), which brings out that this miraculous bird whose propagation was an asexual process was itself 'above sexuality'.[43]

Of a different kind is that passage in *Authoritative Teaching*, which twice states explicitly that the spiritual soul ⲧⲯⲩⲭⲏ ⲙ̄ⲡⲛⲉⲩⲙⲁⲧⲓⲕⲏ on her descent into the body became a material soul and a '*brother*' to Lust (ⲧⲉⲡⲓⲑⲩⲙⲓⲁ), Hatred (ⲡⲙⲟⲥⲧⲉ) and Envy (ⲡⲕⲱϩ) (VI, 23, 12-22). Now in the preceding lines it was said, by way of example, that if a man and a woman who both have sons from previous marriages are wedded again, their respective sons call one another 'brothers'. With such a situation the descent of the spiritual soul into the body is here compared, and the word 'brother' in stead of 'sister' seems to have been maintained to keep up the comparison with the preceding example. It will not help to take recourse to assuming a Semitic original behind this treatise, because *nephesh* or *naphshā* are likewise feminine.

A final Nag Hammadi case of 'wrong sex'. In the *Gospel of Philip* (II, 77, 19-20) it says: "Truth (ⲧⲁⲗⲏⲑⲉⲓⲁ) is the mother, Knowledge (ⲧⲅⲛⲱⲥⲓⲥ) the *father*"! This instance seems to upset our whole previous discussion, because a retroversion into Greek does not solve the problem: there are no masculine words in Greek for 'knowledge', so the Greek text must already have contained this gross inconsistency, which I don't see why the Coptic translators or copyists did not make disappear by choosing masc. ⲥⲟⲟⲩⲛ — 'knowledge'.[44] Now the 'Gospel of Philip' has connections with Syria: in II, 56, 8 the author says that 'Christ' is in the Syriac language 'Messiah', and at 63, 21-24: "The eucharist is Jesus. For he is called in Syriac 'Pharisatha', which is 'the one who is spread out', for Jesus came crucifying the world".[45] Now if we suppose against this background that this Gospel has originally been composed in Syriac the riddle of 'Father Gnosis' is solved, for there is a *masculine* word *madda'* which renders γνῶσις for instance in the Peshitta version of Luke I, 77 where Zacharias sings of his son that he came 'to give *knowledge* of salvation to his people'.[46]

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[43] See R. v.d. Broek, *The Myth of the Phoenix according to Classical and Early Christian Traditions* (EPRO 24), Leyden 1972, chapter X: 'The Sex', esp. 360, 389.

[44] He also retains the Greek word in his 'version' of 1 Cor. VIII, 1 (II, 77, 23-26), whereas the Sahidic and Bohairic versions have translated by a Coptic word; see H.-G. Gaffron, *Studien zum koptischen Philippusevangelium unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der Sakramente*, Bonn 1969, 28.

[45] For the interpretation of this passage see *int. al.* W.C. v. Unnik, *Three Notes on the 'Gospel of Philip'*, in *NTS* X, 1962-3, 468-9, who equals *pharisatha* with the bread

The feminine gender of the Syriac word for ghost or spirit, *ruchā*, is undoubtedly the explanation of the explicit remarks in the same Gospel of Philip that the Holy Ghost who is a *woman* cannot for that reason have made Mary pregnant (II, 55, 23-26), and we are immediately reminded of the fact that in Syriac Christianity the Holy Ghost is called Christ's 'mother'.[47] But contradicting here the scholar who claims to be "often contradicted but never refuted", I do not think that the representation of the Holy Spirit by a περιστερά in Matthew III, 16 and parallel places, instead of a περιστερός, has anything to do with this, for περιστερά meant both the hen-pigeon and the cock-pigeon in N.T. times: περιστερός was an old-fashioned Attic word used in Vth and IVth century comedies. Its incidental anachronistic use is even ridiculed by Lucian in the *Solecist* ch. 7: "When someone said περιστερός, because it was Attic, he (sc. Socrates of Mopsos), said: Then we shall also have to say φάττος' (a non-existent masculine coined here by the side of φάττα 'ringdove'). I do think, however, that he rightly subscribes to Weil's hypothesis of the Holy Spirit being pictured as a woman in the XIIth chapter of the Apocalypse of St. John,[48] combining it with the view of the earliest commentators that she is the Church. This combination is quite convincingly parallelled by

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of the eucharist, and Gaffron, *o.c.*, 182-3 who accepts Schenke's view that there is here a wordplay *prs-prsh*. Indeed R. Payne Smith's *Thesaurus Syriacus*, Oxford 1901, II, has s.v. pəristā: 'placenta latior, panis spec. eucharisticus' (c. 3278), s.v. *prs*: 'expandit, stravit' 'extendit' (c. 3275), and s.v. *prsh*: 'separavit, seposuit, particulas panis eucharistici', but it does not seem necessary to involve this latter stem as well. Apart from the fact that I do not believe that Syriac *s* and *sh* were homophones (so Gaffron p. 182), I think that the real problem is here that *pharisatha* is a feminine plural, unless it reflects an older vocalism of the singular, but this should not concern us now.

[46] Gaffron, *o.c.*, does not mention 'father Gnosis' in his chapter I, 3 "Die Handschrift und das Problem der Originalsprache", 24-32.

[47] See G. Quispel, *Makarius, das Thomasevangelium und das Lied von der Perle*, Leiden 1967, 9-10.

[48] S. Pétrement, *Une Suggestion de Simone Weil à propos d'Apocalypse* 12, in *NTS*, XI, 1964-65; 291-296.

the Lady who speaks to Hermas under several appearances, who is said to be the Church in *Vision* II, 4, 1, and who is also said to be the Holy Spirit in *Similitude* IX, 1, 1 : "I wish to show you what the Holy Spirit showed you in the form of the Church...".[49] As to the Apocalypse of St. John this personification is in line with the feminine gender of ἐκκλησία and also with neuter πνεῦμα, which as we have seen could be personified either way, nor does it conflict with the assumption of a Semitic original : the various Hebrew and Aramaic words for 'ghost' and 'congregation' are feminine as well.[50]

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[49] G. Quispel, *Het geheime boek der Openbaring*, Amerongen 1979, 76-79.

[50] ruach-ruchā, qəhillāh, kənesseth, ʿedāh-ʿidtā.

JEWISH ELEMENTS IN *CORPUS HERMETICUM* I (*POIMANDRES*)

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The distinguished scholar to whom this volume is dedicated has contributed much to our understanding of *gnosis* and its place in the bubbling *kratēr* of religions in the Hellenistic world. Some of his most interesting and important contributions have to do with the Jewish component in gnostic syncretism; indeed it is in large measure his influence, from the time that he was a Visiting Professor at Harvard University in 1964-65, that has sparked my own interest in Gnosticism in general, and in particular, the Jewish factor in its origins. It is with great pleasure, therefore, that I dedicate this *opusculum* on the Egyptian-gnostic tractate, *Poimandres*, to my friend and teacher, Gilles Quispel.[1]

Tractate I of the *Corpus Hermeticum* is a document of considerable importance for the history of Graeco-Egyptian religious syncretism, and the history of Gnosticism in general. Entitled *Poimandres*, after the name of the God who reveals himself in the document, it is attributed in early tradition to the Egyptian god, Thrice Greatest Hermes (= Egyptian Thoth), revealer-god *par excellence* in Egyptian religion.[2] Probably the earliest document in the Hermetic corpus, it consists of a number of elements which, taken together, apparently served as a sort of "canonical" basis for subsequent development of the Hermetic religion, as the references and allusions to the *Poimandres* in later Hermetic literature would tend to suggest.

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[1] An early version of this paper was presented to the Seventh World Congress of Jewish Studies in Jerusalem, in August of 1977. Presiding over the section in which it was presented was another distinguished scholar from whom I have learned a great deal, Professor Gershom Scholem. Indeed I wish to add that it was Gilles Quispel who first introduced me to Scholem's writings, many years before I finally had the pleasure of meeting him in person.

[2] The title, Ἕρμου τρισμεγίστου Ποιμάνδρης, is probably secondary, but it is clear from *Corp. Herm.* XIII, 15 that the *Poimandres* was attributed in early Hermetic tradition to Hermes Trismegistus. The name "Hermes" does not occur in the text of *Corp. Herm.* I itself, of course.

The tractate consists of the following elements:

I. An introduction (ch. 1-3), depicting the epiphany of the God "Poimandres" or "Mind" (the highest God) to the prophetic visionary, unnamed, whom tradition identifies as Hermes Trismegistus.

II. A revelation (4-26), consisting of
  A. A cosmogony (4-11)
  B. An anthropological section (12-23), including
    1. An anthropogony (12-19), the most important element of which is the story of man's "fall", and
    2. A section consisting of anthropological and ethical teaching (20-23), and
  C. Eschatology (24-26), teaching the way of ascent to God.

III. An account of the prophet's apostolic mission to mankind, with an appeal to men to "repent" (27-29).

IV. A conclusion (30-32), the most important elements of which are hymns and prayers addressed to God.

It has long been noted — at least from the time of the Byzantine scholiast Michael Psellus (10th cent.)[3] — that this document is replete with Jewish elements, and even quotes scripture (esp. Gen. 1-2) extensively. In modern times, C.H. Dodd is the scholar who has investigated these things most extensively.[4] He has argued that the Cosmogony and the Anthropogony of the *Poimandres* is based in large measure on the Genesis account of creation. Dodd has also noted extensive influences from other portions of the Greek Bible than Genesis, and refers to influences from the kind of Hellenistic-Jewish literature represented especially by Philo of Alexandria (though he does not claim that *Corp. Herm.* I is dependent upon Philo).

Of course, it may well be the case that Dodd saw some allusions to

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[3] See Psellus' scholium on *Corp. Herm.* I, 18, excerpted in Walter Scott, ed., *Hermetica* IV: Testimonia, Oxford 1936, 244-245.

[4] *The Bible and the Greeks*, London 1935.

Genesis which really turn out to be illusory upon closer inspection of the text, something that Ernst Haenchen has argued rather forcefully.[5] The latter, in his perspicacious analysis of the structure and theology of the *Poimandres*, has also shown that the author of the tractate has utilized a number of sources, some of which contradict one another. In any case, it is possible that both the "Jewish" and the "Gnostic" elements in the Cosmogony and Anthropogony are attributable to one or more "Jewish-Gnostic" sources.

More recently, H. Ludin Jansen, in a very interesting article,[6] has argued that the Old Testament-Jewish emphasis in the *Poimandres* is so strong that it must have been written by a Jew, who personally had lived through all of the mystical experiences described in the "autobiographical" sections of the text (esp. ch. 1-3, 27-30). He thus implicitly denies any connection between the *Poimandres* and the Hermetic religion, though he does see it as a gnostic document.[7] Its author must, therefore, have been a Jewish Gnostic. Unfortunately Jansen's treatment, though rich in insight, is poor in documentation. Moreover he takes no account of the problem of sources and redaction in the tractate.

In this study I shall first look at the structure of the document as a whole, i.e. its final composition, and then concentrate on those sections that appear to belong to the final redaction and at the same time show features which are most characteristically Jewish. Then a tentative thesis will be proposed to account historically both for the "Jewishness" of the document, as well as its pagan — yes, Hermetic — thrust.

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[5] *Aufbau und Theologie des 'Poimandres,'* in *ZTK* 55, 1956, 149-191. Cf. also R. McL. Wilson, *The Gnostics and the Old Testament*, in Geo Widengren, ed., *Proceedings of the International Colloquium on Gnosticism, Stockholm August 20-25, 1973* (Stockholm 1977), 165-166.

[6] *Die Frage nach Tendenz und Verfasserschaft im Poimandres*, in Widengren, ed., *Proceedings ... Gnosticism*, 157-163.

[7] Walter Scott, in his well-known edition of the *Hermetica*, has also pointed to Jewish influences in the *Poimandres*, and brings the tractate into close connection with the kind of Judaism represented by Philo of Alexandria. He also tends to think that the tractate was originally written independent of the Hermetic tradition. See *Hermetica* II, Oxford 1925, 4-11. Karl-Wolfgang Tröger, however, refers to *Corp. Herm.* I as "ganz zweifellos hermetisch," a judgment with which I agree. See *Die hermetischen Gnosis*, in Tröger, ed., *Gnosis und Neues Testament*, Berlin 1973, 105.

In looking at the form and structure of the *Poimandres*, one is struck by the similarity of this tractate to certain Jewish apocalypses, most notably *2* (Slavonic) *Enoch*, a document which probably emanates in its earliest form from first-century Egypt.[8] Indeed the two documents show a remarkable degree of similarity not only in structure, but also in specific content. Here are some examples:

Poimandres	*2 Enoch*
Hermes,[9] almost asleep, receives a vision: ch. 1.	Enoch, first asleep, later awake, receives a vision: ch. 1.
A very large being appears and calls him by name: ch. 1.	Two very large men appear, and call him by name: ch. 1.
God reveals to Hermes the secrets of the cosmos and its origin: ch. 4-11.	God reveals to Enoch the secrets of the cosmos and its origin: ch. 24.
God reveals to Hermes the creation of living things: ch. 11.	God reveals to Enoch the creation of living things: ch. 28-30: 1-7.
The creation of man, sevenfold: ch. 12-19 (seven *anthropoi*, ch. 16).	The creation of man, sevenfold (from seven substances): ch. 30: 8-9.
Eros is the cause of death: ch. 18.	Death comes to man through his wife: 30: 17-18.
Two ways/possibilities for man, life and death, light and darkness: ch. 19-23, cf. ch. 29 ("way of death").	Two ways for man, light and darkness: ch. 30:15.
Blessings and curses: ch. 22-23.	Blessings and curses: ch. 52.
Way of ascent revealed: ch. 24-26.	Enoch ascends to heaven: ch. 3-22.
The powers sing to the Father in the eighth sphere and in the ninth: ch. 26; cf. "Holy, Holy, Holy," ch. 31.	Angelic powers sing to God in the seventh heaven, "Holy, Holy, Holy": ch. 21.
God is above the eighth sphere, either in the ninth or the tenth, receiving hymns of praise: ch. 26.	God dwells in the tenth heaven, surrounded by hymns of praise: ch. 22.
Hermes is sent to preach to errant mankind: ch. 27-29.	Enoch is sent to preach to errant manmankind: ch. 22.
"I depart into life and light": ch. 32.	"I shall go up to heaven": 55:1-2.

Now although there is no solid evidence for the mingling of the

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[8] I do not agree with J.T. Milik's late dating of *2 Enoch*; see *The Books of Enoch*, Oxford 1976, 107-116.

[9] I refer to the unnamed visionary-prophet as "Hermes," in accordance with the Hermetic tradition. Cf. notes 2 and 7.

Hermetic and Enochic traditions before the fourth century,[10] it is not out of the question that the author of the *Poimandres* was familiar with one or more apocalypses in the Enoch tradition, of the sort represented by *2 Enoch.* In any case, it has all the ear-marks of a Jewish apocalypse. (Specifically Egyptian "apocalypses" existed from ancient times, but differ radically from what we have in the *Poimandres*).[11]

The material from ch. 27 to the end of the *Poimandres* is especially important, for herein we see most clearly the basic thrust of the document as a whole. And precisely here the Jewish elements are pervasive. Here, too, we find the best evidence for reconstructing the document's historical *Sitz im Leben.*

Looking first at the apostolic preaching section, especially chs. 27 and 28, we see a number of elements reminiscent both of the scriptures (LXX) and of such Hellenistic Jewish literature as is preserved in the writings of Philo. For example, the use of the term δύναμις (power) as a designation for angelic beings (cf. also ch. 7 and 26) is common in Philo (*Plant.* 12-15; *Agr.* 167-171; *Spec. Leg.* 66-69; *Fug.* 68ff.), in the LXX (Ps. 110:21; Ps. 118:2-3); and related literature (e.g. *T. Jud.* 25:2). Indeed even the name for God in the tractate, "Poimandres," may reflect the Jewish-Biblical belief in God as "Shepherd of Men," especially of Israel (cf. e.g. Philo, *Agr.* 51: ὁ ποιμὴν καὶ βασιλεὺς θεός; Ps. 22:1: κύριος ποιμαίνει με).[12] He is called "Father of the All" as well (ch. 27, 31), and this is a designation for God which occurs very often in Philo (*Det.* 148; *Op.* 71-73; *Leg. All.* II, 48-53; *Ebr.* 80-85; etc.). When "Hermes" addresses mankind as "earth-born men" (ἄνδρες γηγενεῖς), he is using a term which reflects Hellenistic-Jewish interpretations of Gen. 2:7 (e.g. Wis. 7:1; Philo, *Op*. 68-70; *Virt.* 195-199; etc.). The metaphor of "drunkenness," familiar from Gnostic texts,[13] is not absent from Jewish material, and is found in the prophets of the Bible as well as extra-biblical Jewish literature (e.g. Is. 28:1; Jer. 28:39; etc.).[14] In Philo, "drunkenness" and "sleep" are used together, as here, in a metaphorical sense (see esp. *Sobr.* 5). Moreover when "Hermes" appeals to "earth-born men" to "repent" (μετανοεῖν), he is using an expression virtually restricted in antiquity to Jewish and Christian materials, as Eduard Norden noted long ago.[15] In general, the whole of the message of our Hermetic preacher in ch. 27-28 has a prophetic ring about it, reminiscent of the accounts in the Bible of the preaching of the prophets.[16]

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[10] Zosimus of Panopolis, who was immersed in the Hermetic tradition, utilizes Enoch material, both from *1* (Ethiopic) *Enoch* and (probably) from *2 Enoch.* See e.g. Scott, *Hermetica* IV, 104-153. According to Muslim tradition Enoch (Idris) is equated with Hermes, and is credited with building the pyramids. Cf. Abu Salih, *The Churches and Monasteries of Egypt*, translated by B. Evetts, Oxford 1895, 189.

[11] See e.g. C.C. McCown, *Egyptian Apocalyptic Literature*, in *HTR* 18, 1925, 357-411. The most important texts from the Hellenistic-Roman period are the *Demotic Chronicle*, the *Oracle of the Potter*, and the apocalypse preserved in the Hermetic *Asclepius*, *Corp. Herm.* IX, 24-26. NHC VI, tractate *8*, is a Coptic version of the latter.

[12] ποιμὴν ἀνδρῶν is still the best etymology for the name "Poimandres," and is supported in the Hermetic tradition itself: Λόγον γὰρ τὸν σὸν ποιμαίνει ὁ Νοῦς, *Corp. Herm.* XIII, 19. Attempts to find an Egyptian etymology (*pꜣ mtr*, "the witness," or *p.eime n-Re*, "the knowledge of the Sun-god") are not convincing. Cf. Scott, *Hermetica* II, 16. See now NHC VI, *3*: *Auth. Teach.* 33, 2, where God is called the "true Shepherd" of the soul; cf. also the name "Poimael" in NHC III, *2*: *Gos. Eg.* 66, 1-2, probably also based on the word ποιμήν ("shepherd") plus the suffix -ēl ("god").

The results of Hermes' preaching are summarized in ch. 29: some of the hearers reject the message and thereby choose the "way of death" — this phrase reflects the Jewish "Two Ways" tradition[17] — whereas others wish to be taught more and thus to enter upon life. "Seeds of wisdom" are sown in the hearers — the terminology is akin to that employed by Philo[18] — and the product of this catechesis[19] is a worshipping community whose chief cultic activity is the offering up of "thanksgiving" (εὐχαριστία, ch. 29)[20] and "blessing" (εὐλογία, ch. 30)[21] to God.

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[13] See Hans Jonas, *The Gnostic Religion*, Boston 1963, 68ff.

[14] Cf. Dodd, *The Bible and the Greeks*, 187-188.

[15] *Agnostos Theos* (repr. Darmstadt 1956), 134-139.

[16] So, rightly, Dodd, *The Bible and the Greeks*, 179ff.

[17] On the "Two Ways" tradition in Judaism and early Christianity see e.g. Robert Kraft, *The Didache and Barnabas* (Robert M. Grant, ed., *The Apostolic Fathers*, vol. 3, New York, 1965).

[18] On Sophia ("Wisdom") as "sower" in Philo see *Fug.* 49-53; *Somn.* I, 199-202; on God or the Logos as "sower" of wisdom, see *Leg. All.* I, 43-51; 79-81; III, 180-183; 219-223; etc.

[19] Haenchen refers to this section as "eine Art heidnischer Katechismus," in *Aufbau und Theologie*, 185; Jansen calls it "ein Stück gnostischer Katechese," in *Die Frage nach Tendenz und Verfasserschaft*, 158.

[20] εὐχαριστία is a later variant of ἐξομολόγησις as a translation of Hebrew תּוֹדָה; see James M. Robinson, *Die Hodajot-Formel in Gebet und Hymnus des Frühchristentums*, in *Apophoreta*: *Festschrift für Ernst Haenchen* Berlin 1964, 198. Cf. also εὐχαριστεῖν (= ἐξομολογείσθαι = יָדָה) in ch. 27 and 29. On εὐχαριστία in Philo see Jean Laporte, *La doctrine eucharistique chez Philon d'Alexandrie*, Paris 1972.

[21] εὐλογία = Hebrew בְּרָכָה; cf. Robinson, *Die Hodajot-Formel*, 202. Cf. ch. 32: εὐλογητὸς εἶ = בָּרוּךְ אַתָּה, a common Jewish prayer-formula. See below.

It is precisely here, too, wherein we see the most striking examples of Jewish influence. For in the phraseology employed at the end of the *Poimandres*, from the end of ch. 29 through ch. 32, we are able to find fragments of Jewish *liturgy*, specifically prayers and formulae utilized in the daily worship-life of pious Jewish communities at least from the turn of the era. The following are a few examples:

The words at the end of ch. 30, ἐκ ψυχῆς καὶ ἰσχύος ὅλης, seem clearly to echo the last part of the *Shema‘*. The LXX text of Deut. 6:5 reads, καὶ ἀγαπήσεις κύριον τὸν θεόν σου ἐξ ὅλης τῆς ψυχῆς σου καὶ ἐξ ὅλης τῆς δυνάμεώς σου. The use of the term ἰσχύος in the *Poimandres* (for Hebrew וּבְכָל־מְאֹדֶךָ) instead of δυνάμεως as in the LXX, is no problem, for in fact Origen noted that ἰσχύος is a textual variant in the MS. tradition.[22] Indeed the phrase ἐξ ὅλης τῆς ἰσχύος occurs in the New Testament, in the Markan form of the *Shema‘* (Mark 12:30). This simply indicates that different Greek translations of the *Shema‘* existed in the worship life of Greek-speaking synagogues of the Diaspora.[23]

The formulation δίδωμι ... εὐλογίαν τῷ ... πατρὶ θεῷ, here occuring with the words from the *Shema‘*, prepares for the blessing or hymn to follow, but may also reflect the use of the biblical Psalms in corporate worship. Cf. e.g. Ps. 102(103):1, Εὐλόγει, ἡ ψυχή μου, τὸν κύριον καί, πάντα τὰ ἐντός μου, τὸ ὄνομα τὸ ἅγιον αὐτοῦ.

The nine-fold ascription of "holiness" to God in the hymn in ch. 31, a hymn which was later used even in Christian worship,[24] ultimately harks back to the *Kedusha*, especially the part derived from Isaiah 6:3. It will be noticed, too, that the first three lines ascribe holiness to God in the third person, as in the *trishagion* of Isaiah 6:3. Of course the Hermetic author has expanded upon the text, adding his own characteristic formulations. But these formulations themselves, together with their linguistic form,[25] are nothing that could not have occurred in a Jewish community: "Father of the All" (see above, with reference to Philo), "whose will is accomplished by his powers," i.e. the angels (see above) who constantly sing the praises of God (as in Isaiah 6), "who wishes to be known, and is known to his own," language reminiscent of the Bible and of Hellenistic Judaism in general (e.g. Exod. 29:42-43 [LXX]; Hos. 12:1 [LXX]).

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[22] See F. Field, ed., *Origenis Hexaplorum ... Fragmenta*, Oxford 1975, I, 283.

[23] The same passage from the *Shema‘* is used twice in a new Hermetic text, NHC VI,*6*: *Disc. 8-9* 55, 11-13 and 57, 21-23. On this document see below.

[24] Cf. Nock-Festugière, *Corpus Hermeticum*, I, xxxvi, referring to P. Berol. 9794, a Christian text of the third century.

[25] See Norden's remarks on the non-Hellenic character of the style of language found here (article + participle): *Agnostos Theos*, 203.

Note, too, the connection between the *Kedusha*-type hymn in ch. 30, and the description of the heavenly praises of God in ch. 26, wherein the ascent to God is described, as well as the concluding word in ch. 32, "I depart into life and light." Here we find a phenomenon similar to that documented by Gershom Scholem in his studies in Jewish mysticism: the use of the angelic hymns as vehicles of the mystic's ascent.[26] This coheres with a general observation that could be made for the religion of the *Poimandres*, i.e. that personal piety and corporate piety are held in tension. We shall have to return to this point.

The ascription of holiness to God in the second person, "Holy are you," is, of course, also frequent in Jewish liturgy. See e.g. the third benediction in the weekday *Amidah*, which opens: ... קָדוֹשׁ אַתָּה.[27] The simple address to God as "Father" in the phrase, εὐλογητὸς εἶ πάτερ (ch. 32), is paralleled ("our Father") in many Jewish prayers; and the benediction, "Blessed are you," is virtually ubiquitous in ancient (and modern) Jewish liturgy, as e.g. in the *Amidah*, the benediction said in connection with the *Shema'*, and numerous other prayers.[28]

Now when these references to Jewish liturgy are brought up in connection with the *Poimandres*, I may lay myself open to the charge of anachronism. For where is the evidence for Jewish liturgy as early as the *Poimandres*? Did not the early rabbis forbid the writing down of *berakoth* until at least the sixth century?[29]

But we need not resort to the Hebrew liturgy for our parallels to the *Poimandres*, for we do have Greek examples of Jewish liturgy which reflect the worship practices of some Jewish communities at least as early as the *Poimandres*. I refer, of course, to the Hellenistic-Jewish prayers embedded in the *Apostolic Constitutions*, books VII and VIII, discussed by Wilhelm Bousset and others.[30] There is not space to discuss here the work that has been done on these fragments, but it is clear that they preserve important testimony to the use, in Hellenistic-Jewish communities, of both the *Amidah* and the *Kedusha*. Here, then, are some selected parallels between the *Poimandres* and these Jewish liturgical fragments:

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[26] *Jewish Gnosticism, Merkabah Mysticism, and Talmudic Tradition*, New York 1965, 20-23, esp. 23, n. 6, referring to *Corp. Herm.* I.26.

[27] See D. W. Staerk, *Altjüdische Liturgische Gebete* Berlin 1930, 11; cf. also P. Birnbaum, *Daily Prayer Book*, New York 1949, 85.

[28] See e.g. Staerk, *Altjüdische ... Gebete*, 4, 6, 7, etc.

[29] *Shabbath* 115b.

Poimandres	*Apostolic Constitutions*
ἅγιος ὁ θεός (thrice): I, 31	ἅγιος ἅγιος ἅγιος (the *Kedusha*): VII, 35 (Bousset 425).
πατὴρ τῶν ὅλων: I, 31	δέσποτα τῶν ὅλων: VIII, 9, 8 (Bousset 482)
. . . ἀπὸ τῶν ἰδίων δυνάμεων: I, 31.	δυνάμεις (in the *Kedusha*): VII, 35 (Bousset 435). Ἰσραὴλ . . . ταῖς κατ᾽ οὐρανὸν δυνάμεσιν ἁμιλλωμένη . . . ψάλλει: VII, 35, 4 (Bousset 439).
ὃς γνωσθῆναι βούλεται καὶ γινώσκεται τοῖς ἰδίοις: I, 31.	κύριος θεὸς γνώσεων (LXX 1 Kns. 2:3): VII, 35, 9 (Bousset 466, 478). ὁ γνωστὸς ... λογικαῖς φύσεσιν ... καταλαμβανόμενος: VIII, 15, 7 (Goodenough 329). οὗ ἡ γνῶσις ἄναρχος: VII, 35, 9 (Bousset 480).
ὁ λόγῳ συστησάμενος τὰ ὄντα: I, 31.	ὁ συστησάμενος ἄβυσσον: VIII, 12, 13 (Bousset 452). ὁ θεὸς πάντων τῶν ὄντων: VII, 33 (Bousset 464).
ὃν ἡ φύσις οὐκ ἐμόρφωσεν: I, 31.	ἀόρατος τῇ φύσει: VII, 35, 9; VIII, 15, 5 (Bousset 478).
ὁ κρείττων τῶν ἐπαίνων: I, 31.	ὁ ... πάσης αἰτίας καὶ γενέσεως κρείττων: VIII, 5, 1 (Bousset 480).
δέξαι λογικὰς θυσίας: I, 31.	πρόσδεξαι τὴν ... εὐχαριστίαν ἡμῶν ταύτην: VIII, 37 (Bousset 484).

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[30] Wilhelm Bousset, *Eine jüdische Gebetssammlung im siebenten Buch der apostolischen Konstitutionen* in *NachrGött* 1915, Göttingen 1916, 435-489. Cf. Erwin R. Goodenough, *By Light Light*, New Haven 1935, 306-358; K. Kohler, *The Origin and Composition of the Eighteen Benedictions with a Translation of the Corresponding Essene Prayers in the Apostolic Constitutions*, in *HUCA* I, 1924, repr. J. Petuchowski, *Contributions to the Scientific Study of Jewish Liturgy*, New York 1970, 52-90. Cf. also H. Thuyen, *Der Stil der Jüdisch-Hellenistischen Homilie*, Göttingen 1955, 28-31.

ἀπὸ ψυχῆς καὶ καρδίας πρὸς σὲ ἀνατεταμένης: I, 31.	ἐν καρδίᾳ πλήρει καὶ ψυχῇ θελούσῃ (cf. 2 Macc. 1:3): VII, 35, 4 (Bousset 439).
εὐλογητὸς εἶ, πάτερ: I, 32.	εὐλογητὸς εἶ, βασιλεῦ: VII, 34 (Bousset 451).

Of the influence of Jewish liturgical usage on the *Poimandres* there can be no doubt![31]

But we must press on to inquire further into the cultic elements in the *Poimandres*, and consider the following question: What kind of community is reflected in this document? Or is such a question even capable of an answer? This, of course, is not the place to discuss the debates of scholars who have argued back and forth over the question of whether a Hermetic cultus ever existed.[32] In my view we have ample evidence of such a thing in the *Poimandres* taken by itself, but this evidence is filled out by other documents in the *Corpus Hermeticum*, now recently enlarged by Coptic texts from Nag Hammadi.[33]

Looking at the *Poimandres* we can see the following important elements:

1) The (corporate? individual?) teaching of wisdom in a kind of

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[31] This fact is all the more evident when one looks at pagan Greek hymns and prayers, with which the material in the *Poimandres* has nothing at all in common. Cf. the texts assembled by E. des Places, *La prière cultuelle dans la Grèce ancienne*, in *RevSR* 33, 1959, 343-359.

[32] While Reitzenstein and others have posited a full-blown Hermetic religion, organized in religious *thiasoi*, Festugière and others have preferred to see the Hermetic texts as school-products. For references and up-to-date discussion see K. W. Tröger, *Die hermetische Gnosis*, 118-119; and Jean-Pierre Mahé, *Hermès en Haute-Égypte* I (Bibliotheque copte de Nag Hammadi, Section: "Textes" 3), Québec 1978, 54-59.

[33] NHC VI, *6*: *The Discourse on the Eighth and Ninth*; VI, *7*: *The Prayer of Thanksgiving*; VI, *8*: *Asclepius* 21-29. While the two last-named texts were previously available in Greek (VI, *7*) and Latin (VI, *7* and *8*) versions, tractate *6* is an important new document in the Hermetic corpus, with close parallels to *Corp. Herm.* XIII, and numerous allusions to *Corp. Herm.* I. Complete editions with commentary are now available: J. P. Mahé, *Hermès en Haut Égypte* I, and Douglas Parrott, ed., *Nag Hammadi Codices V*, 2-5 *and VI with Papyrus Berolinensis 8502*, 1 *and* 4 (The Coptic Gnostic Library = NHS II), Leiden, 1979. The edition of NHC VI, *6* in the last-named volume was prepared by Peter Dirkse, James Brashler, and Douglas Parrott. On this text see also L. S. Keizer, *The Eighth Reveals the Ninth: A New Hermetic Initiation-Discourse (Tractate 6, Nag Hammadi Codex VI): Translated and Interpreted*, Seaside, California 1974.

catechesis, led by a "guide" (καθοδηγός): I, 29. The guide "enlightens" those in ignorance: I, 32.

2) Possibly a baptisimal ceremony, perhaps even including the drinking of baptisimal water: I, 29.[34]

3) The community thus formed engaging in sunset (and sunrise?) corporate devotions, characterized as εὐχαριστία, I, 29; εὐλογία, I, 30; and λογικαὶ θυσίαι, I, 31.

4) Each member of the community returning to his own bed after devotions: I, 29; i.e. each member living alone in his own cell. The practice of asceticism is obvious.

5) Each member of the community also engaging in silent meditation: note the term σιωπή in I, 30 and 31.

What is reflected here, in fact, is a kind of "monastic" community, comparable to such first-century groups as the Therapeutae described by Philo (*Vit. Cont.*), or the "naked sophists" near Thebes encountered by Apollonius of Tyana (Philostratus, *Vit. Apol.* VI, 4-22). Indeed the parallels between the *Poimandres* and Philo's description of the Jewish Therapeutae are very striking. Unfortunately we cannot take these up here.

It is, of course, important finally to acknowledge that we are not, after all, dealing with a Jewish text, but with a "Hermetic" one. For all the obvious Jewish elements in the *Poimandres*, it is not a Jewish document. I see no reason to doubt that it is, in fact, a Hermetic document, even though the name "Hermes Trismegistus" does not occur in the text itself.[35] And when all is said and done, the Hermetic "creed" differs radically from the Jewish. This "creed" is best summarized in those places in the text in which are found examples of a Hellenistic, "gnosticizing" re-interpretation of the ancient Delphic maxim, γνῶθι σάυτόν:[36] "let the man who has mind (νοῦς) recognize himself as immortal ..." (ch. 18); "he who recognizes himself departs into him (God)" (ch. 21); "Let the man who has mind recognize himself (ch. 21). The whole burden of the *Poimandres*, from beginning to end, is that knowledge of God is really knowledge of one's inner divine self. This is the essence of the Hermetic preacher's message of repentance (ch. 27-28); this is the "wisdom" that is imparted — complete with revelatory cosmogony, anthropogony, ethical system and eschatology — to the one who accepts the message of the Hermetic preacher. And in the final analysis, he who chooses Hermes Trismegistus as his καθοδηγός has left Moses behind.[37]

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[34] So also Haenchen, *Aufbau und Theologie*, 185. For Hermetic baptism see also *Corp. Herm.* IV. For the drinking of baptisimal water, see e.g. the gnostic system of Justin, described by Hippolytus, *Ref.* V, 27.2-3; the "Sethians," *Ref.* V, 19.21; the Mandaeans, on which see Eric Segelberg, *Maṣbutā*, Uppsala 1958, 59ff.

[35] Cf. Notes 2 and 7, above.

[36] Admirably treated by Hans-Dieter Betz, *The Delphic Maxim* ΓΝΩΘΙ ΣΑΥΤΟΝ *in Hermetic Interpretation*, in *HTR* 63, 1973, 465-484.

How do we account for the curious mixture of Jewish piety and Hermetic paganism found here in the *Poimandres*? Is it possible to reconstruct the religious history of this text? To be sure, such a reconstruction would be, at best, tentative and incapable of proof. But I should like to suggest the following theory:

An individual who has been closely associated, perhaps as a proselyte or "God-fearer," with a Jewish community somewhere in Egypt (Alexandria? Hermopolis?) forms a new group devoted to the Egyptian god Hermes-Thoth, the "thrice greatest," attracting like-minded followers to the new cult. In the formation of the group, familiar Jewish traditions and worship-patterns are remodelled and recast, with the aid of further study of electic Greek philosophy and assorted other religious revelations readily available in Roman Egypt. The writing of an apocalypse credited to Hermes in such a context is no more problematical than the writing of an apocalypse credited to Enoch in a sectarian Jewish context.[38]

Such a process would most likely occur in a historical situation in which Judaism is on the wane, and other religious philosophies, including native Egyptian ones, are on the rise. A specific point in time and space can be suggested for this development: the aftermath of the Jewish revolt in Egypt against the Emperor Trajan, C.E. 115-117

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[37] For Moses as a "guide" in Hellenistic Judaism see e.g. Philo *Migr.* 23: θεσμοθέτῃ λόγῳ Μωυσῇ ποδηγετοῦντι. Philo seems to know an interpretation of the Delphic maxim such as is found here in the *Poimandres* (cf. Betz, *op. cit.*, 477-480), but ultimately rejects it. For Philo knowledge of God involves self-renunciation instead of self-realization (ἀπογιγνώσκειν ἑαυτόν, *Somn.* I, 60).

[38] Indeed, we know as little of the religious and social history of such Jewish apocalypses as *2 Enoch* as we do of the background of the *Poimandres*.

(or 118).[39] After this revolt Judaism ceased to represent an important religious force in Egypt, and other religions and philosophies filled the breach.

In the case of the *Poimandres*, as once the lore of the god Hermes-Thoth had served the cause of the religion of Moses (Artapanus is an obvious case in point!),[40] so now Mosaic religion is utilized to serve the cause of "Thrice greatest Hermes." Of course, in the further development of the Hermetic tradition the Jewish elements gradually diminish. This diminution is quite noticeable in the later documents of the Hermetic corpus.

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[39] Cf. e.g. A. Kasher, *Some Comments on the Jewish Uprising in Egypt in the Time of Trajan*, *JJS* 27, 1976, 147-158.

[40] Artapanus, *Peri Ioudaiōn* (second century B.C.), fr. 3 (Eus. *Praep. Ev.* 9, 27), wherein Moses is equated with Hermes, and is credited with inventing the hieroglyphics, building Hermopolis, inventing philosophy, etc.

HELLENISTIC MAGIC: SOME QUESTIONS OF DEFINITION

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It is a pleasure to contribute this essay to a collection in honor of Dr. Quispel. His own work, like Jung's, has shown that magical texts reveal much about man's religious sentiments. Dr. Quispel has shown that magic, equally with religion, can be seen as an expression of man's deepest psychological processes.[1]

This paper will be directed to some definitional questions raised by the continued attention of scholars to the phenomenon of magic. Although many different definitions of "magic" have been offered throughout the history of religions and anthropological research, no one definition has reached general use. Magic's relation both to religion and science has never been clearly delineated. Take the relationship between magic and religion: Religious leaders are often interested in strict distinctions between magic and religion so that the purity of religion can be maintained.[2] Social scientists hope to isolate phenomena cross-culturally so that a consensus of methodology can be reached,[3] hence many attempt to make clear taxonomies. So both anthropologists and religionists seek to make extremely careful definitions in order to carry on their analyses. For instance, Malinowski defined the difference between magic and religion as sharply as possible. Religion refers to the fundamental issues of human existence, while magic always turns round specific, concrete and detailed problems.[4] Religion is concerned with questions of ultimate concern — salvation, death, the meaning of existence — while magic is concerned with immediate goals — control of the weather, good health, achieving a specific position. Magic is characterized by manipulation and attempts to control nature. Religion is expressive; magic instrumental.

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[1] See *e.g.*, *Gnosis als Weltreligion*, Zurich 1951, 40f. and *Gnosis und Religionswissenschaft*, in *Gnostic Studies* II, Istanbul 1975, 261.

[2] See especially, Morton Smith, *The Secret Gospel of Mark*, Cambridge, Mass. 1973 and his recent publication, *Jesus, The Magician*, New York 1978. Also of interest are J.Z. Smith, *The Temple and the Magician*, in *God's Christ and His People*. Studies in honor of N.A. Dahl, ed. by J. Jervell and W.A. Meeks, Oslo 1977, 233-247 and *Good News is No News: Aretalogy and Gospel*, Festschrift for M. Smith, Leiden 1975. H. Remus, in *Pagan-Christian Conflict Over Miracle in the Second Century*, Dissertation, University of Penn., 1979. H. Remus outlines and surveys this approach in admirable detail. He shows that, e.g., Rengsdorf in Kittel's *Wörterbuch* and C.F.D. Moule attempt to distinguish between Christian miracles and pagan wonders on the basis of vocabulary hence preserve an essential difference between them in the texts. His conclusion is that the texts evince more fluid use of the words than either Rengsdorf or Moule allow. See also H. van der Loos, *The Miracles of Jesus*, Leiden 1965, 247f., E. Massonneau, *Le crime de Magie dans le droit romain* Paris 1933; F. Martroye, *La répression de la magie et les cultes des gentils au IV^e siècle*, in *Revue historique du droit français et étranger*, Ser. IV, 18, 1930, 669-701. D.L. Tiede *The Charismatic Figure as Miracle Worker*, Missoula 1972; C.P. Holladay, *Theios Aner in Hellenistic Judaism*, Missoula 1977; and John M. Hull *Hellenistic Magic and the Synoptic Tradition*, Naperville 1974.

This should appear extremely sensible to us, since it amounts to a concise statement of one of our culture's definitions of magic. A surprising consequence of this definition is that magic can be viewed as an early form of science.[5] Neat though it is, such a clearcut distinction leads to problems when cases are examined, as we shall see, since (1) it creates an ideal type which can only be approximated by a specific occurrence and (2) it rarely describes what the magician himself thinks he is doing.[6]

In this paper, I will argue that no definition of magic can be universally applicable because "magic" can not and should not be construed as a properly scientific term. Its meaning changes as the context in which it is used changes. No single definition of magic can be absolute, since all definitions of magic are relative to the culture and sub-culture under discussion. Furthermore, it is my contention that we have been misled by our own cultural assumptions into making too strict a distinction between magic and religion in the Hellenistic world. As we shall see, in some places the distinction between magic and religion will depend purely on the social context.

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[3] See Ruth Benedict, *Magic*, in the *Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences* for the basic bibliography. More recently R. & M. Wax, *The Magical World View*, in *JSSR* 1, 1962, 179-88. "The Notion of Magic" in *Current Anthropology* 4, 1963, 495-503, Mary Douglas, *Purity and Danger*, in *Witchraft Confessions and Accusations*, ed. Mary Douglas, London 1970. Lucy Mair, *Witchcraft*, New York 1969. An interesting structural analysis is suggested by E. Leach, *Culture and Communication*, Cambridge 1966.

[4] *A Scientific Theory of Culture and Other Essays*, 200.

[5] This approach is typical of Frazer and Tylor and Thorndike for example.

[6] See Remus for the complete history of research. Sensitive to these issues many anthropologists are inclined to resist a sharp distinction between magic and religion. Thus, e.g., R. Firth, P. Worsley talk about interpenetration of magical and religion. See also M. Douglas, *Purity and Danger*, 74ff. Jarl Fossum has called my attention to A. van Gennep, R. Williamson, R. Lowie, A.R. Radcliffe-Brown, W.J. Goode, E. Norbeck, C.G. Diehl and others who have noted the similarity between the two phenomena. Though it is not my purpose to outline or review a history of the study of magic in this paper, the extent of this trend in the literature needs to be emphasized as well. Very often it seems to me as though theoretical work has tended to separate the two phenomena while field work has tended to combine them. My point is to recommend that we distinguish between the two enterprises and give more attention to how the term is actually used within the culture under consideration.

Since we cannot agree on a suitable definition of magic beforehand, the only way to discuss magic in its Hellenistic context is to start with documents that claim to be magical and see what is in them. Only afterwards can we address the adequacy of our account of the phenomenon or offer a definition.

The easiest place to see the whole paradox is the magical papyri.[7] They use the terms "magic" and "magical"[8] while the practitioners call themselves μάγοι, "magicians."[9] However, scholars quickly discovered that this usage makes a definition of magic harder, not easier. A. D. Nock published one of the earliest attempts to understand the magical papyri.[10] He thought of the phenomenon as having a Greco-Egyptian character, comparing it with many of the reports of magic in classical Greece. Though the papyri may have picked up Persian features, he basically saw them as Greek in character. Thus, he tried to understand them by comparison with the worship of Hecate in ancient Greece.[11] Martin Nilsson also turned his attention toward the papyri.[12] Though he found that the papyri were radically individualistic, he could not believe that the magicians wrote such beautiful hymns and spells without help. Their work must have been copied from some other source. For Nilsson and Nock, the most likely source for the writings of these magicians was Hellenistic religion. Based on the metric structure of the hymns, Nilsson suggested that there was an earlier body of literature, attached to the worship of various greek gods, surviving only in late papyri. The magical texts witnessed to those religious hymns, though the magicians no longer understood them. Through this fairly elaborate theory of literary transmission, Nock and Nilsson were able to explain both the magical and the religious qualities of the writing. But the elaborate enterprise is necessary because they saw magic and religion as totally different and separate phenomena.

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[7] See *Papyri Graecae Magicae*, ed. K. Preisendanz et al., 2 vols., Dresden 1928-31, 2nd rev. ed. by A. Henrichs, Stuttgart 1973-1974.

[8] μαγεία: ἀλήθεια τῆς περὶ αὐτὸν μαγείας, IV, 2453; δύναμις τὴς θεῖας αὐτοῦ μαγείας, 2449; μύστης τῆς ἱερᾶς μαγειας, I, 127; μαγείης τῆς εμῆς βέλος, IV,2319. μαγικός: μαγικὴν ψυχὴν ἔχων, IV,210; ἐν τῇ μαγικῇ ἐμπειρίᾳ, I,331.

[9] μάγος: πάντων μάγων ἀρχηγέτης, IV,2289; μάγων καθηγεμῶν, 243; πλεῖστοι τῶν μάγων, 2081.

[10] A.D. Nock, *Greek Magical Papyri*, in *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 15, 1929, 219-235. See also his fine *Paul and the Magus*, in the *Beginnings of Christianity* (ed. Jackson and Lake, Grand Rapids 1966, from London Macmillan edition) 5, 171 and the many fine articles on magical themes now collected in his *Essays on Religion and the Ancient World*, 1972.

[11] Though he and Reitzenstein agreed basically in seeing the papyri as *ignota pietas*, they disagreed as to the cultural milieu at the center. Reitzenstein (*ZNW*, XIII, 13) thought that they had a Persian background.

The greatest problem with the approach is that no direct literary connections between the magical hymns and religious hymns can be detected. Though there are many similarities between the "magical hymns" and the "religious hymns," no one has been able to demonstrate any direct borrowing. In the absence of such evidence, we should probably assume that the magicians were more creative men than either Nock or Nilsson thought, that hymns could be written in either magical or religious conditions, or, at least, that the material in the papyri is a *mélange* of different phenomena collected and written by people who saw no distinction between the various sections.

E. R. Goodenough and Gershom Scholem have seen the hymns and charms in the Greek magical papyri in the context of sectarian Judaism and late Hellenistic syncretism. In his *magnum opus*, *Jewish symbols in the Greco-Roman Period*,[13] Goodenough quotes a charm like the ones found in *PGM*:

> By the power of those ten holy words of the Lord God, by the Name, I am that I am, God Almighty, Adonai, Lord of Hosts, I bind, excommunicate and destroy, I ward off and cause to vanish, all evil, accursed and maddening pains and sicknesses.

As Goodenough indicated, one God alone is worshipped; the other deities are reduced to the level of angels or demons. Goodenough's point is that these hymns reflect a sectarian Judaism, syncretized with a number of other influences. Although most of the spells are not "normative" Christianity or Judaism, they combine aspects of both. In order to maintain strict distinctions between magic and religion then, one would also have to define "orthodoxy" in an analytic way. Even if that could be done, it would take us too far afield. But one conclusion allows us to proceed with analysis: the documents are both religious and magical. Goodenough and Scholem, though differing in other respects, were united in their willingness to call some aspects of the *PGM* religious.

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[12] Martin P. Nilsson, *Die Religion in den griechischen Zauberpapyri*, in *Opuscula Selecta*, III, Lund 1960, 129-166.

[13] Vol. 2, 164.

The insights of Goodenough and Scholem can be profitably applied to all the significant hymns of the *PGM*. Many of these seem too sophisticated to be placed in the same category with charms and amulets. In particular, it would be worthwhile to note several of the texts analysed by E. Peterson.[14] Peterson describes the celebrant as trying to escape from Fate to return to the spiritual state from which he has fallen.

Although Peterson tries unsuccessfully to associate the ἄνθρωπος of IV 1177f. with Adam,[15] his basic understanding of the magical praxis appears to be correct. The celebrant prays that, although born mortal (θνητὸς γεννηθεὶς ἐκ θνητῆς ὑστέρας, 517-518) he may be transformed (βεβελτιωμένος) by the god, whose presence he seeks after having made the appropriate consecrations (ἁγίοις ἁγιασθεὶς ἁγιάσμασι, 522). The process of immortalization is accomplished through a heavenly journey, climaxed by a face-to-face vision of the divinity (καὶ ἀτένιζε τῷ θεῷ, 711) in which the divinity of the God empowers the journey and appears to confer immortality:

στὰς οὖν εὐθέως ἕλκε ἀπὸ τοῦ θείου ἀτενίζων εἰς σεαυτὸν τὸ πνεῦμα. ὅταν οὖν ἀποκατασταθῇ σου ἡ ψυχή, λέγε· (628-630).

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[14] E. Peterson, *La libération d'Adam de l'anagke*, in *RB*, 1948, 119f. This study has also appeared in a revised German edition, *Die Befreiung Adams aus der Anagke*, in Peterson's *Frühkirche*, *Judentum*, *und Gnosis*, Rome-Freiberg-Vienna 1959, 107ff.

[15] The man (ἄνθρωπος) in IV, 1177f. is so-called in distinction to God's other creations: ὅτι ἐγώ εἰμι ἄνθρωπος, θεοῦ τοῦ ἐν οὐρανῷ πλάσμα κάλλιστον. This does not make him equivalent to the first-born Adam who appears III, 145-147. Rather it emphasizes his earthly origin, which needs to be perfected by the rites into a σῶμα τέλειον, possibly his divine origin image after the rite.

> So stand still and at once draw breath from the divine into yourself, while you look intently. When your soul is restored, say: ...

σὺ δὲ εὐθέως μύκωμα μακρόν, βασανίζων τὴν γαστέρα, ἵνα συνκινήσῃς τὰς πέντε αἰσθήσεις, μακρὸν εἰς ἀπόθεσιν, μυκῶ καταφιλῶν πάλιν τὰ φυλακτήρια καὶ λέγων· ʽμοκριμο φεριμοφερερι ζωή μου, τοῦ δεῖνα, μένε σύ, νέμε ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ μου, μή με καταλείψῃς’ (704-710).

> And at once produce a long bellowing sound, straining your belly, that you may excite the five senses:. Bellow long until the conclusion, and again kiss the amulets and say: MOKRIMO PHERIMOPHERERI, life of me, N, Stay, dwell in my soul, Do not abandon me.[16]

In the Mithras Liturgy, the salvation is brought by Helios, not Adam; but he grants both immortality and a new birth, implying a new horoscope as well.

κύριε, παλινγενόμενος ἀπογίγνομαι, αὐξόμενος καὶ αὐξηθεὶς τελευτῶ, ἀπὸ γενέσεως ζωογόνου γενόμενος, εἰς ἀπογενεσίαν ἀναλυθεὶς πορεύομαι, ὡς σὺ ἔκτισας, ὡς σὺ ἐνομοθέτησας καὶ ἐποιησας μυστήριον (718-723).

> O Lord, while being born again, I am passing away; while growing and having grown, I am dying; while being born from a life generating birth, I am passing on, released to death — as you have founded, as you have decreed, and have established the mystery.[17]

More important than whether or not the identity of the mediator figure is Adam is the use of the term "archangel" (ἀρχάγγελος) to describe the function[18] and the manifold use of a mediator in bringing the salvation from the God to man.[19]

Let us see what definition of magic and religion is presupposed by the texts. Even a brief look at the *Mithras Liturgy* emphasizes the religious character of the experience being related. The expected result of the long ceremony is not merely to understand the future, though that was involved as well. The expected result is to gain an immortal rebirth (μεταγεννηθέντος, 647) or immortalization (ἀπαθανατισθεὶς). The rebirth entails a new horoscope and is described often as a mystery. Furthermore, the adept's vision is described as ἐποπτεύσω (504), a technical term for a participating in the mystery cults. The adept appears to gain his immortality through what he sees and experiences. He rises in an ecstatic heavenly journey by appeasing the various tutelary divinities. His soul is restored through breathing in the divine (630). At the end he appears to be vouchsafed a vision of the great God Helios Mithras, of whom the magician is the archangel. This is as sophisticated and spiritual an idea as one finds in the religious world of late antiquity.

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[16] See *The Mithras Liturgy*, ed. and tr. Marvin Meyer, Missoula 1976, 19, lines 629f. and 705f.

[17] See *The Mithras Liturgy*, ed. Meyer, 21. This was the end of the Mithras Liturgy, according to Dieterich.

[18] There are a few places in Jewish tradition where Adam is called an angel or compared with one. See Mekhilta Ex. IV, 29; Gen. R. xxi, 5. Also the material in b. San. 38a and f. suggests Adam's angelic status.

[19] See I, 206f., 219ff., IV, 1190ff., 1200, 1203ff. See the forthcoming dissertation of Jarl Fossum for a discussion of Adam legends in Hellenistic society.

Suffice it to say that we have discovered a document in which magic and religion are extra-ordinarily well mixed.[20] Apparently, in the Hellenistic world, as in our own, the definition of magic was not firmly fixed. This is not surprising because the Hellenistic world was a complex and varied *assemblage* of cultures, resembling our own in its development of cosmopolitanism and individualism.[21] In order to address the real meaning of "magic" in the Hellenistic world then, we have to discuss both the ostensible definition of magic and the many social contexts in which magic existed.

To a certain extent ambiguity in the distinction between magic and religion is due to the semantic range of the terms for magic. The words *magos*, *magicus*, and *mageia*, were used with a variety of connotations — from the religion of the Magi to scurrilous, harmful magic or witchcraft. The Magi were members of the priestly clan of the Persians and therefore could be considered as honest religionists. However, the Greeks and Romans who actually viewed the Persian Empire tended to bring their own intellectual prejudices to bear against religion when they described it. Herodotus, Pliny and Plutarch tended at their hardest to view the religion as little more than fraud.[22] Furthermore, since Persia remained Rome's most potent enemy throughout the Imperial Era, any religion practiced there was bound to be viewed as subversive and dangerous.

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[20] This paradox is also illustrated by the scholarly argument about the Mithras Liturgy. In 1903 Albrecht Dieterich proposed that lines 475-834 of the Paris Magical Papyrus were part of the official liturgy of the Mithras cult, hence religion, *Eine Mithras Liturgie*, Berlin 1903. However, since the publication of Dieterich's book, many scholars, notably Cumont and Reitzenstein, have criticized his theory. (See the Nachträge to the third 1923 edition). By the third edition, Dieterich was forced to moderate his claims to admit that the Egyptian magicians had altered the text substantially. Most others have seen the text as Egyptian magic pure and simple, though all have seen significant parallels with the hermetic writings and solar piety. The argument has not ever been satisfactorily resolved. Dieterich's evidence that the document represents a religious mystery is partially sound, yet important aspects of his argument for its mithraic origin can be dismissed. What is important for our current purposes is to note that scholars themselves cannot decide whether the text is magical or religious. The complementary problem is found in some of Morton Smith's writings. Smith notes that the ascent motif is characteristic of magical rites and tries to maintain that Jesus is a magician because he sees evidence of the same practices in Jesus' ministry and teachings. See below p. 367-370.

[21] See, *e.g.*, E. Brehier, *The Hellenistic and Roman Age*, Chicago 1965.

Then too, many people in the Hellenistic world called themselves *magoi* when they had no real connection with Persia. These people always courted the epithet "γόης," a less ambiguous term usually meaning "quack." Though in the *Symposium* (202e) Plato grants γοητεία a measure of efficacy as a function of the demon Eros and hence uses it as equivalent to what we have been calling "μαγεία" almost all other use of the term is derogatory.[23] The problems of candidates for the title "divine man" was to convince the world that they were not *magi* and certainly not γόητες, as detractors might have called them.[24]

When magic is mentioned in Roman laws, it is always discussed in a negative context. A consensus was established early which viewed harmful acts (and only harmful acts) of magic as criminal. The Laws of the Twelve Tablets (451-450 B.C.) expressly forbid anyone from enticing his neighbor's crops into his own field by magic. Furthermore, the maleficent arts were often considered to be identical with death by poisoning and punishable with equal severity.[25] An actual trial for alleged violation of these laws was held before Spurius Albinus in 157 B.C.[26] Cornelius Hispallus expelled the Chaldaean astrologers from Rome in 139 B.C. — ostensibly on the grounds that they were magicians.[27] In 33 B.C. astrologers and magicians are explicitly mentioned as having been driven from Rome. Twenty years later, Augustus ordered all books on occult subjects to be burned. In 16 A.D. magicians and astrologers were expelled from Italy, which was reinforced by edicts from other emperors in 69 A.D. and 89 A.D. Later, Constantine issued a ruling to cover all charges of magic. In it he distinguished between helpful charms, not punishable, and antagonistic spells:

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[22] See Smith, 71f. See also A. Abt. *Die Apologie des Apuleius von Madaura und die antike Zauberei: Beiträge zur Erläuterung der Schrift de Magia*, Giessen 1908. J. Bidez & F. Cumont, *Les Mages Hellénisés*, Paris 1938.

[23] Josephus, for example, (*Wars* II, 261f.; *Antiquities* XX, 92, 167, 188) dismisses miracle-workers with the term.

[24] In the case of Apollonius of Tyana the apologetic is present right at the start. Philostratus, his official biographer, shows that, like philosophers, Appollonius was not afraid to learn about occult subjects, but that he never practiced magic. He is also capable of using the same word *Magos* to describe the priests of Persia, who though not all knowing, are nevertheless wise in certain matters. The emphasis is on becoming wise: ὁμιλήσαντες μάγοις καὶ πολλὰ δαιμόνια εἰπόντες, οὔπω ὑπήχθησαν τῇ τέχνῃ, *Vita Apollonii* I: 2. Compare with I: 26: "τί οἱ μαγοι;" τὸν δὲ ἀποκρίνασθαι "σοφοὶ μέν, ἀλλ᾿ οὐ πάντα". See also Anitra B. Kolenkow, *A Problem of Power: How Miracle Workers Counter Charges of Magic in the Hellenistic World*, *SBL Seminar Papers*, 1976, v. 1, 105-110.

> If any are discovered to have been using magic arts so as to threaten men's safety or pervert modest persons to libidinous practices, their science is to be punished and deservedly penalized according to the severest laws. However, no accusations are to be heard against remedies sought out for human bodies or, in rural districts, to protect the mature grapes from fear of rains or from being crushed by the pounding of hailstones.[28]

Several observations can be made on the basis of the history of the crime of magic. First, magic was clearly viewed as efficacious; otherwise it would have been prosecuted as fraud.[29] Second, though illegal, it must have been widely practiced — or at least believed to be so — to have occasioned such frequent condemnation. Third, it is the *maleficium* — witchcraft — which is proscribed; presumably what we call "white" or non-aggressive magic was no crime, though, to be sure, much that they called "religion" might appear to us to be magic. "White" magic or non-aggressive magic could easily appear to be religion by their standards but notice the further ambiguity. Though the Chaldaean astrologers were religionists and presumably were not aggressive by definition, once their ideology was deemed dangerous, they could be expelled as magicians, on the grounds that they presented a danger to society. This illustrates Morton Smith's observation that, while in our culture "magic" has the connotation of trickery, in Roman culture it often had the connotation of subversion as well.[30]

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[25] M. Smith, *Jesus the Magician*, 75f.

[26] Pliny, *N.H.* 18, 41-43.

[27] See Eugene Tavenner, *Studies in Magic from Latin Literature*, New York 1916, 13 and J. E. Lowe, *Magic in Greek and Latin Literature*, Oxford 1929.

[28] From Morton Smith, *Jesus the Magician*, 76. See *Theodosiani Libri* XVI, ed. Th. Mommsen, Berlin 1962^3 from 1954^2 and 1904^1, IX, 16, 3, p. 460 and tr. by Clyde Pharr, Princeton 1952, 237.

"*Eorum est scientia punienda et severissimus merito legibus vendicanda, qui magicis adcincti artibus aut contra hominum molite salutem aut pudicos ad libidinem deflexisse animos detegentur. Nullis vero criminationibus inplicanda sunt remedia humanis quaesita corporibus aut in agrestibus locis, ne maturis vindemiis metuerentur imbres aut ruentis grandinis lapidatione quaterentur, innocenter adhibita suffragia, quibus non cuiusque salus aut existimatio laederetur, sed quorum proficerent actus, ne divina munera et labores hominum sternerentur*".

[29] For a rare example of the charge of fraud, see Lucian, *Alexander of Abonuteichus*. Also M. Smith, *Jesus*, 88.

The great witches of Greek legend — Medea, Erichtho, etc. — were literary creations, but the fear of witchcraft and the use of sorcery were obviously quite common. Among the Romans, especially those in the lower classes, sorcery, though illegal, was often practiced or hired as a service by people who were in situations of competition and uncertainty. The charioteer owed his position to personal skill, which was both increased and frequently attacked by magic. So it is not infrequent to find this sort of evocative masterpiece among the collections of curse tablets:

> I conjure you up, holy beings and holy names; join in aiding this spell and bind, enchant, thwart, strike, overturn, conspire against, destroy, kill, and break Eucherius, the charioteer and all his horses tomorrow in the circus at Rome. May he not leave the barriers well, may he not be quick in the contest, may he not outstrip anyone; may he not make the turns well; may he not win any prizes; and, if he has pressed someone hard, may he not come off the victor; and, if he follows someone from behind, may he not overtake him; but may he meet with an accident, may he be bound, may he be broken, may he be dragged along by your power in the morning and afternoon races. Now! Now! Quickly! Quickly![31]

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[30] See *The Secret Gospel of Mark*, 221.

[31] This curse may be found in *Inscriptiones Graecae ad Res Romanas Pertinentes*, Paris 1906-27, I, no. 117. The English translation is from *Roman Civilization Sourcebook II: The Empire*, ed. N. Lewis and M. Reinhold, New York 1955, 570. Three hundred examples of *Defixionum Tabellae* were published by Audollent (1904). A supplementary list from central and northern Europe was made by Preisendanz, in ARW

This *defixio* is clearly aggressive magic, it is clearly *maleficium*, and it is definitely illegal. No one would have practiced it with the impression he was practicing a legal and wholesome religious rite, however richly deserved was the damage to the intended victim. Peter Brown gives a special explanation of the frequency of references to chariot races in the tablets.[32] The competition faced by the charioteer extended beyond his time in the circus. The charioteer was an undefined mediator in urban society. He was both the client of local aristocracies and the leader of organized groups of fans. As a public figure with considerable popular following, he became a potential leader in urban rioting.[33] Because of the anxiety and charisma associated with such an uncertain life, some charioteers and many of their fans were driven to seek sorcerers.

Thus, when magic was viewed as benign it might easily be coterminous with religion, whereas in the crucial contexts where magic was viewed as antagonistic and illegal it was carefully differentiated. The definition of this crime of "black" magic was made on the basis of its presumed injury and it was treated in many respects as other practices banned for the protection of the body politic. Common sense tells us that, whenever an accusation of magic was made, a distinction between magic and legitimate forms of religion was being made by the accuser. The accuser is claiming that the accused meant to harm society. However, it is not necessarily true that the accuser would say that the "magic" practiced is not religion — since the Persian Magi, Jews, *Mathematici* and philosophers are often grouped together in a ban — only that the practice was aggressive or primitive. Therefore, the

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11, 1933. The Attic examples known before 1897 were separately edited by R. Wunsch. (*IG* III,3). Additional Attic curse tablets have been published by Ziebarb (*NachrGött* 1899, 105ff. and *SPAW* 1934, 1022f.). Others have been found subsequently. There seem to be only a few that can be assigned to the fifth century B.C. or earlier; on the other hand, a good many can be shown to belong to the fourth. Still, the majority are Roman and come from much later times. For a complete bibliography, see E. R. Dodds, *The Greeks and the Irrational*, Berkeley 1968, 204f.

[32] On the issue of black magic and witchcraft see Peter Brown, *Sorcery, Demons and the Rise of Christianity from Late Antiquity into the Middle Ages*, in *Witchcraft Confessions and Accusations* ed. Mary Douglas, London 1970, 17-46. Also see Lucy Mair, *Witchcraft*, cited above and G. Parrinder, *Witchcraft: European and African*, London 1963.

[33] See Macmullen, 171 and nn. 10-12, p. 339-41.

defendant in an accusation of magic might have a different view of what he was doing.

In order to specify further the conditions under which "black" magic and religion were distinguished in the Hellenistic world, we have to review a few actual cases of witchcraft accusations. The *Rhetor* Libanius successfully defended himself against the charge of sorcery several times.[34] His righteous indignation at being so wrongly accused, an insult to his ability as a *rhetor*, tempts one to view him as a strict rationalist. But this is far from the case. When his old injury (from being struck by lightening) begins to act up, causing him to suffer unsettling dreams, he suspects sorcery. Finding a dead chamelion in his classroom, he becomes convinced that he has been made a victim of some malevolent force invoked by an enemy. On this basis he is able to blame recent losses in debate on the sorcery of his opponents instead of their superior skill. This phenomenon has also been admirably discussed by Peter Brown.[35] Brown sees Libanius as an example of how sorcery beliefs coalesce around areas of competition and uncertainty — conditions which are being aggravated in the third century in a society becoming more and more committed to a vested hierarchy in church and state.[36] Certainly this is a case of how sorcery "explains unfortunate events" to rely on Kluckholm's functionalist description of Navajo witchcraft. The sorcery attacks can be seen to counter and explain misfortune in competitive situations in ways that allowed the ostensible victim to escape without damage to his feelings of professional competency. In this case, magic or sorcery is seen as discontinuous with religion because it is aggressive and mean. The accusation is made against colleagues and presumably in the case of Libanius, the accusation of witchcraft was quite straight-forward.

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[34] *Libanius' Autobiography*, ed. A.F. Norman, Hull 1965, see especially vii-xii, 31, 35, 39-41, 61, 93, 127-129.

[35] *Sorcery, Demons, and the Rise of Christianity* (see note 32), 17-46. This is indeed a valuable and exciting article. It seems to me however that Brown has learned his lessons from Evans-Pritchard imperfectly. Instead of seeing the social value of magic, witchcraft and sorcery in a specific society, Brown imports Zande distinctions between sorcery and witchcraft in order to distinguish Christian and Jewish ideas about magic from pagan ones. This Zande distinction is misleading in several respects, as will be shown below. See also Ramsey Macmullen, *Enemies of the Roman Order*, Cambridge 1966.

[36] Brown, 25. See also C. Kluckholm, *Navaho Witchcraft*, Cambridge 1944, esp. 79-128 for the psychological functions of witchcraft.

In other, more revealing contexts, the definition of magic is the subject of the controversy. This is illustrated by the experience of Apuleius. In Apuleius' time, many archaeological finds begin to be evidenced on expensive media like papyrus and parchment. Amulets begin to be fashioned of jewels, gold, or silver. All of this suggests that the people with more money were beginning to become interested in magic. When Apuleius is accused of witchcraft by the relatives of his newly married wife, he expresses an ambiguous opinion of *mageia*, which will help us clarify how "magic" and "religion" were differentiated:

> I will now deal with the actual charge of magic. You spared no violence in fanning the flame of hatred against me. ... I should therefore like to ask his most learned advocates how precisely they would define a magician? If what I read in a large number of authors be true, namely that "magician" is the Persian word for priest, what is there criminal in being a priest and having due knowledge, science and skill? ...[37]
>
> But, if you accusers of mine, after the fashion of the common herd, define a magician as one who, by communion or speech with the immortal gods, has the power to do all the marvels that he will through a strange power of incantation, I really wonder that they are not afraid to attack one whom they acknowledge to be so powerful.[38]

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[37] His opinion of the magi was shared widely. When Ps-Aristotle affirms that the Magi are not acquainted with τὴν γοητικὴν μαγείαν, he is referring to the orthodox clergy of Persia. In many places, Greek authors go out of their way to declare that the Magi practice *mageia*, not *goeteia*, therefore they are not magicians: "Μαγεία Ζωροάστρου ἐστὶ θεῶν θεραπεία." See Bidez and F. Cumont, *Les mages héllénisés: Zoroastre, Ostanes and Hystaspe d'après la tradition grecque* (Paris 1938) I, 144, n. 2. In point of fact, sorcery was equally demonic in Persia, where it was considered to be service to the *devas* (demons) by the *druj* (evil ones). Cf. Darmesteter, *Zend. Avesta*, I, 76, n. 8; 90, n. 53; II, 12, n. 252; *Mon. myst. de Mithra* I, 141.

[38] Apuleius, *Apology and Florida*. tr. H.E. Butler, ch. 25, 26, p. 55f., 56f. See Apulée, *Apologie et Florides* ed. Paul Vallette, Paris 1960, 31, 33:

"*Aggredior enim iam ad ipsum crimen magiae, quod ingenti tumultu ad inuidiam mei accensum frustrata exspectatione omnium per nescio quas anilis fabulas defraglauit... et ideo mihi libet quaerere ab eruditissimis eius aduocatis quid sit magus.*

Nam si, quod ego apud plurimos lego, Persarum lingua magus est qui nostra sacerdos, quod tandem est crimen sacerdotem esse et rite nosse atque scire atque callere leges cerimoniarum, fas sacrorum, ius religionum? ... Sin uero more uulgari eum isti proprie magum existimant, qui communione loquendi cum deis immortalibus ad omnia quae uelit incredibili quadam ui cantaminum polleat, oppido miror cur accusare non timuerint quem posse tantum fatentur. Neque enim tam occulta et diuina potentia caueri potest itidem ut

Since Apuleius, a young man, had managed to marry an elderly woman of considerable fortune, her relatives feared that they might be disinherited. Yet he had violated no specific law, so they attempted to press their claim by maintaining that he used magic to win his wealthy wife. This is surely an example of the use of the charge of magic to clarify an ambiguous and threatening situation, a use which we will investigate further. The threat to the traditional expectation about inheritance is countered by a charge that the social order was upset by demonic action.

More interesting still is Apuleius' reply to the charge. In wonderful rhetorical fashion, he rebukes the illogicality of his accusers. If "magicus" is a Persian priest, he has done no harm. On the other hand, if it is what the common herd thinks it is, he marvels that they are not afraid to attack one they acknowledge to be so powerful.

Though Apuleius admits that the common people see magicians as all-powerful, he denies only that he has the power to do what he will. The possibility that he might be a Persian priest is taken as an unjustified compliment. This is to be explained by the trend in the first centuries of our era to see magic, philosophy, and wonder-working as essentially similar, as Morton Smith and others have shown us. Hence there arises quite often a distinction between what a critical outsider might call the act in question and the experience of the participant.

Apuleius' usage reflects a growing upper-class flirtation with "magical" arts. But Apuleius' full view of magic *per se* is most fully expressed in his picaresque novel, *The Golden Ass*. The hero of this novel, Lucius, is led by a mistress (herself a servant of a witch) into careless experimentation with magic. The result is that Lucius is transformed into an ass, a predicament which continues until the end of the novel, when Lucius finally regains his original shape because of a rose-leaf antidote. No doubt, Apuleius' story about a human in the shape of a donkey made the Romans behave more circumspectly in the presence of their beasts. But it was more than a comic invention for

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cetera. Sicarium qui in iudicium uocat, comitatus uenit; qui uenenarium accusat, scrupulosius cibatur; qui furem arguit, sua custodit; enimuero qui magum qualem isti dicunt in discrimen capitis deducit, quibus comitibus, quibus scrupulis, quibus custodibus perniciem caecam et ineuitabilem prohibeat? nullis scilicet; et ideo id genus crimen non est eius accusare, qui credit."

a burlesque novel. The antidote to the witchcraft is a very serious account of the hero's salvation through the intervention of Isis. After this is accomplished, the priest of Isis delivers a speech which explains the basic meaning of the whole story (XI,15):

> After enduring many different troubles and after being driven by the wildest storms of Fortune and her heaviest gales, at last, Lucius, you have come to the haven of Rest and the altar of Mercy. Your high birth was of no avail to you nor even your position in society, nor yet the learning in which you are so rich, but on the slippery path of your hotheaded youth you fell into low pleasures and you have gained a grim reward for your ill-starred curiosity. Nevertheless the blindness of Fortune, while it tortured you with the worst of dangers, yet led you in its unforeseeing evil to your state of religious bliss. Let her quit now and rage in her wildest frenzy and seek another object for her cruelty. For hostile fate has no power over those whose lives have been claimed by the majesty of our goddess. What avail to wicked Fortune were the robbers, the wild beasts, the slavery, the hardships of journeys that winded on and back, and the daily fear of death? Now you have been received into the protection of a Fortune who is not blind, but sees, and who illumines the other gods too with the radiance of her light.
>
> Show, then, a happier face in keeping with the white cloak you have assumed. Follow the procession of the Saviour Goddess with triumphant step. Let the unbelievers take note, let them take note and acknowledge their mistake: behold, here is Lucius! He has been freed from his former sufferings and, rejoicing in the providence of mighty Isis, he is victorious over his Fortune. But to be safer and better equipped, enrol your name in this holy military service, whose solemn oath you were asked to take not long ago, and vow yourself from this moment to the ministry of our religion. Accept of your own free will the yoke of service. For when you have begun to serve the goddess, then will you better realize the result of your freedom.[39]

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[39] J. Gwyn Griffiths, Apuleius of Madauros, *The Isis-Book* (*Metamorphoses Book XI)* (EPRO 39), Leiden 1975, 87-89.

"*Multis et variis exanclatis laboribus magnisque Fortunae tempestatibus et maximis actus procellis ad portum Quietis et aram Misericordiae tandem, Luci, venisti. nec tibi natales ac ne dignitas quidem, vel ipsa, qua flores, usquam doctrina profuit, sed lubrico virentis aetatulae ad serviles delapsus voluptates curiositatis inprosperae sinistrum praemium reportasti. sed utcumque Fortunae caecitas, dum te pessimis periculis discruciat, ad religiosam istam beatitudinem inprovida produxit malitia. eat nunc et summo furore saeviat et crudelitati suae materiem quaerat aliam; nam in eos, quorum sibi vitas deae nostrae maiestas vindicavit, non habet locum casus infestus. quid latrones, quid ferae, quid servitium, quid asperrimorum itinerum ambages reciprocae, quid metus mortis cotidianae nefariae Fortunae profuit? in tutelam iam receptus es Fortunae, sed videntis, quae suae lucis*

Apuleius' final understanding of "magic" is negative. Magic represents the world under the power of blind chance, a world in which Lucius had been enslaved until the grace of the goddess saved him. Just as magic represents the ill-starred world under the influence of fate, so the religion of Isis is defined as the special knowledge and care of the goddess that saves from fate. Lucius' salvation is through the mystery cult of Isis, whose public ceremonies were known to all in the Hellenistic world but whose secrets were known only to the initiates. We have no better description of the inner ritual or goals of the mystery religions than Apuleius' work. It is this specific characteristic of the cult which makes it a legitimate religion for Apuleius.

The striking aspect of Apuleius' account, however, is how completely it resembles the experience in the magical papyri. The magical adept, like Lucius, is seeking the power to be free of the fates and demons, through a heavenly ascent and theurgic power. Thus, while the insider in this case distinguishes between magic and religion, his description of true religion matches some aspects of magical practice elsewhere.

Theurgy, more than anything else, represents the force that transformed "magical" acts into acceptable religion in the Roman Empire. Theurgy itself had been brought into the Roman Empire through the agency of the Chaldeans. As far as we know, the earliest person claiming this art was Julianus, a contemporary of Marcus Aurelius.[40] He, in turn, claimed an association with an earlier Julianus, who gave him the secrets of the *Chaldean Oracles*. The technique of theurgy became more and more associated with the late neo-platonic school, to such an extent that Proclus could define theurgy grandly as "a power higher than all human wisdom, embracing the powers of divination, the purifying powers of initiation, and, in short, all the operations

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splendore ceteros etiam deos illuminat. sume iam vultum laetiorem candido isto habitu tuo congruentem, comitare pompam deae sospitatricis inovanti gradu. videant inreligiosi, videant et errorem suum recognoscant: en ecce pristinis aerumnis absolutus Isidis magnae providentia gaudens Lucius de sua Fortuna triumphat. quo tamen tutior sis atque munitior, da nomen sanctae huic militiae, cuius non olim sacramento etiam rogabaris, teque iam nunc obsequio religionis nostrae dedica et ministerii iugum subi voluntarium. nam cum coeperis deae servire, tunc magis senties fructum tuae libertatis."

[40] See Morton Smith, *Observations on Hekhaloth Rabbati*, in *Biblical and Other Studies*, ed. A. Altmann, Cambridge, Mass. 1963. See also Jamblique, *Les Mystères d'Égypte*, ed. E. des Places, Paris 1966. Also *Oracles Chaldaïques*, ed. E. des Places, Paris 1971.

of divine possession."[41] This explains why magic became acceptable in some aristocratic circles. Simply, it became a consistent religion, appealing to philosophers as well as their aristocratic students because of its independence from organized cults.

However, even in this particular context, the term "magic" often continued to be viewed with contempt. Porphyry accused Iamblichus of dealing only with demons and so forced Iamblichus to write a long justification of theurgy as a means of controlling gods as well as demons. It is not difficult to see in this conflict an attempt to define magic again. Iamblichus is actually defending himself against the charge that he is merely dealing in magic by attempting to show that his beliefs form a philosophically coherent system and involve communications with the gods.

This is a clue to the most obvious reason why the definition of magic continued to be ambiguous even in non-aggressive contexts. It appears that magic was often tacitly defined as worship of demons, while religion was defined as worship of the gods. Since both gods and demons were most often invisible, their effects alone being palpable, it was difficult to tell who was at work. Before it was clear whether "magic" or "religion" was the best explanation of the marvelous event, a complicated social ambiguity had to be resolved.

The most important example of this distinction may be found in Porphyry's *Life of Plotinus*, 10:

> Among those making profession of philosophy at Rome was one Olympius, an Alexandrian, who had been for a while a pupil of Ammonius. This man's jealous envy showed itself in continual insolence, and finally he grew so bitter that he even ventured sorcery, seeking to crush Plotinus by star-spells. But he found his experiments recoiling upon himself, and he confessed to his associates that Plotinus possessed "a mighty soul, so powerful as to be able to hurl every assault back upon those that sought his ruin." Plotinus had felt the operation and declared that at that moment Olympius' limbs "were convulsed and his body shrivelling like a money-bag pulled tight." Olympius, perceiving on several attempts that he was endangering himself rather than Plotinus, desisted.
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> In fact, Plotinus possessed by birth something more than is accorded to other men. An Egyptian priest who had arrived in Rome and, through some friend, had been presented to the philosopher, became desirous of

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[41] Proclus, *Theol. Plat.* I, 26 (Saffrey-Westerink I, 113).

> displaying his powers to him, and he offered to evoke a visible manifestation of Plotinus' presiding spirit. Plotinus readily consented and the evocation was made in the Temple of Isis, the only place, they say, which the Egyptian could find pure in Rome.
>
> At the summons, a divinity appeared, not a being of the spirit ranks, and the Egyptian exclaimed: "You are singularly blessed; the guiding-spirit within you is none of the lower degree, but a God." It was not possible, however, to interrogate or even to contemplate this God any further, for the priest's assistant, who had been holding the birds to prevent them from flying away, strangled them, whether through jealousy or in terror. Thus, Plotinus had for indwelling spirit a being of the more divine degree, and he kept his own divine spirit unceasingly intent upon that inner presence. It was this preoccupation that led him to write his treatise upon *Our Tutelary Spirit*, an essay in the explanation of the differences among spirit-guides.
>
> Amelius was scrupulous in observing the Day of the New Moon and other holy days, and once asked Plotinus to join in such celebration: Plotinus refused: "It is for such beings to come to me, not for me to go to them." What was in his mind in so lofty an utterance we could not explain to ourselves and we dared not ask him.[42]

There are very complicated and ambiguous relationships between magic and religion here. In the first paragraph Plotinus' power is distinguished from pure magic on the basis of superiority in quantity, not essence. Therefore, either Plotinus is being called a magician or Porphyry sees a continuum between religion and magic. In the second and succeeding paragraphs, it is clear that the latter alternative is to be chosen. Plotinus is to be distinguished from magicians because his power (as a god or coming from a god) is greater. Plotinus' claim to have divine power is upheld by a religious authority of some stature — an Egyptian priest. Though the practice sounds magical to us, it is clear that Porphyry is interested in it precisely because a priest of Isis is a religious defender of Plotinus' great power. Thus, after Porphyry has proven that Plotnus is a "divine man" with a god as tutelary spirit, he can digress to tell us of several great feats which were performed by him. In this context, as with other divine-men, we are to interpret the great feats as "miracles" not as magical manipulations, precisely because a religious claim is being made about the performer.

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[42] Plotinus, *The Enneads*, tr. Stephen MacKenna, rev. by B.S. Page, London 1965, 8.

In other words, there is no universal definition of magical procedure in Hellenistic culture. Instead, the charge of magic and its meaning depended on a complicated series of assumptions, not all of which were clear at the beginning of the social interaction. One of the results of the interaction was to produce that clarity. Thus, the charge of "magic" helps distinguish between various groups of people from the perspective of the speaker but does not necessarily imply any essential difference in the actions of the participants. In a narrative about the event, the narrator will attempt to clarify his grounds for distinction.

It is in this context that I believe we should put the disputes about Jesus in Mk. 2,3, Mt. 10, John 7, etc., as well as the accusations against Apollonius of Tyana and the other evidence that Morton Smith has given us.[43] As we would expect, the exorcism stories have been edited to discuss the question of the source of Jesus' power. In the Beelzebul controversy (Mk. 3: 19-27; Mt. 12: 22-30; Lk. 11: 14-16, 17-23) the ambiguity over the source of Jesus' power is clear, but it is also combined with the issue of dissent within the movement, which serves to obscure the conclusion of the gospel writer on the question of magic. The first question is raised by Jesus' followers (οἱ παρ᾽ αὐτοῦ) in the Markan version. Seeing the overwhelming crowds and anticipating the difficulty feeding them, some of his own disciples begin either to think that Jesus is insane or unaware of the problem by virtue of an ecstatic trance. (ἔλεγον γὰρ ὅτι ἐξέστη).[44] After this situation is outlined, the charge of the scribes of Jerusalem is introduced, combining a different but similar tradition of attack on the motivation for Jesus' actions, this time from outside the movement. The scribes are represented as believing that Jesus' power is not from God but from Beelzebul. This is logical because, if Jesus were from God, he could not oppose the legitimate authorities of Judea. Since he does, his power must have other sources. The New Testament portrayal however takes no account of the opponents' position. Jesus points out that he is casting out demons, therefore he must be from God, since Satan would not consent to overthrow his own kingdom. This argument only makes sense if one assumes a unified evil hegemony in opposition to God and that the demons, now considered helpers of Satan, are evil — a presupposition central to the New Testament, which is only partly shared by the Pharisees and certainly not by all Jews, as Goodenough showed us above. In any event, in the New Testament it is enough to silence the opposition from the outside. Therefore the New Testament is not really interested in analyzing the social situation. More important to the story in the present context is the lesson that follows. Those followers who criticize the marvelous deeds of the savior risk blasphemy in the name of the Holy Spirit, a sin much worse than the accusation of the scribes, which appears only as external hostility. So the story of the charge of magic is combined with the issue of internal dissent which becames the central issue for the church.

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[43] Note M. Smith, *Jesus: The Magician.* See also Anitra Bingham Kolenkow, *A Problem of Power: How Miracle-Doers Counter Charges of Magic in the Hellenistic World,* in *SBL 1976 Seminar Papers.*

[44] See the rabbinic comment on Simeon b. Zoma, b. Hagigah 15a.

In Luke and Matthew, the controversy is complicated by a *tu quoque* argument which destroys the logic of the parable of the house divided but again reflects the unsolved ambiguity of the charge of magic: "If I cast out demons in the name of Beelzebul, in whose name do your sons exorcise?" This implies what we knew all along — that there were Jews who claimed to work similar acts to what Jesus had accomplished and who also claimed divine favor. Therefore, this version spells out the implication that Christianity is certainly "religion" if other kinds of Jewish exorcism can be. But the conclusion about magic is purchased at the price of the logic of the Markan version. The later gospels then fasten on the term "kingdom" and convert the story to a kingdom saying about the coming of the end of time. Matthew even eliminates the original charge of Jesus' followers, as a sensitive issue, by attributing the entire charge to Jesus' outside enemies, who are called "Pharisees" for the first time. No doubt this reflects a later time when Pharisees could have been expected to have made just such a charge, based on their conviction that Jesus' power was not from God, just as the scribes could have done so in Jesus' lifetime. Each additional comment gives us a further example of the difficulty in defining magic. If someone called himself a magician, that was one thing. But more often, people who appeared to have divine favor or who exercised supernatural power could be charged with the crime of magic by their detractors. There were no objective criteria separating the miracle worker from the magician. So, it was often necessary for an adept to prove himself a miracle worker and not a magician.

Furthermore, one sees from this particular context that the conflict has slightly different overtones than in the pagan examples. Here, worship or partnership with demons is not merely viewed as low, unsophisticated and potentially harmful. It was also a threat to monotheism, — heresy. Even when accepted as tutelary spirits, one had to decide whether the "demons" were angels — as some Jewish exorcists were evidently claiming[45] — or devils. Most often the judgment of the orthodox group was that these demons were evil, hence our use of the term "demonic" in contradistinction to the less morally loaded pagan understanding of the term.

Particularly striking in this respect is the remarkable similarity between Jesus' "I am" statements and the claims of magicians in the magical papyri.[46] To find such little noted similarities takes an acute mind and years of research. The data clearly demonstrate the essential unity of all men claiming spiritual powers in late antiquity. Such similarities further demonstrate why the Gospel writers were sensitive to the charge of magic brought against Jesus. A defense against the charge of magic is not only characteristic of the polemics of the church fathers and evangelists, it goes back to the earliest traditions of the church. But it does not prove that Jesus was a magician. The early charge of magic against Jesus is not so much clear proof that Jesus was a magician as a clear example of the social manipulation of the charge of magic. When Jesus is accused of magic, it is his credentials as miracle worker that are under scrutiny. Since the determinants of Jesus' credentials are not objectively verifiable, whether or not he is a magician is the subject of the controversy. There is no evidence that Jesus wished to claim the title of magician. To the contrary, the Gospel presents his teachings as well as the titles of divine favor as a defense against the accusation, just as Plotinus and Porphyry defend themselves.

The most interesting question for scholarship, as I see it, is not whether the charge of magic against Jesus is true or not. Since he does not claim the title, there can be no possible demonstration or disproof of a charge which is a matter of interpretation in the Hellenistic world.

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[45] The Jewish exorcists described in the Gospel of Matthew certainly existed. See *Sefer Harazim* where Jewish magicians prayed to inferior "angels" to help them accomplish their ends.

[46] See M. Smith, 126.

The most interesting question for scholarship is to define the social and cultural conditions and presuppositions that allow such charges and counter-charges to be made.

Though I have been arguing that no single generalization can hold for the use of the charge of magic in Hellenistic society, a few general statements can be made, if they are understood as probabilities rather than essential distinctions. The charge of magic is likely to be made by legitimate religious leaders against people who are viewed as threatening the social order but who have as yet done no other prosecutable criminal offense. For instance, *Mathematici*, Jews, and Christians could be seen as subversive by the Roman government, so it was logical to charge them with "magic" even though the charge might be factually groundless and impress us as absurd. On the other hand, there were real Jewish and Christian sorcerers, whose existence was probably all the more detested because they could get the entire group into trouble. With this observation most of the usages of the word "magic" can be easily explained. In succeeding centuries, Christians and Jews shared the upper-class disgust with magic for different reasons. Orthodox Christians and Jews appear to have generalized the negative implication of magic to every outside group, including each other. Since every other religion was false, it stands to reason that every other religion was working with demons, not God. Therefore, every other religion was either magic (if it was *puissant*), or it was nothing at all. In this sense, both orthodox Christianity and Judaism appeared as a kind of "anti-witchcraft cult," a characteristic which was to add to their success considerably. Their enemies — Jesus in Judaism, Simon in Christianity — could be called magicians. Both could promise that their believers were free from the powers of fate.[47] Hence, they serve the same function as did the cult of Isis from Lucius in Apuleius' novel. But the impetus against witchcraft was the belief in one God.[48]

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[47] See above, p. 355.

[48] Brown is mistaken in believing that Christianity was the first to use "witch" in the Zande sense — a fictional creature who is evil by essence. The Christian and Jewish disgust with magic was mediated by real experiences with sorcerers in the Greco-Roman period. Only later does the monotheistic contention that magic is worship of the daimons necessarily become equivalent with a coherent theory of satanic opposition to God. This theory of witchcraft cannot come into being until the Empire is completely

Even as the orthodox Christianity and Judaism opposed magic as worship of the demons, pagan opinions of magic seem to have grown more tolerant. However, since the late neo-platonic schools, those most famous for indulging in magic, were sensitive to the charge of magic, how then are we to explain the magical papyri's mixture of magic and religion? The answer, it seems to me, has to do with a situation outside of a strict Jewish or Christian setting, and outside of the aristocratic setting in a context where no accusation of magic is overtly made. An important factor is Egypt itself where spells and curses to protect the dead had been part of state religion since its inception. In these cases magic is most clearly a "conflict" crime — that is, a criminal act to some but not to all members of the society. This was the "ecological niche" of the Hellenized magi.

One of the clearest examples of the use of the term magic as a religious act comes from the autobiography of Thessalos.[49]

Thessalos, after finding both that Greek rhetoric and traditional magic are not satisfactory, wanders in Egypt in search of a revelation. His question is whether any "magical energy" might still survive (εἰ τι τὴς μαγικῆς ἐνεργείας σώζεται).[50] The priests are either afraid of the legal repercussions of the term "magic" or more likely merely

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Christianized. As Brown says: "... learned sorcery, of course, will survive into the Middle Ages, both in the West, in clerical circles, and even more so in the Eastern Mediterranean, among societies that remained in touch with their ancient roots — in Byzantium, Islam and the Jewish communities. At the end of our period, however, it is joined by another theme. We meet the *witch* in the full sense, a person who either is born with or achieves an inherent character of evil. In this case, it is not an unconscious mystical quality; it is gained by a conscious act. But the power is gained by a binding contract with the ultimate pole of evil — the Devil; and, once this quality is gained, it is rare (outside of pious stories) that the Christian authorities accept the recantation of the new-style witch. The contents of this new belief are well known. What matters is to seize the exact date and milieu in which it comes to the fore." (Brown, 35). It seems to me that such a concept is still too closely tied with Azande rather than Christian and Jewish belief. Furthermore, it becomes most important in a period much later than Brown implies. It is more characteristic of the Protestant Reformation. See Keith Thomas, *Religion and the Decline of Magic*, New York: 1971.

[49] See the recent article by J.Z. Smith, *The Temple and the Magician* in *God's Christ and His People* etc.) who summarizes all the research done on this document and presents the experience in it as characteristic of the religious life of late antiquity. He shows that the traditional forms of religion represented by the Temple are in decay making necessary a new form of individual experience with the divine.

[50] I, 13 Friedrich, p. 49 l., 16.

embarrassed by the belief in an act they could not practice.[51] After much searching, one priest promises him a vision, if he can accomplish the requisite purification. At a pre-arranged place[52] Thessalos asks to see Asclepius, alone "one to one".[53]

Interestingly enough, though the promise of divinization is made through this theophany, it is the gift of the knowledge of proper times and places which occupies the attention of the narrator.

Again, as in the magical papyri, the mix of overtly magical claims with clearly religious desire of individual divinization makes it impractical to distinguish between magic and religion, for now magic is even taken, in opposition to the temple cults, to be the only really effective religion.

Although there is an implicit polemic against established religion, there is no social competition in the document, rather a description of the internal working of the minds that produced such documents and their location on the social map of the Roman Empire. A most helpful way of understanding the mix of what we call "vulgar magic" and "religion" in these syncretistic works is suggested by the anthropological study of the Aladura cult in Africa. Robin Horton postulates that:

> A basic African cosmology ... has a two tier structure, the first tier being that of the lesser spirits and the second that of the supreme being. The lesser spirits underpin events and process in the microcosm of the local community and its environment, whilst the supreme being underpins events and processes in the macrocosm — *i.e.*, in the world as a whole.[54]

This theory suggests that the distinction between lesser deities and the high God is not an arbitrary one. Obviously, the African analogy cannot be taken over in entirety. But it appears likely that the celebrants of the rites described in the magical papyri had a similar concept of the world. For the microcosmic aspects of life — little micro-political battles — it was enough to call on one or more demons to help balance the score. But when the meaning of processes in the macrocosm was sought, a greater kind of salvation was needed. Therefore the cosmos needs to contain two orders of divinity. In both black Africa and Egypt, it is the everyday affairs of local community which are being ordered when the divine inhabitants of the second rung are invoked. A rich plethora of lesser spirits and a wealth of techniques for manipulating them form the matrix of the second order of the cosmos. As with other magical charms, presumed control handles the anxiety of daily life. The bulk of the magical papyri contain description of rites important to the local community. But as individuals find themselves in the larger world of the Empire, they begin to perceive a higher moral code and spirituality for the governance of this wider life. Since the demons are not necessarily evil creatures in Egypt, and the papyri are specifically addressed to gods as well, the path from magic to religion could be seen as continuous in the papyri, — even if among other subgroups a distinction between magic and religion was necessary. Our confusion is that, following our Jewish and Christian forebears, we call the worship of demons and other Gods "magic," which we take as contrary to religion. In the minds of those who were interested in the magical papyri, magic and religion were united.[55] Magic was religion.

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[51] See Smith, 235 on this point.

[52] Called an OIKOS but not a temple. See Smith 235.

[53] Like "face to face," this term has an obvious theophanic association. See refs. brought by Smith, 243 n. 40 to Plotinus, Porphyry, Proclus, Numenius and Eusebius from E. Peterson, *Herkunft und Bedeutung der monos pros monon-formel bei Platon* in *Philologus*, 88, 1933, 30-41.

[54] R. Horton, *On the Rationality of Conversion*, Pt. 1, in *Africa* 34, 1975, 220. The article runs from 219-235, and Pt. 2, *Ibid.*, 373-398. See also *African Conversion*, in *Africa* 41, 1971, 85-107. Against Horton, see H. Fisher, *Conversion Reconsidered: Some Historical Aspects of Religious Conversion in Black Africa*, in *Africa* 43, 1973, 27-40. Also Richard Bruce, *Conversion Amongst the Pyem*, unpublished paper, Dept. of Sociology, Zaria.

There is no precise analogy between the African high god and the upper tier of the Hellenistic magical system. Although the Hellenistic texts give us a high god often, the really significant pattern of religion in the third century is not the name or attribute of the high god but the theophanic encounter with him through theurgic praxis (as in Thessalos' case) or the heavenly journey of the soul to him by means of the psychopomp (as in *PGM*).

Now, this analysis of the similarity of magic and religion is intellectualist and structuralist. Nevertheless, the analysis does have social consequences. Following Horton's train of thought, we ought to be able to define some of the social circumstances under which "magic" will be acceptable (i.e., under local micro-political pressures) as opposed to times when it will be necessary to rely on one of the higher religious ideologies and when any magical interpretation will be excluded. Where social relations are limited (i.e., confined to the microcosm), we should expect religious life to be centred on the demons or lesser spirits. But when social life grows more broad to involve greater contact with the macrocosm, religious life is likely to be somewhat different. Less attention will be paid to the spirits and more to the underpinning of events and processes in the macrocosm. Whether the processes are called "magic" or religion depends on the context. These suggestions of Horton can be helpful to us in studying the syncretistic activities of the late Empire. The magical scrolls pay an inordinate amount of attention to the tutelary deities of the Hellenistic world, so we should expect that they reflect basically a parochial society. But the story of Thessalos and other aspects of the scrolls reflect a sophisticated sense of the greater world. Indeed the story of Thessalos is interested in showing precisely that the treaditional religions are bankrupt, that a new dispensation is needed in imperial times. It is arguing that the information found within magic is the only true science of spirituality. No doubt some magicians were trying to compete with other religions in the area, but this does not change the fact that the people who valued the scrolls understood and were occasionally interested in the great spiritual problems of the Roman Empire. We should then expect that some of the clientele of the magicians like Thessalos himself were educated in international sciences and were groping towards a more elaborate concept of deity, one that was in greater consonance with the world religions of their day. However, the acceptance of the rites of those religions appears to have been selective and serendipitous. This suggests that the phenomenon which we call syncretism (as a term of reproach) may equally well be understood as the coming to knowledge of various groups within the Empire of the vast system of political, economic and cultural exchange to which they belonged. Furthermore, it would suggest that the great religions of the Empire faced the same social problems, understood something similar about imperial rule, and expressed it through the similar structures — either as ascent to or a descent of the God, which imparted knowledge of how to attain personal immortality. For a while the similarity in structure was enough. Finally, it was the Christian variety of the ascent-descent myth which was to serve as the single ideology which united the entire empire.

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[55] This sociological observation is independently confirmed by Javier Teixidor, *The Pagan God: Popular Religion in the Greco-Roman Near East*, Princeton 1977. See p. 4, for example: "To discuss the immortality of the soul or how to acquire true gnoses were not popular concerns."

As for the definitional problems in the study of magic, this survey has tried to show that functionalist definitions (and to some degree certain structuralists as well) have brushed over several crucial factors "internal" to the situation. These approaches tend to produce definitions of concepts for analytical use but they often miss the subtleties and dramatic presentiment of the term in the situation itself or in their drive for taxonomic clarity fail adequately to distinguish between social perspectives.

INTERPRETAZIONI GNOSTICHE E MISTERIOSOFICHE DEL MITO DI ATTIS

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La caratteristica peculiare della *facies* religiosa del mondo tardoantico, in quanto trama complessa di antichi culti e tradizioni, occidentali ed orientali, da tempo conviventi e reciprocamente influenzantisi, e insieme di nuove correnti di pensiero e di religiosità che da quelli si alimentano ovvero ad essi si contrappongono, non ha bisogno di essere dimostrata. E' parimenti nota la posizione privilegiata che in questo panorama estremamente mosso e variegato occupano una serie di complessi mitico-rituali relativi a divinità che, originarie dell'una o dell'altra provincia culturale del mondo circum-mediterraneo (i greci Demetra e Dioniso, il «siro» Adonis, il frigio Attis, l'egiziano Osiride),[1] hanno da tempo assunto carattere cosmopolitico, appartenendo ormai al comune patrimonio religioso dell'*oikoumene* ellenistico-romana. Si tratta di culti che, centrati sulla evocazione rituale di una vicenda divina di presenza-assenza (solitamente connessa col ritmo annuale della vegetazione ànche se non esaurentesi naturalisticamente in tale connessione) ovvero tendenti a stabilire un contatto immediato ed intenso tra fedele e divinità nel contesto di pratiche entusiastico-orgiastiche,[2] realizzano una piena comunicabilità fra piano divino ed umano, *via* cosmo. Talora questi culti contemplano una struttura iniziatico-esoterica in rapporto ad un santuario e ad una organizzazione sacerdotale, come è il caso in Grecia dei μυστήρια di Eleusi e di Samotracia. In una corretta terminologia storico-religiosa si riserverà a questi ultimi la denominazione di "misteri" mentre si definiranno in senso più lato come «mistici» quei culti che realizzano un tipo di «interferenza» profonda tra i livelli divino, cosmico ed umano analoga a quella sperimentata nell'ambito della prassi iniziatico-esoterica dei μυστήρια, pur senza partecipare di tale prassi istituzionale.[3]

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[1] Del tutto specifica, in questo quadro, è la posizione dell'iranico Mithra che, allorquando penetra in Occidente, appare già titolare di una struttura mitico-rituale a carattere misterico, costituita nei suoi dati essenziali attraverso un processo di fusione di elementi orientali ed ellenistici. Si vedano in proposito i nostri contributi al Seminario internazionale su «La specificità storico-religiosa dei misteri di Mithra con particolare riferimento alle fonti documentarie di Roma e Ostia», Roma e Ostia 28-31 marzo 1978 (*Il mitraismo nell'ambito della fenomenologia misterica*, in *Mysteria Mithrae* [EPRO 80], Roma-Leiden 1979, 299-337; *Il mitraismo : una struttura religiosa fra «tradizione» e «invenzione»*, *ibid.*, 349-384) e, più ampiamente, i *Prolegomena* di U. Bianchi (*ibid.*, 3-60) e i risultati del Seminario medesimo.

[2] In tal senso basti ricordare il dionisismo dei tiasi e il culto ellenizzato, ma con forti connotazioni orientali, di Cibele quali sono esemplificati, per il periodo classico, nelle *Baccanti* euripidee e in particolare nella parodos, con il suo entusiastico μακαρισμός

In età ellenistica e romana, peraltro, varii culti greci ed orientali pertinenti alle divinità sopra menzionate saranno egualmente chiamati nelle fonti contemporanee «misteri», essendo questa denominazione talora giustificata dall'esistenza di pratiche iniziatiche protette dal tipico esoterismo misterico.[4] Altre forme religiose saranno invece

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(vv. 72-82 ed. H. Grégoire, *Euripide*, vol. VI, *Les Bacchantes*, Paris 1961, 245 sg.: cfr. E. R. Dodds, *Euripides, Bacchae*, Oxford 1960², 75 sgg.; J. Roux, *Euripide, Les Bacchantes*, Paris 1972, II, 268-273). Per il culto «mistico» della Gran Madre frigia nella Grecia classica e i suoi rapporti con il dionisismo si veda G. Sfameni Gasparro, *Soteriologia e aspetti mistici nel culto di Cibele e Attis*, Palermo 1979, 31-43. Tra l'ampia letteratura relativa all'orgiasmo bacchico e al fenomeno del menadismo, citiamo qui E. R. Dodds, *The Greeks and the Irrational*, Berkeley-Los Angeles 1951, tr. it., Firenze 1969², 319-334; H. Jeanmaire, *Dionysos. Histoire du culte de Bacchos*, Paris 1951, tr. it., Torino 1972², 77-96; 158-219.

[3] Quest'uso del termine «mistico» ci sembra legittimato dalla sua connessione con l'ambito semantico greco, in cui il fenomeno dei μυστήρια trova le sue manifestazioni più antiche e a noi meglio note e dove l'aggettivo μυστικός copre la vasta gamma delle realtà pertinenti ai misteri (modalità e qualità dei riti, oggetti, luoghi e tempi sacri, tradizioni mitiche e personaggi sovrumani), di cui iniziazione ed esoterismo sono soltanto alcune, anche se qualificanti, componenti. Per i contesti in cui intervengono tali specifiche componenti (iniziazione ed esoterismo) si userà l'aggettivo «misterico», riservando «mistico» per la caratterizzazione di una tipologia storico-religiosa più ampia. Essa potrà abbracciare allora varii complessi mitico-rituali, in Grecia e fuori di essa, i quali presentino qualificate analogie con i complessi misterici sotto il profilo della «vicenda» divina e del rapporto speciale fra dio e fedele instaurato dal culto, al di fuori di pratiche iniziatiche con il connesso esoterismo. Per la definizione del «mistico» e del «misterico» nell'ambito della storia religiosa greca e vicino-orientale cfr. U. Bianchi, *Initiation, mystères, gnose (Pour l'histoire de la mystique dans le paganisme gréco-oriental)*, in C. J. Bleeker (ed.), *Initiation*, Leiden 1965, 154-171; *The Greek Mysteries* [Iconography of Religions XVII, 3], Leiden 1976, 1-8.

[4] Ci riferiamo, ad esempio, all'attestazione, per l'età ellenistico-romana, di «misteri» demetriaci, sulla cui antichità ed origine è spesso assai difficile pronunciarsi, sia in Grecia sia in Asia Minore. Cfr. L. R. Farnell, *The Cults of the Greek States*, III, Oxford 1906, 198-213; M. P. Nilsson, *Griechische Feste von religiöser Bedeutung mit Ausschluss*

ancora definibili come «mistiche», secondo la terminologia qui proposta, convenzionale ma legittima in relazione al contesto semantico e culturale greco e ad una articolata tipologia storico-religiosa. Ad ogni modo, la speciale rilevanza dei culti mistici e misterici nella storia religiosa tardo-antica risulta dall'importanza ad essi attribuita nella discussione intorno ai valori religiosi da parte degli autori contemporanei, siano essi i «teologi» pagani ovvero i polemisti cristiani, e si riflette nell'ampio spazio accordato a quei culti nel dibattito scientifico relativo alla Spätantike.

Un aspetto fondamentale della problematica storico-religiosa pertinente ai culti mistici e ai misteri riguarda, insieme alla definizione della loro specifica consistenza storica e fenomenologica, la funzione che essi possono aver assolto nell'ambito della religiosità contemporanea, offrendo elementi o stimoli alla formazione di altri fenomeni attraverso l'utilizzazione e la reinterpretazione di strutture mitiche e rituali di tipo mistico o propriamente misterico. La questione è assai complessa non essendo significativi soltanto la ricerca e l'eventuale reperimento di «imprestiti», sul piano delle forme e degli stessi contenuti, quanto piuttosto la valutazione del significato che tali elementi hanno assunto nel nuovo contesto religioso. E' necessario infatti verificare se si tratti di componenti essenziali che abbiano determinato, con le loro intrinseche valenze religiose, la costituzione di una nuova struttura, autonoma ma in precisa continuità storica e tipologica rispetto alla precedente, ovvero di puri dati formali, su cui si è applicata una esegesi nuova, mossa da suoi specifici e indipendenti presupposti, che ha piegato quei dati medesimi all'espressione di nuovi significati.

Un altro importante aspetto del problema è costituito dai riflessi che tali operazioni di reinterpretazione di fenomeni mistici e misterici ovvero di loro trasformazione in ulteriori complessi religiosi, dotati di una propria specifica fisionomia ma funzionalmente dipendenti dai primi, hanno avuto all'interno di quei fenomeni medesimi, in quanto

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der Attischen, Leipzig 1906, 336-354; *Geschichte der Griechischen Religion*, II^2, München 1961, 94-99; 352-358. Sulla fioritura di misteri dionisiaci nel medesimo periodo basti qui rimandare a M.P. Nilsson, *The Dionysiac Mysteries of the Hellenistic and Roman Age*, Lund 1957. Per la speciale posizione del dionisismo nell'ambito dei culti mistici si vedano le osservazioni di U. Bianchi, *Prometeo*, *Orfeo*, *Adamo*. *Tematiche religiose sul destino*, *il male*, *la salvezza*, Roma 1976, 88-94.

realtà religiose operanti, attraverso il rito e la connessa ideologia, in uno speciale ambiente di fedeli. In altri termini, è indispensabile considerare in questa problematica anche l'incidenza che l'utilizzazione di miti e riti mistici ai fini della costituzione di nuove strutture religiose ovvero dell'espressione di particolari «visioni del mondo» può aver avuto all'interno stesso dei culti mistici e misterici. E' dunque opportuno chiedersi se questi ultimi abbiano continuato a percorrere il loro corso tradizionale ovvero se il processo di reinterpretazione e trasformazione del significato originario di tali culti, piuttosto che svolgersi soltanto alla loro periferia o addirittura in ambienti estranei e lontani dalla loro concreta vita religiosa, sia invece penetrato anche in essa, coinvolgendola più o meno profondamente e rivolgendola in una nuova direzione.

Un utile approccio a quest'ampia e articolata problematica può essere compiuto attraverso l'esame di alcune formule interpretative del complesso mitico-rituale frigio e specificamente della figura di Attis, elaborate all'interno di ambienti tra i più rappresentativi della temperie spirituale dell'epoca e tra i più intensamente partecipi del processo di rielaborazione di antiche tradizioni religiose e speculative in funzione di forme e valori spirituali nuovi. Ci riferiamo al ben noto documento naasseno addotto da Ippolito, espressione di una gnosi «ofitica» che utilizza volentieri materiali mutuati alle varie tradizioni pagane, e all'esegesi del mito frigio proposta da autori tardivi, quali un Giuliano, un Sallustio e un Macrobio, che con connotazioni proprie e specifiche rientrano nel quadro della corrente neoplatonica. Costoro, in virtù di un precipuo interesse al recupero dei valori religiosi tradizionali del paganesimo, tendono ad esprimere le proprie opzioni ideologiche, piuttosto che in formule sistematiche, attraverso la mediazione di dati mitici e rituali filtrati negli schemi filosofici del neoplatonismo. I contenuti peculiari di quest'ultimo non hanno bisogno di essere qui illustrati. Diremo soltanto che, laddove l'esegesi neoplatonica del patrimonio religioso tradizionale si esercita su un materiale pertinente a culti di tipo misterico, si può legittimamente parlare di una «misteriosofia»,[5] intendendo designare con questo termine appunto una reinterpretazione di quei culti alla luce di una teologia complessa, interessata alle manifestazioni del divino in livelli diversi e digradanti, dei quali l'ultimo, materiale, riceve una valutazione tipicamente ambigua (luogo delle forme divine ma insieme regno della mutabilità e della divisione).

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[5] Per una definizione della «misteriosofia», che in Grecia trova la sua più antica espressione nell'Orfismo si veda U. Bianchi, *Initiation*, *cit.*; *Le problème des origines du gnosticisme* in U. Bianchi (ed.), *Origini*, 9-13.

Si tratterà allora di vedere quali dati obiettivi del complesso miticorituale frigio siano utilizzati rispettivamente dall'esegeta gnostico e neoplatonico e in quale momento dell'evoluzione storica di quel complesso si situino tali interventi. In pari tempo bisognerà verificare se e in quale misura la struttura specifica di tale contesto religioso possa aver offerto un contributo o un impulso alla elaborazione dell'ideologia caratteristica dell'uno e dell'altro ambiente e, reciprocamente, se tale ideologia ha modificato dall'interno il quadro della religione frigia nella sua concreta attualità.

Da quando F. G. Schneidewin pubblicò per la prima volta i due inni in onore di Attis che concludono l'ampia notizia di Ippolito sui Naasseni,[6] l'interesse per queste brevi composizioni e per il commento svolto su di essi dalla comunità gnostica in questione non è mai venuto meno. Al di là dei problemi di critica testuale,[7] alla cui soluzione hanno contribuito le successive edizioni sia dei due inni[8] ovvero della singola sezione relativa ai Naasseni[9] sia dell'intera *Refutatio* di Ippolito,[10] l'attenzione si è rivolta soprattutto alla particolare qualità gnostica della dottrina soggiacente al trattato naasseno «Sull' Uomo».

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[6] *Hymnorum in Attin fragmenta inedita*, in *Philologus* III, 1848, 247-266. Cfr. Id., in *NachGött.*, 1852, 101 sg.

[7] G. Hermann, *Über Bruckstücke zweier Hymnen auf den Attis*, in *Berichten d. säch. Gesellsch.d.Wiss.*, *Phil.-hist.Classe*, 1849, 1-5 (rist. in Th. Fritze [ed.], *Opuscula*, VIII, Leipzig 1877, 371-375); U. v. Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, *Lesefruechte*, in *Hermes* XXXVII, 1902, 328-332 (rist. in *Kleine Schriften* IV, 1962, 164-168).

[8] Th. Bergk (ed.), *Poetae Lyrici Graeci*, III^4, Lipsiae 1882, 685 sg.; J. Kroll, *Die Christliche Hymnodik bis zu Klemens von Alexandreia*, in *Verzeichnis d. Vorlesungen an der Akademie zu Braunsberg*, 1921, II, 93 sg. n. 2.

[9] R. Reitzenstein, *Poimandres. Studien zur griechisch-ägyptischen und frühchristlichen Literatur*, Leipzig 1904, 82-101; Id. in R. Reitzenstein-H. H. Schaeder, *Studien zum antiken Synkretismus aus Iran und Griechenland*, Leipzig-Berlin 1926, 161-173.

[10] E. Miller in Migne, *PG* XVI, 3, 3009-3454; P. Wendland, *Hippolytus Werke*, III [GCS 26], Leipzig 1916. Sul problema dell'attribuzione dell'opera si veda in ultimo M. Marcovich, *Note on Hippolitus' Refutatio*, in *JTS*, N.S. XV, 1964, 69-74. La notizia sui Naasseni (*Ref.* V, 7,2-10,2 ed. Wendland 79,6-104,3) è riprodotta in W. Völker, *Quellen zur Geschichte der christlichen Gnosis*, Tübingen 1932, 11-27. Tra le numerose traduzioni ricordiamo qui quelle di R. M. Grant, *Gnosticism. An Anthology*, London 1961, 105-114; R. Haardt, *Die Gnosis. Wesen und Zeugnisse*, Salzburg 1967, 82-90; W. Foerster, *Gnosis*, Bd. I, Zürich 1969 (tr. ingl. a cura di R. McL. Wilson, Oxford 1972,

E' nota la posizione del Reitzenstein che dall'ampia utilizzazione di figure divine e temi mitici di ambiente pagano nella «Predica» dei Naasseni deduceva il carattere puramente pagano dell'originario sistema gnostico in essa formulato.[11] L'interpretazione dello studioso tedesco, che persistette nel ritenere aggiunte posteriori le citazioni neo-testamentarie, fu modificata in parte più tardi, con il riconoscimento dell'appartenenza dei riferimenti antico-testamentarii alla primitiva redazione del documento, che dunque sarebbe espressione di una comunità gnostica a carattere giudeo-pagano.[12]

L'ipotesi di una sovrapposizione di «strati» nel trattato naasseno trovò accoglienza presso alcuni autori[13] mentre da più parti è stata sottolineata la stretta connessione che lega, nella trama complessa del discorso naasseno, i dati pagani, giudaici e cristiani tra i quali non è sempre possibile fare una netta discriminazione nel senso della maggiore o minore antichità. Comunque non pare legittima l'ammissione di una redazione esclusivamente pagana del testo, la cui caratteristica peculiare consiste piuttosto nell'intima fusione di elementi di diversa natura e provenienza allo scopo di formulare uno specifico messaggio gnostico.[14] Tale messaggio si qualifica in relazione a due

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261-282); M. Simonetti, *Testi gnostici cristiani*, Bari 1970, 29-51; M. Erbetta, *Gli Apocrifi del Nuovo Testamento*, I,1 *Vangeli*, Torino 1975, *595-607.*

[11] *Zwei religionsgeschichtliche Fragen nach ungedruckten griechischen Texten der Strassburger Bibliothek*, Strassburg 1901, 96.

[12] *Poimandres, cit.*, 81 sg.; Id., *Studien, cit.*, 104-111.

[13] P. Wendland in *Berl. philol. Wochenschr.*, XXII, 1902, 1324; Id., *Die hellenistisch-römischen Kultur in ihren Beziehungen zu Judentum und Christentum. Die Urchristlichen Literaturformen*, Tübingen 1912, 178 sg.; W. Bousset, *Hauptprobleme der Gnosis*, Göttingen 1907, 183 sg.; H. Leisegang, *Die Gnosis*. Leipzig 1924, tr. fr. Paris 1951, 81-101 dove si afferma l'esistenza di tre strati successivi, ossia di un sistema «puramente pagano», cui si sovrapposero elementi di origine giudaica e cristiana. Cfr. anche J. Geffcken, *Der Ausgang des griechisch-römischen Heidentums*, Heidelberg 1929, 229; H. Jonas, *Gnosis und spätantiker Geist*, I. *Die mythologische Gnosis*, Göttingen 1964³, 348-351; P. Pokorný, *Der Epheserbrief und die Gnosis*, Berlin 1965, 51-54.

[14] Cfr. A. D. Nock, rec. di R. Reitzenstein-H. H. Schaeder, *Studien*, cit., in *JHS* XLIX, 1929, 115; H. M. Schenke, *Der Gott «Mensch» in der Gnosis. Eine religionsgeschichtlicher Beitrag zur Diskussion über die paulinische Anschauung von der Kirche als Leib Christi*, Göttingen 1962, 57-60. M. Simonetti ha dimostrato in maniera convincente l'appartenenza di molte citazioni neo-testamentarie all'originaria trama del discorso naasseno (*Qualche osservazione sulle presunte interpolazioni della Predica dei*

fondamentali centri di interesse, attorno ai quali è costruita l'intera argomentazione che sceglie in relazione ad essi i materiali pagani, giudaici e cristiani da cui è sostanziata.

Punto focale della dottrina naassena,[15] come è noto, è una concezione del Tutto a base triadica, ossia l'affermazione di tre livelli della realtà di cui il primo e il terzo, rispettivamente divino e materiale, sono contrapposti l'uno all'altro come principii incompatibili ed irriducibili, rivelando la struttura dualistica dell'intero sistema. Il rapporto fra i due livelli è mediato da un principio intermedio che per un verso è solidale con il primo, divino principio, spirituale ed extra-cosmico da cui deriva, ma per l'altro — in virtù della propria funzione mediale che lo definisce nella natura e nelle prerogative — costituisce un livello specifico della realtà e assolve un ruolo essenziale ai fini della vicenda cosmica, comunicando ordine e vita al livello inferiore.

Vi è dunque nel sistema naasseno un interesse cosmologico fondamentale,[16] cui si accompagna un altrettanto peculiare interesse antropologico, una volta che il primo principio si configura come *Anthropos* e il processo medesimo di *demiurgia* cosmica messo in opera dall'entità intermedia (il «Figlio dell'Uomo») si realizza primariamente come un'antropogonia; il dissolvimento del ciclo cosmico inaugurato dalla discesa nel livello materiale dell'essere mediatore, infine, si compie attraverso la liberazione della sostanza divina presente nell'uomo.

Questa complessa visione gnostica, esemplificata in sintesi vivida ed efficace nel «Salmo dell'anima» che Ippolito riferisce a conclu-

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Naasseni, in *VetChr.* VII, 1970, 115-124). Cfr. Id., *Testi gnostici cristiani*, *cit.*, 26 sg. Cfr. anche K. Prümm, *Gnosis an der Wurzel des Christentums?*, Salzburg 1972, 433-436.

[15] In questa sede non intendiamo ovviamente affrontare i varii problemi relativi al sistema naasseno in quanto tale nè proporre un'analisi complessiva della notizia di Ippolito. In proposito, oltre alle varie opere generali sullo gnosticismo, si può rimandare, tra gli studi specifici sul tema, a R.P. Casey, *Naassenes and Ophites*, in *JTS* XXVII 1925-26, 374-387; W. Foerster, *Die Naassener*, in *Studi di storia religiosa della tarda antichità* pubblicati dalla Cattedra di Storia delle religioni dell'Università di Messina, Messina 1968, 21-33; J. Bergman, *Kleine Beiträge zum Naassenertraktat*, in *Proceedings of the International Colloquium on Gnosticism, Stockholm August 20-25, 1973*, Stockholm 1977, 74-100 (in particolare 94-97 sul metodo esegetico dei Naasseni).

[16] Per la presenza di un interesse vitalistico assai accentuato in alcuni sistemi gnostici, soprattutto in quelli di tipo ofitico a struttura triadica, nei quali il dualismo di fondo si compone con quell'interesse configurando una visione totalizzante di tipo monistico, si vedano le osservazioni di U. Bianchi, *Le problème des origines du gnosticisme*, *cit.*, 513.

sione della notizia sui Naasseni,[17] è svolta nel «Trattato sull'Uomo», che il polemista cristiano ampiamente cita e parafrasa, attraverso un'esegesi di tradizioni mitiche pagane, oltre che di passi antico- e neo-testamentari. Ciò non per un gusto sincretistico bensì in obbedienza all'assunto fondamentale dell'opera, secondo il quale la verità sull'origine del cosmo e dell'uomo soggiace alle credenze di tutti i popoli, nascosta però ed ignorata dagli stessi portatori di tali credenze; essa è invece chiaramente percepita soltanto dai membri della comunità che chiamavano se stessi «gnostici», «affermando di conoscere essi soli le profondità».[18] Tuttavia, percorrendo il testo riferito da Ippolito, è facile accorgersi che il filo conduttore di tutta l'argomentazione è costituito da un commento puntuale e continuo del primo dei due brevi inni in onore di Attis addotti al termine della notizia, i quali constano essenzialmente di una serie di epiteti ed attributi del personaggio di cui esaltano la natura multiforme e le molteplici prerogative. Esso suona: «Sia tu stirpe di Crono, sia stirpe beata di Zeus, / sia della grande Rhea, ti saluto, o Attis, / nome che fa chinare gli occhi di Rhea. / Te gli Assiri chiamano Adone tre volte / desiderato, tutto l'Egitto Osiride, / la sapienza dei Greci Corno celeste / della luna, i Samotraci Adamma venerabile, / gli Emonii Coribante, / i Frigi ora Padre ora cadavere o dio o sterile / o capraio o spiga verde mietuta / o il suonatore di flauto che / la mandorla ferace ha partorito».[19]

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[17] *Ref.* V,10,2 *apud* Völker, *op. cit.*, 26 sg.

[18] *Ref.* V,6,4 ed. Wendland 78,2 sgg.: «ἐπεκάλεσαν ἑαυτοὺς γνωστικούς, φάσκοντες μόνοι τὰ βάθη γινώσκειν».

[19] *Ref.* V, 9, 8 *apud* Völker, *op. cit.*, p. 25: «εἴτε Κρόνου γένος, εἴτε Διὸς μάκαρ, / εἴτε Ῥέας μεγάλας, χαῖρε ⟨ὦ⟩ τὸ κατ-/ηφὲς ἄκουσμα Ῥέας Ἄττι· σὲ κα-/λοῦσι μὲν Ἀσσύριοι τριπόθητον Ἄ-/δωνιν, ὅλη δ' Αἴγυπτος Ὄσιριν, ἐπ-/ουράνιον μηνὸς κέρας Ἑλλη-/νὶς σοφία, Σαμοθρᾷκες Ἄδαμνα σε-/βάσμιον, Αἱμόνιοι Κορύβαντα, καὶ / οἱ Φρύγες ἄλλοτε μὲν Πάπαν, ποτὲ / δὲ ⟨αὖ⟩ νέκυν ἢ θεὸν ἢ τὸν ἄκαρπον ἢ / αἰπόλον, ἢ χλοερὸν στάχυν ἀμη-/θέντα, ἢ τὸν πολύκαρπος ἔτικτεν ἀ-/μύγδαλος ἀνέρα συρικτάν ... ⟨Ἄττιν⟩».
La traduzione è quella del Simonetti (*op. cit.*, 49 sg.), modificata in due punti. A proposito del nome del personaggio presso i Samotraci il testo di Ippolito reca Ἀδάμ che il Bergk, e dopo di lui gli altri editori, hanno emendato in Ἄδαμνα, sulla base della nota glossa di Esichio. Abbiamo pertanto mantenuto il termine in questa forma emendata, sul cui significato verremo più oltre, piuttosto che in quella di *Adamas*, adottata dal Simonetti in questo luogo. Inoltre, lo studioso traduce l'etnico Αἱμόνιοι nel senso di «Traci dell'Emo», seguendo in ciò lo stesso testo naasseno che in *Ref.* V, 8, 13 (Völker, *op. cit.*, 19) interpreta appunto come Θρᾷκες, οἱ περὶ τὸν Αἷμον οἰκοῦντες l'indicazione

Segue poi un secondo e più breve inno, egualmente pertinente al πολύμορφος Ἄττις: «Canterò Attis figlio di Rhea / non col rimbombo di trombe / né col flauto risonante / dei Cureti dell'Ida, / ma al canto caro a Febo / unirò il grido delle cetre: Evoè, Evan; / come Pan come Bacco, / come pastore dei bianchi astri»[20].

Non si tratta di testi liturgici ma piuttosto di composizioni letterarie che, come nota Ippolito, erano cantate dai citaredi in teatro[21] secondo un uso abbastanza diffuso di cui si posseggono diverse attestazioni.[22] L'interesse peculiare dei Naasseni per il contesto religioso frigio che li ha indotti ad utilizzare i due inni ad Attis come fondamentale modulo espressivo della propria visione del mondo,[23] è ulteriormente sottolineato dalla notizia di Ippolito. Questo infatti, dopo aver riferito le brevi composizioni in cui i Naasseni vedono celati i «grandi misteri» del Tutto che il citaredo peraltro ignora,[24] prosegue dichiarando che «per queste ed altre simili ragioni costoro partecipano ai cosiddetti misteri della Gran Madre, ritenendo di comprendere più profondamente, attraverso le azioni sacre che colà si compiono, l'intero mistero».[25]

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dell'inno. Tuttavia il Nock ritiene erronea tale interpretazione, essendo Αἱμόνιοι piuttosto designazione delle popolazioni tessale (*Korybas of the Haemonians*, in *CQ* XX, 1926, 41 sg.).

[20] *Ref.* V, 9, 9, *apud* Völker, *op. cit.*, 25: «Ἄττιν ὑμνήσω τὸν Ῥείης, / οὐ κωδώνων σὺν βόμβοις / οὐδ᾽ αὐλῷ / Ἰδαίων / Κουρήτων / μυκητᾷ, / ἀλλ᾽ εἰς Φοιβείαν μίξω / μοῦσαν φορμίγγων· εὐοῖ, / εὐάν, ὡς Πάν, ὡς Βακχεύς, / ὡς ποιμὴν λευκῶν ἄστρων». Trad. Simonetti, *op. cit.*, 50.

[21] *Ref.* V, 9, 7 *apud* Völker, *op. cit.*, 25; trad. Simonetti, *op. cit.*, 49: «Perciò affermano che neppure gli attori di teatro parlano e agiscono senza un motivo. Così, allorchè la gente si raduna a teatro, entra l'attore rivestito di veste stupenda, intona con la cetra e cantando dice i grandi misteri, non sapendo il significato di ciò che dice».

[22] Tertulliano, *Apol.* XV,2 e 5; *Ad Nat.* I,44-47; Minucio Felice, *Octavius* XXII,4 e XXXVII,12; Arnobio, *Adv. Nat.* IV,35; V,42 e VII,33; Agostino, *De civ. Dei* II,4. Già Nerone, secondo la testimonianza di Cassio Dione (61,20) si sarebbe mostrato sulla scena dove «ἐκιθαρῴδησέ τε Ἄττιν τινὰ ἢ Βάκχας». Per il rapporto del culto frigio con le rappresentazioni sceniche si veda J. M. Pailler, *A propos d'un nouvel oscillum de Bolsena*, in *MEFR* LXXXI, 1969, 627-658.

[23] Come fa notare anche il Wolberg (*Griechische religiöse Gedichte der ersten nachchristlichen Jahrhunderte*, Bd. I, *Psalmen und Hymnen der Gnosis und des frühen Christentums*, Meisenheim am Glan 1971, 76 sg.), il testo naasseno non dà uno specifico commento del secondo inno, sicché non si può affermare con sicurezza che esso fosse utilizzato dagli stessi gnostici ovvero addotto da Ippolito allo scopo di esemplificare ulteriormente il tipo di letteratura cui i Naasseni facevano appello.

[24] Cfr. sopra n. 21: «ᾄδων τὰ μεγάλα μυστήρια οὐκ εἰδὼς ἃ λέγει».

[25] *Ref.* V,9,10 ed. Wendland 100,11-13: «Διὰ τούτους καὶ τοιούτους λόγους παρεδρεύ-

Se dunque gli inni accolti dai Naasseni non appartengono ad un contesto cultuale, gli gnostici in questione, a dire di Ippolito, possedevano un'esperienza diretta dei δρώμενα misterici frigi, nei quali ritenevano di trovare esemplificazione e conferma delle profonde verità costituenti il patrimonio della loro gnosi salvifica. Tuttavia nessun accenno alla prassi misterica e, più generalmente, alla componente rituale del culto metroaco appare nel corso delle argomentazioni del «Trattato sull'Uomo» che sembrano svolgersi sulla falsariga di un commento del primo inno ad Attis, attorno al quale convergono, ad approfondire ed articolare il discorso, gli elementi giudaici e cristiani e i dati mutuati alle altre tradizioni religiose pagane.

Il carattere in certo modo paradigmatico che, nella economia generale della dottrina naassena, hanno assunto le due brevi composizioni in onore del dio frigio trova giustificazione e fondamento nella circostanza che esse propongono già per loro conto un'immagine polivalente e articolata del personaggio. Se il primo inno nelle linee conclusive esprime, attraverso un'elencazione piuttosto arida di attributi, alcune connotazioni specifiche di Attis, quali sono note dal complesso della tradizione mitica che lo concerne,[26] esso, dopo aver connesso il personaggio, per il tramite di Rhea (la cui identificazione con la frigia Cibele è un dato comune nella tradizione), alla stirpe divina greca (Cronos e Zeus),[27] propone una serie di identificazioni che

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ουσιν οὗτοι τοῖς λεγομένοις Μητρὸς μεγάλης μυστηρίοις, μάλιστα καθορᾷν νομίζοντες διὰ τῶν δρωμένων ἐκεῖ τὸ ὅλον μυστήριον».

[26] Sul culto frigio, oltre l'opera di H. Graillot (*Le culte de Cybèle Mère des dieux a Rome et dans l'Empire romain*, Paris 1912), basti qui ricordare la recente messa a punto della documentazione e dei problemi interpretativi da parte di M.J. Vermaseren (*Cybele and Attis. The Myth and the Cult*, London 1977). Ci permettiamo inoltre di rimandare al nostro *Soteriologia e aspetti mistici nel culto di Cibele e Attis*, già citato, in cui abbiamo discusso le tesi del Lambrechts e del Colpe a proposito del personaggio di Attis e addotto la principale bibliografia sul tema.

[27] La nozione di Attis come figlio di Cronos non trova riscontro nel resto della documentazione. Essa potrebbe dipendere dal congiunto riferimento allo schema teogonico greco (Rhea sposa di Cronos) e alla assimilazione Rhea-Cibele, essendo qui sottolineata, come nel secondo inno, la qualità materna della dea nei confronti di Attis. Tale qualità e quella «paterna» di Zeus rimandano alla complessa tradizione mitica riferita da Pausania (*Descr.* VII, 17, 10-12) e da Arnobio (*Adv. Nat.* V, 5-7 *apud* H. Hepding, *Attis, seine Mythen und sein Kult*, Giessen 1903, 37-41), secondo la quale la terra fecondata dal seme di Zeus dà vita all'ermafrodito Agdistis che a sua volta, ridotto alla condizione femminile mediante la cruenta mutilazione, fa germogliare dal suolo bagnato dal suo sangue un albero carico di forza vitale e fecondante (mandorlo

fanno di Attis una figura venerata presso varii popoli sotto nomi diversi ma sostanzialmente unica, pur nelle sue molteplici manifestazioni. Il secondo inno, molto più semplice e breve, contempla soltanto l'assimilazione del dio frigio a Dioniso e a Pan e lo definisce ποιμὴν λευκῶν ἄστρων, situandolo in una dimensione cosmica e specificamente astrale.

Siamo dunque in presenza di una tradizione tendente a sottolineare l'affinità tra alcuni personaggi che, pur appartenendo a contesti culturali e religiosi diversi, presentano dei caratteri comuni, tanto da proporsi come manifestazioni di un'unica personalità divina. Senza tacciare di banale sincretismo siffatta visione "teologica", si noterà che i personaggi in questione appartengono generalmente[28] alla categoria degli dei «mistici» ovvero propriamente misterici. In essa infatti è situabile Adonis, nonostante recenti interpretazioni,[29] in quanto titolare di un culto annuale caratterizzato da lutto e lamentazioni per la sua dipartita ma anche di letizia per il sicuro ritorno[30] e coinvolto in

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o granata). Il frutto di tale albero, posto in seno ad una fanciulla, genera Attis. Costui è in definitiva «figlio» di Agdistis, nella quale si può identificare un'espressione particolare della Gran Madre. Per un'analisi di questo mito complesso cfr. G. Sfameni Gasparro, *op. cit.*, 53-63. Per altre possibili giustificazioni del rapporto Attis-Cronos-Zeus si veda il commento di Th. Wolberg, *op. cit.*, 64 sg.

[28] L'unica eccezione è Pan, menzionato come equivalente di Attis nel secondo inno. La sua presenza si giustifica per i particolari rapporti di tale personaggio con la Gran Madre fin dalle fonti di età classica. Cfr. Th. Wolberg, *op. cit.*, 80 sg. e la documentazione addotta nel nostro *Connotazioni metroache di Demetra nel Coro dell'«Elena» (vv. 1301-1365)*, in M. B. de Boer-T. A. Edridge (edd.), *Hommages à Maarten J. Vermaseren* (EPRO 68), Leiden 1978, III, 1158 sg. n. 47.

[29] M. Detienne, *Les Jardins d'Adonis. La mythologie des aromates en Grèce*, Paris 1972, su cui si vedano le recensioni critiche di G. Piccaluga (*Adonis e i profumi di un certo strutturalismo*, in *Maia* 26, 1974, 33-51) e di P. Lévêque (*Un nouveau décryptage des mythes d'Adonis*, in *REA* LXXIV, 1972, 180-185) alle quali il Detienne ha risposto in un articolo dal titolo *Le chasseur malheureux*, in *Quaderni Urbinati di Cultura classica* XXIV, 1977, 7-26. In esso l'autore, difendendo le proprie posizioni, critica a sua volta l'interpretazione della Piccaluga, seconda la quale la figura e la mitologia di Adonis esprimerebbero una situazione storico-culturale di passaggio da un sistema di vita arcaico, fondato sulla caccia e la raccolta, alla pratica dell'agricoltura. Si veda in proposito G. Piccaluga, *Adonis, i cacciatori falliti e l'avvento dell'agricoltura*, in B. Gentili-G. Paione (edd.), *Il mito greco.* Atti del Convegno Internazionale (Urbino 7-12 maggio 1973), Roma 1977, 33-48; Ead., *La ventura di amare una divinità*, in *Minutal. Saggi di storia delle religioni*, Roma 1974, 9-35.

[30] Teocrito, *Id.* XV, 130-137. Si vedano poi le fonti tardive che sottolineano il momento gioioso del rituale e alludono ad una «reviviscenza» di Adonis (Luciano, *De*

una vicenda dalle indubbie connessioni vegetali, sebbene non sia mai divenuto oggetto di un complesso rituale con iniziazione ed esoterismo. Nessuna riserva poi sussiste per l'egiziano Osiride, i cui stretti rapporti con l'ideologia regale[31] non contraddicono i riferimenti naturistici e ctonii della sua complessa vicenda, tradotta in un pattern rituale assai specifico, qualificato da πάθη la cui rievocazione già Erodoto poteva percepire come sostanzialmente affine ai μυστήρια greci.[32] In età ellenistico-romana, del resto, egli appare, insieme con Iside, titolare di veri e proprii misteri.[33]

Quale che sia l'esatto significato storico-religioso della menzione di un Ἀδάμ o Ἄδαμνα in relazione alle credenze di Samotracia, l'isola è nota come sede di un antico e venerabile culto misterico gravitante attorno ad un gruppo di divinità dai «nomi mistici»,[34] sulla cui identità già le fonti antiche sono discordi, essendo molte e varie le tradizioni ad esse relative.[35] Di fatto, lo *hieros logos* dei misteri era oggetto di segreto iniziatico e μυστικαί sono definite le πράξεις degli dei.[36] Infine, presso il monte Olimpo, posto ai confini tra la Tessa-

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dea Syr. 6; Origene, *in Ezech.* 8,14; Gerolamo, *in Ezech.* 8,14; Cirillo di Alessandria, *In Isaiam* 18,1,2. Cfr. P. Lambrechts, *La «résurrection» d'Adonis*, in *AIPO* XIII (*Mélanges Isidore Levy*) 1955, 1-34; W. Atallah, *Adonis dans la littérature et l'art grecs*, Paris 1966; G. Roux, *Sur deux textes relatifs a Adonis*, in *RPh*, IIIe S., XLI, 1967, 259-264. Sul complesso e dibattuto problema delle Adonie ricordiamo qui soltanto, fra gli studi più recenti, N. Weil, *Adôniazousai ou les femmes sur le toit*, in *BCH* XC, 1966, 664-698; H. Seyrig, *Antiquités syriennes. La résurrection d'Adonis et le texte de Lucien*, in *Syria* XLIX, 1972, pp. 97-100; E. Will, *Le rituel des Adonies*, in *Syria* LII, 1975, 93-105; B. Soyez, *Byblos et la fête des Adonies* (EPRO 60), Leiden 1977.

[31] Cfr. H. Frankfort, *Kingship and the Gods*, Chicago-London 1948 (1969^{6}), 143-212. Sulle affinità e differenze tra le figure di Tammuz, Adonis e Osiride si veda *ibid.*, 286-294 e, più ampiamente, Id., *The Dying God* in *JWCI* XXI, 1958, 141-151.

[32] *Hist.* II,171 : «τὰ δείκηλα τῶν παθέων Αὐτοῦ νυκτὸς ποιεῦσι τὰ καλέουσι μυστήρια Αἰγύπτιοι». Pur qualificato in senso mistico per il suo carattere di rievocazione di una patetica vicenda divina, l' antico culto egiziano di Osiride non presentava, come è noto, quei tipici elementi (iniziazione ed esoterismo) che definiscono una struttura misterica. Si veda in proposito G. Nagel, *Les «mystères» d'Osiris dans l'ancienne Égypte* in *ErJb* XI, 1944, pp. 145-166.

[33] Cfr. Apuleio, *Metam.* XI,27.

[34] Strabone, *Geogr.* X,3,21.

[35] Si veda la raccolta di testimonianze antiche in N. Lewis, *Samothrace*, I, *The Ancient Literary Sources*, New York 1958.

[36] Strabone, *Geogr.* X,3,19. Su un «discorso sacro» sull'Hermes di Samotracia, svelato soltanto agli iniziati, si veda già Erodoto, *Hist.* II,51.

glia e la Macedonia, per attestazione di Clemente Alessandrino[37] e Firmico Materno,[38] era localizzato il culto di un Cabiro-Coribante fondato su una vicenda drammatica di morte e caratterizzato da significative connessioni vegetali.[39]

L'appellativo di ἐπουράνιον μηνὸς κέρας che la «sapienza dei Greci» attribuirebbe al personaggio e l'invocazione a lui quale «pastore degli astri lucenti» del secondo inno frigio rimandano piuttosto a quelle connotazioni cosmiche ed astrali che la figura di Attis assume a partire dal II sec. d. Cr. A quest'epoca di fatto, e forse precisamente ad età adrianea come vuole il Wilamowitz,[40] sembrano attribuibili le due brevi composizioni utilizzate dai Naasseni; per questi ultimi, d'altra parte, l'unico sicuro riferimento cronologico è costituito, quale *terminus ante quem*, da Ippolito stesso.

La pertinenza degli attributi astrali del personaggio alla sua stessa dimensione religiosa e cultuale, oltre che alla sfera speculativa delle esegesi dotte e misteriosofiche, già nell'epoca in questione è confermata da altri documenti che parimenti attestano quella tendenza ad assimilare o almeno avvicinare Attis ad alcuni «dei mistici», vigorosamente affermata nei due inni in esame. In proposito si ricorderà la ben nota statua dell'Attideion ostiense che, datata solitamente ad età adrianea,[41] ci dà un'immagine del giovane pastore frigio in cui i riferimenti naturistici e vegetali (fiori, frutta, spighe) si inseriscono in un'ampia prospettiva cosmosofica per la quale Attis, col capo adorno dai raggi solari e dalla mezzaluna, assurge a potenza universale.

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[37] *Protr.* 2,19,1 *apud* N. Turchi, *Fontes Historiae Mysteriorum Aevi Hellenistici*, Roma 1930, n° 173, p. 111 sg.

[38] *De err. prof. rel.* 11 *apud* Turchi, *Fontes* n° 177, p. 113 sg.: «*in sacris Corybantum parricidium colitur: nam unus frater a duobus interemptus est et ne quod indicium necem fraternae mortis aperiret, sub radicibus Olympi montis a parricidis fratribus consecratur. hunc eundem Macedonum colit stulta persuasio: hic est Cabirus, cui Thessalonicenses quondam cruento ore, cruentis manibus supplicabant*».

[39] Clemente Alessandrino, *loc. cit.*: dal sangue del Coribante ucciso ha origine il prezzemolo.

[40] *Art. cit.*, 329. L'Asia Minore sarebbe la loro patria di origine.

[41] Cfr. J. Leipoldt, *Eine römische Attisfigur*, in ΑΓΓΕΛΟΣ II, 1926, 51 sg. e fig.; F. Cumont, *Les religions orientales dans le paganisme romain*, Paris 1929⁴, Pl. IV,1; R. Calza, *Sculture rinvenute nel santuario*, in *MemPontAcc* VI, 1942, 216 sg. n° 8, fig. 17; M. Floriani Squarciapino, *I culti orientali ad Ostia* (EPRO 3), Leiden 1962, 10; M.J. Vermaseren, *The Legend of Attis in Greek and Roman Art* (EPRO 9), Leiden 1966, 35 sg., Pl. XXI,3; Id., *Cybele and Attis*, *cit.*, fig. 44.

L'aspetto specificamente lunare di Attis è ancora evocato dal simbolismo di un cippo proveniente dall'Isola sacra, adorno di un berretto frigio sormontato da mezzaluna e stella tra due fiaccole.[42] Alcune monete da Pessinunte alludono ad un'interpretazione astrale del personaggio attraverso il simbolismo della stella che ne accompagna l'immagine;[43] pari simbolismo ricorre in alcuni esemplari da Cizico, che ci danno una significativa raffigurazione di Attis, verisimilmente connessa con una statua di culto e una relativa prassi rituale.[44]

Sulla stessa linea ideologica si situa la complessa raffigurazione, di ampio respiro cosmico, della famosa patera argentea di Parabiago,[45] attribuibile ad età antonina, parimenti significativa ai nostri fini in quanto espressione della continuità di una tradizione interpretativa del complesso religioso metroaco che troverà negli autori neoplatonici la formulazione più sistematica ed articolata, ma che risulta egualmente accessibile alla cerchia più ampia cui si rivolgono i monumenti figurati.

Quanto alla tendenza a sottolineare le strette affinità tipologiche fra Attis e altri personaggi divini, talora espressa in una formale identificazione, si ricorderà che l'assimilazione con Dioniso è già proposta da Clemente Alessandrino, in rapporto al motivo della morte cruenta e della mutilazione cui entrambi soggiacciono,[46] e nota ad altre fonti più tarde[47] mentre sussiste un'antica e assai ricca tradizione che accosta Dioniso, talora assimilato a Sabazio, alla gran Madre frigia.[48]

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[42] F. Cumont, *Recherches sur le symbolisme funéraire des Romains*, Paris 1942, 207 sg. e fig. 38; M. Floriani Squarciapino, *op. cit.*, 10 n. 2 e Tav. IV.

[43] H. Von Fritze, *Der Attiskult in Kyzikos*, in *Nomisma* IV, 1909, 36 n. 3 Taf. III, 12 (= Imhoof-Blumer, *Griech. Münzen*, 226 nº 748 sgg., Taf. XIII, 7 ivi cit.). Cfr. B.V. Head, *Historia Numorum*, Oxford 1911, 748; H. Graillot, *op. cit.*, 212 n. 5.

[44] H. von Fritze, *art. cit.*, 33-42 Taf. III.

[45] A. Levi, *La patera d'argento di Parabiago*, Roma 1935; C. Albizzati, *La lanx di Parabiago e i testi orfici*, in *Athenaeum*, N.S. XV, 1937, 187-198; M.J. Vermaseren, *The Legend of Attis*, 27 sg. e Pl. XVII. Si può ricordare che un'analoga raffigurazione appare anche in quei Cotorniati nei quali opportunamente lo Alföldi ha individuato uno strumento di propaganda religiosa da parte dell'aristocrazia pagana del IV sec. (*Die Kotorniaten. Ein verkanntes Propagandmittel der Stadtrömischen Heidnischen Aristokratie in ihrem Kampfe gegen das christliche Kaisertum*, Leipzig 1943, 107 nº 36; nº 37; Pl. VII, 11, IX,3 e XV,7). Ciò mostra il perdurare della tradizione teologica che situa in un'ampia prospettiva cosmosofica i personaggi del culto frigio.

[46] *Protr.* II,19,4.

[47] Si veda, ad esempio, *Schol. Luciani Juppiter tragoedus*, 8 ed. Jacobitz IV,173 *apud* H. Hepding, *op. cit.*, 28: «τὸν Ἄττιν δὲ οἱ Φρύγες σέβονται τὸν αὐτὸν ὄντα τῷ

L'equivalenza Attis, Adonis, Dioniso e talora anche Osiride appare ancora in autori assai tardivi;[49] la sua presenza negli inni noti ai Naasseni mostra però la relativa antichità di una tradizione siffatta. L'accostamento del dio lunare Men ad Attis e alla Gran Madre ricorre nel proemio degli Inni orfici;[50] l'appellativo di *Menotyrannos* che il dio frigio riceve in alcune iscrizioni tauroboliche romane,[51] rivelando l'avvenuta identificazione fra i due personaggi, rappresenta l'ultimo esito di quella progressiva trasformazione di Attis in potenza astrale e cosmica che appare già decisamente avviata nel II sec.d.Cr.

Il rapporto di Attis con il mondo religioso di Samotracia può ritenersi conseguenza della nota tradizione che identifica Cibele con la grande dea titolare, insieme con altri personaggi, dei venerandi misteri dell'isola.[52] Ad essa si ricollega Luciano quando presenta il personaggio come propagatore del culto orgiastico di Rhea a Samo-

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Διονύσῳ». *Etym. Magnum*, 163,54, *ibid.*, 76: «Ἄτης· ὁ Διόνυσος ἐπιθετικῶς»; Λέξεις ῥητορικαί ed. I. Bekker, *Anecd. Graec.* I, 207, *ibid.*, 76. Cfr. F. G. Schneidewin, *art. cit.*, 265. Una statuetta di Attis con attributi dionisiaci proviene dal Metroon ostiense (R. Calza, *art. cit.*, 218 n° 11 sg., fig. 20; Cfr. M. J. Vermaseren, *The Legend of Attis*, 30 e Pl. XVIII,1), che in pari tempo ha dato un'immagine di Dioniso (R. Calza, *art. cit.*, 219 sg. n° 12 fig. 21). Per la frequente connessione e talora identificazione fra i due personaggi si veda Ch. Picard, *Dionysos-Pais et Attis enfant*, in *Archaiologiké Ephemeris* 1953/54 (*Eis mnemen G. M. Oikonomou*, I), 1955, 1-8.

[48] Cfr. G. Sfameni Gasparro, *Connotazioni metroache di Demetra*, *cit.*, 160-165.

[49] Si veda il responso oracolare dato ai Rodiesi, quale è riferito da Socrate (*Hist. Eccl.* III,23 *apud* Hepding, *op. cit.*, 71 sg.: «Ἄττιν ἱλάσκεσθαι, θεὸν μέγαν, ἁγνὸν Ἄδωνιν, / εὔβιον, ὀλβιόδωρον, ἐϋπλόκαμον Διόνυσον». In Marziano Capella (*De nuptiis Philol. et Merc.* II,191 sg., *ibid.*, 64) e nell'Inno ad Helios di Proclo (vv. 24-26, *ibid.*, 73) l'accostamento di Attis ad altri personaggi divini, tra cui Adonis, Dioniso e Osiride, è fatto nel contesto di quella «teologia solare» che reca già il segno della *interpretatio* neoplatonica di cui Giuliano, Sallustio e Macrobio ci danno l'esemplificazione più ampia.

[50] *Hymn. Proem.* v. 40 ed. G. Quandt, *Orphei Hymni*, Berlin 1941, 2: «Μητέρα τ᾿ ἀθανάτων, Ἄττιν καὶ Μῆνα κικλήσκω». Per il rapporto di Attis con Men cfr. H. Graillot, *op. cit.*, 208-210.

[51] *IGSI* 913 *apud* H. Hepding, *op. cit.*, 82 n° 14; *CIL* VI,499-501, *ibid.* 86 sg., nn. 28-30; *CIL* VI,508, *ibid.* 89 n° 36; *CIL* 511-512, *ibid.* 89 sg. nn. 38-39. Cfr. R. Duthoy, *The Taurobolium. Its Evolution and Terminology* (EPRO 10), Leiden 1969, 14 sg. nn. 13-14; 17 n° 21; 19 sg. nn. 24-25. L'attributo di «invitto» che in uno di tali altari qualifica Attis sottolinea l'elevatezza e la dimensione cosmica del personaggio.

[52] Cfr. F. Chapouthier, *Les Dioscures au service d'une déesse*, Paris 1935, 153-184; H. Hemberg, *Die Kabiren*, Uppsala 1950, 49-131 e *passim*.

tracia, oltre che in Lidia e in Frigia.[53] Se la correzione testuale di Ἀδάμ in Ἄδαμνα del nome del personaggio presso i Samotraci, proposta dal Bergk e comunemente accolta dagli editori, è esatta, l'inno in esame ci darebbe l'originario appellativo frigio di Attis, equivalente al greco φίλον, secondo l'attestazione di Esichio. Questo infatti, stabilita l'equivalenza ἀδαμνεῖν-φιλεῖν, dichiara che i Frigi «τὸν φίλον Ἀδάμνα λέγουσιν».[54] La pertinenza di tale termine all'ambiente religioso frigio, d'altra parte, pare confermata da un'iscrizione relativa al santuario di Agdistis a Ramnunte, che reca, forse come titolo sacerdotale, il nome ἀδάμμα.[55]

In conclusione, il complesso frigio con cui i Naasseni vennero in contatto pare caratterizzato, almeno in uno dei suoi livelli di espressività religiosa, da un interesse abbastanza vivace per una sorta di μυστικὴ θεοκρασία[56] e per una «teologia» cosmica, percepibile nelle valenze lunari e più ampiamente astrali attribuite ad Attis. Entrambi questi elementi giustificano l'attenzione con la quale la comunità gnostica si è rivolta a quel complesso religioso in cui potevano trovare opportuna esemplificazione i due presupposti fondamentali della dottrina naassena, ossia l'affermazione della sostanziale affinità delle pur apparentemente diverse tradizioni religiose, in quanto portatrici di un'unica verità nascosta, individuabile solo alla luce della superiore γνῶσις da essi soli posseduta, e la nozione della decisiva attività demiurgica di una potenza divina, animatrice di tutta la realtà e coinvolta drammaticamente nella vicenda cosmica.

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[53] *De dea Syr.* 15: «Ἄττης δὲ γένος μὲν Λυδὸς ἦν, πρῶτος δὲ τὰ ὄργια τὰ ἐς Ῥέην ἐδιδάξατο. καὶ τὰ Φρύγες καὶ Λυδοὶ καὶ Σαμόθρᾳκες ἐπιτελοῦσιν, Ἄττεω πάντα ἔμαθον».

[54] G. Volgraff ha interpretato alla luce di questa glossa di Esichio un'iscrizione greca che menziona uno ἱερέως Μητρὸς θεῶν καὶ Ἀγαπητοῦ (*IG* III,1062,9 sg.), dove Ἀγαπητός appare con ogni verisimiglianza trascrizione del frigio Ἀδάμνα, nel senso appunto di «amato» (*De voce thracia* ΑΔΑΠΤΑΙΣ, in *Mnemosyne*, N.S. XLIX, 1927, 286-294).

[55] K.A. Rhomaios, in Ἑλληνικά I, 1928, 233-243; P. Roussel, *Un sanctuaire d'Agdistis a Rhamnonte*, in *REA* XXXII, 1930, 5-8. Sui molteplici aspetti del problema linguistico posto dal termine *Adamma* quale ricorre nella lista degli dei di Comana cfr. W. Fauth, *Adamma Kubaba*, in *Glotta* XLV (1967), 129-148. Si veda anche D.M. Cosi, *Adamma: un problema e qualche proposta*, in *Atti e Mem. Acc. Patavina di Sc. Lett. Arti* LXXXVIII, 1975-76, Parte III, Cl. Sc. morali, 149-156.

[56] Così Damascio (*Vita Isidori* fr. 174 ed. Zintzen 147) definisce l'identificazione Adonis-Osiride, la quale peraltro ha dietro di sé una tradizione abbastanza ricca, fondata sulle analogie dei due culti. Cfr. in proposito Fr. R. De Vaux, *Sur quelques rapports entre Adonis et Osiris* in *RB* XLII, 1933, 31-56.

La corretta valutazione della parte che nel processo di formazione dell'anticosmismo gnostico può aver assolto una meditazione sui valori religiosi espressi dai culti mistici pagani travalica i limiti di questa indagine: essa richiede infatti un'analisi ampia dello gnosticismo, considerato nell'insieme delle sue molteplici manifestazioni e nell'equilibrio instabile, o variamente graduato nei diversi contesti, dei numerosi dati che intervengono a comporre questo quadro, soprattutto giudaici e cristiani. Senza dunque cadere nel semplicistico gioco degli «influssi» e delle «fonti», e avvertiti che l'utilizzazione di materiale pagano, riscontrabile in varia misura, oltre che presso i Naasseni, presso altri gruppi gnostici noti ai polemisti ortodossi[57] e negli stessi testi di Nag Hammadi,[58] esula largamente dal riferimento a quei culti, non si mancherà tuttavia di notare, col Bianchi,[59] l'interesse che ai fini della problematica delle «origini dello gnosticismo» presenta questo riferimento.

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[57] Si tratta, come è noto, soprattutto delle comunità «ofitiche» di cui dà notizia Ippolito, quali i Perati (*Ref.* V,12-18), i Sethiani (*ibid.*, 19-22) e lo gnostico Giustino, autore di un Libro di Baruch in cui dati biblici antico- e neo-testamentari si intrecciano ad elementi mutuati alla mitologia pagana (*ibid.*, 24-27). Per la probabile presenza di dati orfici nella mitologia sethiana cfr. M. Marcovich, *Phanes, Phicola and the Sethians* in *JTS* XXV, 1974, 447-451.

[58] Si vedano in proposito le rassegne di C. Colpe (*Heidnische, Jüdische und Christliche Überlieferung in den Schriften aus Nag Hammadi* I-VII, in *JAC* 15, 1972-21, 1978 e in particolare *ibid.* 18, 1975, 153-158). Cfr. anche A. Böhlig, *Die griechische Schule und die Bibliothek von Nag Hammadi* in A. Böhlig-F. Wisse, *Zum Hellenismus in den Schriften von Nag Hammadi* (Gött. Orientforschungen, VI Reihe: Hellenistica, Bd. 2), Wiesbaden 1975, 9-53. La presenza di tradizioni pagane è particolarmente rilevante nel cosiddetto *Trattato senza titolo* (o «Sull'origine del mondo»), per il quale cfr. M. Tardieu, *Trois mythes gnostiques. Adam, Éros et les animaux d'Égypte dans un écrit de Nag Hammadi (II,5)*, Paris 1974; G. Filoramo, *Aspetti del dualismo gnostico. Mito, manifestazione e rivelazione nello Scritto senza titolo del Codice gnostico II di Nag Hammadi* in *MemAccScTorino*, S. V,II, 1978, 264-275. Si può ancora ricordare l'utilizzazione di personaggi e vicende dell'epopea omerica (Ulisse, Elena), quali «figure» della situazione dell'anima decaduta, nell'*Esegesi dell'anima* (M. Scopello, *Les citations d'Homère dans le traité de l'Exégèse de l'âme*, in M. Krause (ed.), *Gnosis and Gnosticism*, Leiden 1977, 3-12).

[59] Oltre i contributi al Colloquio di Messina su *Le origini dello gnosticismo* (*Le problème des origines du gnosticisme*, 1-27; *Perspectives de la recherche sur les origines du gnosticisme*, 716-746), ora ristampati in *Selected Essays on Gnosticism, Dualism and Mysteriosophy*, Leiden 1978, 237-294, si veda *Le gnosticisme: Concept, Terminologie, Origines, Délimitation* in B. Aland (ed.), *Gnosis. Festschrift für Hans Jonas*, Göttingen 1978, 33-64.

I culti mistici pagani, con le loro divinità morte o «morenti», a vario titolo connesse con la sfera della fecondità umana, animale e ctonia cui esse per un verso offrono garanzia e sostegno risultando per l'altro come sopraffatte dal ciclo di presenza-assenza che quella strutturalmente richiede, potevano offrire argomento ed occasione ad una riflessione religiosa interessata al problema della presenza divina nel cosmo. Di fatto il pensiero gnostico, primariamente attento alla tematica antropologica e fondato sul presupposto dell'origine divina dell'anima e della negatività ontologica della materia, ha operato un ribaltamento dei valori espressi in quei culti, inferizzando il ciclo cosmico e la vicenda della vita divina nel livello materiale, per proclamare la necessità di una liberazione definitiva della sostanza divina, intesa come decaduta in esso e imprigionata.

Nonostante questo ribaltamento di valori e di prospettiva, tuttavia, l'idea che la vita e l'ordine cosmici, pur nella loro condizione di scadimento o di decisa negatività, hanno fondamento e scaturigine in una sostanza divina nascostamente presente nella materia, anche nei suoi livelli più bassi, è peraltro un indizio significativo di una certa continuità tra i due contesti ideologici.

I Naasseni, dopo aver riferito le tradizioni dei diversi popoli relative all'origine dell'uomo, proclamano il dogma fondamentale del proprio credo, ossia l'idea della presenza nell'uomo di un elemento divino, l'anima, la quale sussiste in stato di sofferenza e di κόλασις nel corpo ed è «immagine» dell'Anthropos sommo, Adamas.[60] Quindi, consapevoli che «ogni natura ... aspira in un modo o nell'altro ad un'anima»,[61] esemplificano questo assunto fondamentale (dopo la citazione di *Phil.* 2,10 che menziona le tre categorie di esseri, celesti, terrestri e sotterranei) evocando il mito di Adone, amato insieme da Afrodite e da Persefone e, in quanto identificato con Endimione, desiderato da Selene.[62]

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[60] *Ref.* V,7,2-8 *apud* Völker, *op. cit.*, 11 sg.; trad. Simonetti 29 sg.

[61] *Ref.* V,7,10, *ibid.*, 12; trad. Simonetti, 31. Essi di fatto ritengono che «l'anima è causa di tutte le cose che nascono: infatti tutto ciò che si nutrisce e cresce ha bisogno di anima. Nulla infatti ha possibilità di nutrirsi e crescere se non c'è anima. Anche le pietre, essi affermano, sono animate».

[62] *Ref.* V,7,11-12, *ibid.*, 12 sg.

La prima dea è allora intesa come immagine della sfera della γένεσις terrena mentre la seconda è piuttosto «un'anima mortale che si è allontanata dalle generazioni di Afrodite. Allorchè Selene desidera Endimione e s'innamora del suo aspetto, è la creazione degli esseri superiori che ha bisogno anch'essa di anima».[63]

Interviene qui il riferimento al mito di Attis e precisamente al tema della sua mutilazione, centrale nella cosiddetta «versione frigia» del mito. Tuttavia, mentre il rapporto di Adone-Endimione con le tre dee menzionate era visto in funzione della discesa del principio divino nei tre livelli cosmici (terreno, infero, celeste) per apportare ad essi la vita, la vicenda di Attis è piuttosto immagine della liberazione di quel principio dal ciclo cosmico e del suo ritorno al mondo superiore cui appartiene: «Se poi la Madre degli dei mutila Attis pur avendolo per amante, ciò significa che la beata natura superiore degli esseri sopramondani ed eterni chiama a sé la potenza maschile dell'anima... La mutilazione di Attis significa che egli fu separato dalle parti terrene e basse della creazione, e fu trasferito in alto all'essenza eterna, dove non c'è né femmina né maschio ma nuova creazione, uomo nuovo che è androgino».[64]

L'esegesi naassena dei personaggi del mito frigio instaura uno schema ideologico sostanzialmente analogo a quello che più tardi sarà adottato dai neoplatonici Giuliano e Sallustio. Infatti, a differenza delle figure femminili connesse con Adone-Endimione, le quali sono assimilate alla natura infra-cosmica nei suoi varii livelli e pertanto coinvolte nel generale deprezzamento dei valori mondani tipico della visione naassena, la natura e funzione della Madre degli dei, come nell'esegesi neoplatonica degli autori citati, sono presentate in luce del tutto positiva. Si tratta infatti della τῶν ὑπερκοσμίων ... καὶ αἰωνίων ἄνω μακαρία φύσις, la quale sottrae al fluire della γένεσις la potenza divina demiurgica. Il tema mitico della mutilazione parimenti è interpretato come necessario distacco dai χοϊκά e ricostituzione della primitiva natura androgina dell'Anthropos, segno della sua totalità e perfezione, immagine della perfezione (egualmente espressa attraverso il tema della androginia) del Primo Uomo.

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[63] Trad. Simonetti, 31.

[64] *Ref.* V,7,13-15, *ibid.*, 13: «ἐὰν δέ, φησίν, ἡ μήτηρ τῶν θεῶν ἀποκόψῃ τὸν Ἄττιν καὶ αὐτὴ τοῦτον ἔχουσα ἐρώμενον, ἡ τῶν ὑπερκοσμίων, φησί, καὶ αἰωνίων ἄνω μακαρία φύσις τὴν ἀρρηνικὴν δύναμιν τῆς ψυχῆς ἀνακαλεῖται πρὸς αὐτήν ... ἀπεκόπη γάρ, φησίν, ὁ Ἄττις, τοῦτ᾽ ἔστιν ἀπὸ τῶν χοϊκῶν τῆς κτίσεως κάτωθεν μερῶν ⟨ἐχωρίσθη⟩, καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν αἰωνίαν ἄνω μετελήλυθεν οὐσίαν, ὅπου, φησίν, οὐκ ἔστιν οὔτε θῆλυ οὔτε ἄρσεν, ἀλλὰ καινὴ κτίσις,» καινὸς ἄνθρωπος«, ὅς ἐστιν ἀρσενόθηλυς».

Ne risulta che la Grande Dea frigia è di fatto equiparata al sommo principio del sistema triadico naasseno, mentre Attis, colto nel momento più drammatico della sua vicenda, diventa figura dell'anima divina che, eliminata la componente femminile proclive alla generazione e tendente verso la natura materiale, viene ricondotta interamente alla ἀρρενικὴ δύναμις, che viene poi a qualificarsi come trascendenza della distinzione dei sessi, la quale è considerata segno di inferiorità e di separazione.

Segue un'ampia illustrazione del tema sopra enunciato (ripartizione triadica del Tutto, presenza nascosta nel cosmo del principio divino intermedio) mediante l'utilizzazione di testi antico-e neo-testamentari e insieme di tradizioni mitiche pagane, soprattutto egiziane e greche.[65] Il riferimento al mito e al culto di Osiride stabilisce, dopo la menzione di Adonis ed Attis, un ulteriore collegamento con l'inno frigio che, come si è visto, presenta i tre personaggi come parallele manifestazioni di un'unica personalità divina. Tuttavia, a partire da *Ref.* V,8,4, il commento naasseno, pur persistendo nella tipica tecnica esegetica che intreccia e fonde intimamente citazioni bibliche e dati mitici e rituali pagani, si svolge sino alla fine sulla falsariga dell'inno ad Attis, del quale chiosa ordinatamente le successive affermazioni.

Così, ribadito il concetto della presenza nascosta dell'Anthropos divino in ciascun uomo, adduce la definizione di lui come ἐπουράνιον μηνὸς κέρας data dai Greci e l'interpreta, per assonanza linguistica, nel senso che egli «ha mescolato e confuso tutte le cose insieme».[66] Segue l'appello al «grande e ineffabile mistero dei Samotraci», in cui sarebbe arcanamente espressa la dottrina dell'Anthropos. Infatti essi «tramandano chiaramente nei misteri celebrati presso di loro che quell'Adamo è l'uomo primigenio»,[67] mentre le immagini itifalliche poste dinnanzi al tempio sarebbero, come l'Hermes di Cillene e i simboli fallici nel culto di Osiride, figura della potenza generatrice e demiurgica dell'essere divino disceso nel cosmo.

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[65] *Ref.* V,7,16-8,4, *ibid.*, 13-17; trad. Simonetti, 32-39.

[66] *Ref.* V,8,4, *ibid.*, 17: «ὅτι καταμέμιχε καὶ κακέρακε πάντα πᾶσι».

[67] *Ref.* V,8,9, *ibid.*, 18; trad. Simonetti, 40. Si noterà la menzione, a proposito dei misteri di Samotracia, di un Ἀδάμ che chiaramente richiama il verso dell'inno sopra discusso, dove il termine è stato emendato dagli editori in Ἄδαμνα. Nessuno tuttavia

La designazione del personaggio divino come Coribante da parte dei «Traci dell'Emo» e degli stessi Frigi, dà occasione a complesse considerazioni sulla misteriosa presenza dell'Anthropos nella struttura fisica dell'uomo,[68] mentre l'appellativo frigio di Πάπας è interpretato in rapporto alla sua funzione ordinatrice e pacificatrice nel livello inferiore, per sua natura disordinato e confuso.[69]

I successivi epiteti elencati nell'inno, ciascuno dei quali illustra un aspetto specifico della personalità di Attis, tipicamente ambivalente nella sua qualità di «dio morto», situato in una condizione in cui sussistono i segni della fecondità più vivace e produttiva e insieme della più cruda sterilità,[70] danno occasione all'esegeta naasseno di ribadire in maniera efficace la propria dottrina relativa alla presenza egualmente ambivalente dell'Anthropos nella materia, fonte di vita per quest'ultima ma per il personaggio divino causa di sofferenza e prigionia, qualificabile come una vera e propria morte. Così, l'Uomo

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ha proposto pari emendamento in questo luogo del trattato naasseno, che senza dubbio si ricollega direttamente a quel verso.

[68] *Ref.* V,8,13, *ibid.* 19; trad. Simonetti, 41.

[69] *Ref.* V,8,22, *ibid.* 20; trad. Simonetti, 43: «Questo stesso i Frigi chiamano anche Padre (Πάπας), poichè ha fatto cessare (ἔπαυσεν) il movimento senza ordine e misura con cui si agitavano tutte le cose prima della sua manifestazione». Emerge qui il tema, presente all'interno dello gnosticismo ma noto anche ad altri ambienti religiosi, della richiesta di aiuto che, in particolari momenti di crisi, si leva dal mondo inferiore e sollecita un intervento salvifico da parte della divinità somma. Cfr. in proposito G. Sfameni Gasparro, *L'invocazione dal basso: il disordine del mondo e il grido dei perseguitati*, in *Studi di storia religiosa della tarda antichità, cit.*, 93-107. Sul nome di Papas dato ad Attis nelle tradizioni anatoliche, il quale implica assimilazione del personaggio ad una divinità celeste con caratteri paterni, identificata dai Greci con Zeus, si veda Diodoro Siculo *Bibl. hist.* III,58,4 (*apud* H. Hepding, *op. cit.*, 16); Arriano, *FGrHist.* 156 F 22 (*Eustathius in Hom. Il.* E 408, *ibid.*, 77); Michele Psello, περὶ τῶν ὀνομάτων τῶν δικῶν (ed. Boissonade 109, *ibid.*, 77). Un'iscrizione da Aquileia reca la dedica *Atte Papa* (*CIL* V,766, *ibid.*, 86 nº 26). Cfr. A.B. Cook, *Zeus, A Study in Ancient Religion*, Cambridge 1925, II,1, 292-294; Th. Wolbergs, *op. cit.*, 72.

[70] Oltre che dai particolari mitici relativi alle modalità della nascita di Attis (ved. sopra n. 27), le connessioni del personaggio con la sfera della fecondità sono espresse dalle circostanze della morte, avvenuta sotto un albero di pino mentre dal sangue versato sulla terra nascono le viole (Arnobio, *adv. Nat.* V,7 *apud* H. Hepding, *op. cit.*, 40). Il culto egualmente sottolinea tali connessioni nel trattamento rituale del pino, in quanto figura di Attis.

pneumatico celato in ciascun uomo è «cadavere; in quanto sepolto nel corpo come in sepolcro e tomba»,[71] ma è anche θεός poichè sarà trasformato ritornando al suo livello divino.[72]

L'attributo di ἄκαρπος riguarda il movimento verso il basso della sostanza pneumatica, discesa nella materia ed operante la creazione,[73] ma in pari tempo essa, che tutto volge e trasforma in incessante movimento,[74] è carica di straordinaria forza vitale e produttiva (πολύκαρπος),[75] operando per la salvezza degli gnostici.

L'appellativo di «spiga verde mietuta» pare rivelare un influsso eleusino nell'ideologia religiosa frigia, la quale nella comune tradizione collega Attis, piuttosto che con i cereali, con la vegetazione florescente ed arborescente;[76] tale appellativo, che ribadisce l'ambivalenza intrinseca del personaggio del mito pagano, il quale inclina verso la sterilità e la morte quando l'arco della sua vicenda è giunto nella fase della potenzialità più vivace e promettente ma non ancora realizzata, di fatto è esemplificato dall'esegeta naasseno con ampi riferimenti alla prassi misterica eleusina.[77]

Infine, la menzione della «mandorla» che ha generato Attis, il «suonatore di flauto», la quale allude alla complessa vicenda mitica narrata nelle versione frigia, induce il commentatore gnostico a riproporre il tema dei rapporti tra il primo e il secondo principio, da quello misteriosamente prodotto come «figlio» e destinato, dalla sua funzione mediale, alla discesa verso la materia e la generazione; ad essa però segue la liberazione e il ritorno al Padre, di cui è segno la salvezza degli spirituali.[78]

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[71] *Ref.* V,8,22 *apud* Völker, *op. cit.*, 20; trad. Simonetti, 43.

[72] *Ref.* V,8,24, *ibid.* 20; trad. Simonetti, 44.

[73] *Ref.* V,8,31, *ibid.* 21; trad. Simonetti, 45.

[74] In tal senso l'autore naasseno spiega l'attributo di αἰπόλος («capraio») che definisce la qualità pastorale di Attis nella tradizione mitica che lo riguarda (*Ref.* V,8,34 sg., *ibid.* 22; trad. Simonetti, 45 sg.).

[75] L'esegeta naasseno ha qui operato un intervento sui dati offerti dall'inno, separando l'attributo di πολύκαρπος dal suo contesto, che lo riferiva alla «mandorla» da cui Attis ha avuto origine, e attribuendolo ad Attis medesimo. Tale trasposizione rivela chiaramente l'interesse speciale dell'autore gnostico per l'opposizione sterilità-fecondità che caratterizza la funzione demiurgica dell'Anthropos divino.

[76] Soltanto Firmico Materno, nel contesto di un'interpretazione «fisica» del mito e del culto frigio, mentre pone l'equivalenza Gran Madre-Terra, afferma il rapporto di Attis con le *fruges* (*De err. prof. rel.* 3 *apud* H. Hepding, *op. cit.*, 47 sg.).

[77] *Ref.* V,8,39-43 *apud* Völker, *op. cit.*, 22 sg.; trad. Simonetti, 46 sg.

[78] *Ref.* V,9,1-6 *ibid.*, 24 sg.; trad. Simonetti, 48 sg.

L'interpretazione naassena dell'inno ad Attis si è rivelata interamente orientata alla dimostrazione di quegli assunti fondamentali in cui, con le caratteristiche peculiari del contesto religioso in questione, si esprime la sua qualité specificamente gnostica. La dottrina dell'Anthropos elaborata nel Trattato riflette i presupposti tipici del dualismo antisomatico ed anticosmico dello gnosticismo, ai quali sono piegati i ricchi materiali, biblici e pagani, addotti al fine di dimostrare una tesi chiaramente formulata. L'attenzione rivolta in maniera privilegiata al culto frigio, oltre che dalle motivazioni già illustrate, può forse scaturire da una particolare situazione storica e culturale se, come vogliono alcuni studiosi, si tratta di una comunità gnostica fiorita in Asia Minore.[79] Non ci pare tuttavia sufficientemente fondata l'opinione di quanti ritengono di poter attribuire ad ambiente metroaco la dottrina dell'Anthropos qui formulata,[80] avendo gli stessi fedeli di Attis interpretato le vicende del personaggio in chiave antroposofica. Già lo Schenke obiettò a siffatta interpretazione che, a dire degli stessi Naasseni, il citareda non comprendeva i «grandi misteri» celati nell'inno da lui declamato sulla scena, essendo nascosta a lui, come ai comuni ascoltatori, la verità celata sotto le apparenze del mito.[81] Nessun indizio, nella documentazione contemporanea pertinente al culto metroaco, inoltre, permette di sospettare che all'interno di esso fosse presente una dottrina antropologica del tipo formulato dal gruppo naasseno. Quest'ultimo si situa nel panorama gnostico, nel quale si distingue per la particolare apertura nei confronti delle tradizioni pagane e la speciale attenzione per le tematiche vitalistiche espresse nei culti mistici e misterici. Questi erano già per loro conto inseriti, nel corso del II sec.d.Cr., in un processo di trasformazione che, almeno in certi ambienti, implicava l'assunzione di connotazioni astrali e cosmiche da parte dei personaggi divini, senza peraltro che fosse interrotta la continuità con le antiche fondamenta naturistiche dei miti e del rituale.

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[79] E' doveroso avvertire che questa ipotesi, in mancanza di testimonianze esterne, si fonda proprio sull'interesse speciale mostrato dai Naasseni nei confronti del culto frigio; l'argomentazione rischia dunque di muoversi in un circolo chiuso. Non va infatti dimenticato che il culto metroaco, per i suoi particolari rapporti con il potere statale, era uno dei più diffusi e fiorenti in tutto l'Impero.

[80] Cfr. R. Reitzenstein, *Poimandres*, *cit.*, 81-83; W. Bousset, *op. cit.*, 183 sg.

[81] *Op. cit.*, 59.

Egualmente dettate da precisi presupposti ideologici che si sovrappongono agli schemi mitici e rituali del complesso religioso frigio, determinandoli in una direzione che certo non riflette la concreta attualità cultuale di esso, sono le interpretazioni di alcuni autori neoplatonici del IV e V sec.d.Cr. Tra esse emerge, per ampiezza di argomentazioni e sistematicità, l'esegesi elaborata da Giuliano nel noto discorso «Sulla Madre degli dei»,[82] dalla quale pare dipendere la sezione dedicata al culto frigio nel περὶ θεῶν καὶ κόσμου di Sallustio.[83] La trattazione dell'imperatore-filosofo intende abbracciare il culto metroaco nella sua globalità e, senza limitarsi ai dati mitici, ampiamente discute anche quelli rituali, ritenuti altrettanto fondamentali per la comprensione del vero significato di quel culto, di cui illustra le circostanze storiche dell'introduzione ad Atene[84] e a Roma.[85] Ma la precisa intenzione esegetica dell'autore è subito annunciata in termini netti con l'identificazione di Attis alla «sostanza dell'intelligenza feconda e creatrice che genera ogni cosa fino all'ultimo livello della materia, e che contiene in sé insieme tutte le ragioni e tutte le cause delle forme materiali».[86]

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[82] Composto di getto in una sola notte (*Orat.* V,178d-179a) a Costantinopoli, alla vigilia dell'apertura del ciclo festivo di marzo (Libanio, *Disc.* XVIII,157), il discorso sulla Madre degli dei è datato nell'anno 362. Cfr. G. Rochefort, *L'Empereur Julien. Œuvres complètes*, II, *Discours de Julien Empereur*, Paris 1963, 94-102. Per l'analisi delle argomentazioni di Giuliano si vedano anche H.-A. Naville, *Julien l'Apostat. Philosophie du polithеisme*, Paris 1877, 118-126; G. Mau, *Die Religionsphilosophie Kaiser Julians in seinen Reden auf König Helios und die Göttermutter. Mit einer Übersetzung der beiden Reden*, Leipzig 1908, 90-122; H. Bogner, *Kaiser Julians 5. Rede*, in *Philologus* LXXIX (N.F. XXXIII) 1924, 258-297; J. Geffcken, *op. cit.*, 133 sg.; J. Bidez, *La vie de l'Empereur Julien*, Paris 1930 (1965²), 253-256.

[83] A.D. Nock, *Sallustius concerning the Gods and the Universe*, Cambridge 1926, 50-55; G. Rochefort, *Le* ΠΕΡΙ ΘΕΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΚΟΣΜΟΥ *de Saloustios et l'influence de l'Empereur Julien*, in *REG* LXIX, 1956, 50-66. Sui problemi relativi all'identificazione dell'autore del trattato «Sugli dei e sul cosmo» nell'uno o nell'altro dei personaggi di nome Sallustio (*Flavius Salustius* ovvero *Saturninus Secundus Salustius*) contemporanei di Giuliano e a lui legati da rapporti di amicizia, si veda la recente rassegna critica delle diverse tesi offerta da G. Rinaldi (*Sull'identificazione dell'autore del* ΠΕΡΙ ΘΕΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΚΟΣΜΟΥ, in *Koinonia* II, 1978, 117-152). L'opinione più solida ed accreditata, comunque, pare quella che attribuisce l'opera a *Saturninus Secundus*, Prefetto d'Oriente.

[84] *Orat.* V,158d-159c.

[85] *Ibid.*, 159c-161b. Vi è narrato l'episodio di Claudia Quinta, a testimonianza del potere sovrano della dea accolta dal popolo romano.

[86] *Orat.* V,161c.

E' così evocata la struttura ideologica propria del sistema neoplatonico, con la sua tipica «processione» dei principii che, a partire dalla causa prima e trascendente, digradano progressivamente verso il basso, fino a giungere a contatto con la materia per imprimere in essa il sigillo delle forme intellettuali. Il sistema di Giuliano, come quello di Giamblico da cui sembra dipendere, contempla tre principii intellettuali di cui il terzo, identificato col sole sensibile, è una potenza demiurgica, il «terzo creatore». Di quest'ultimo si afferma che «possiede le ragioni astratte delle forme materiali e le cause connesse»; Attis è «la natura ultima e che discende dagli astri attraverso le regioni superiori fin sulla terra, sotto l'effetto di una sovrabbondante fecondità», di questo terzo, demiurgico principio.[87]

Dopo aver chiarito le motivazioni filosofiche della propria affermazione, Giuliano torna su di essa per illustrarla attraverso i particolari del mito frigio, che devono fondare la definizione di Attis, detto anche Gallo,[88] come θεὸς γόνιμος. L'esposizione presso il fiume Gallos,

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γεννῶσαν, οὐσίαν εἶναι, ἔχουσάν τε ἐν ἑαυτῇ πάντας τοὺς λόγους καὶ τὰς αἰτίας τῶν ἐνύλων εἰδῶν».

[87] *Ibid.* 161 d - 162 a: «Οὐσῶν δὴ πολλῶν οὐσιῶν καὶ πολλῶν πάνυ δημιουργῶν, τοῦ τρίτου δημιουργοῦ, ὅς τῶν ἐνύλων εἰδῶν τοὺς λόγους ἐξῃρημένους ἔχει καὶ συνεχεῖς τὰς αἰτίας, ἡ τελευταία καὶ μέχρι γῆς ὑπὸ περιουσίαις τοῦ γονίμου διὰ τῶν ἄνωθεν παρὰ τῶν ἄστρων καθήκουσα, «φύσις» ὁ ζητούμενός ἐστιν Ἄττις».

[88] Cfr. anche *ibid.* 159 a dove Giuliano, enunciando le finalità della sua trattazione, afferma che in primo luogo bisogna chiedersi «chi sia Attis o Gallo». Venuto poi a parlare delle circostanze relative alla fondazione del Metroon ateniese, chiama Γάλλος il personaggio che propagò in Grecia il culto della Gran Madre, che le altre fonti presentano come metragirta (Suida *s.v.* Μητραγύρτης, ed. A. Adler, III 391 e βάραθρον, *ibid.*, I, 453 = *Schol. in Plutum* v. 431; Fozio, *Lexikon*, s.v. Μητρῷον ed. S.A. Naber, I, 422). E' noto che i Galli costituivano una particolare categoria di fedeli di Cibele che, attraverso la pratica cruenta dell'eunuchismo, si consacravano interamente al culto della dea. Sul significato originario di tale pratica molto si è discusso (cfr. H. Hepding, *op. cit.*, 160-165, 217 sg.; H. Graillot, *op. cit.*, 128 sg., 290-294; F. Cumont, *s.v. Gallos*, in *PWRE* XIII, 675, 681 sg.; A. D. Nock, *Eunuchs in Ancient Religion*, in *ARW* XXIII, 1925, 25-33, rist. in *Essays on Religion and the Ancient World*, I Oxford 1972, 7-15). Per la posizione dei Galli nel culto metroaco si veda H. Graillot, *op. cit.*, 287-319; J. Carcopino, *La réforme romaine du culte de Cybèle et d'Attis*, II *Galles et Archigalles* in *Aspects mystiques de la Rome païenne*, Paris 1942, 76-109; G. Sanders *s.v. Gallos* in *RAC* VIII (1972), 993-1025. In molte fonti, peraltro, Attis appare come prototipo del Gallo, in quanto la sua mutilazione, causa della morte, si presenta come l'*aition* mitico della pratica rituale. Per una discussione dei problemi connessi al rapporto Attis-Gallo, ai fini di una valutazione complessiva del personaggio, si veda G. Sfameni Gasparro, *op. cit.*, 53-63.

dove egli fu rinvenuto dalla Gran Madre che lo colmò di doni fra cui il «pileo stellato», è figura della discesa del principio demiurgico fino alla via Lattea mentre quel copricapo è inteso come immagine del cielo visibile, che circonda la terra.[89]

Ma il movimento verso il basso non si arresta in questa sfera celeste, dove la Madre degli dei permette al «dio intellettuale» di danzare e volteggiare; il mito narra infatti che Attis discese in una grotta per coniugarsi con una ninfa,[90] la quale, in questa «lettura» filosofica del mito, è identificata al «principio umido della materia». Giuliano precisa che essa «non designa la materia stessa, ma la causa ultima, incorporea, che presiede alla materia».[91]

Egli quindi viene a precisare la funzione della Grande Dea in questo schema esegetico del mito: essa è «la sorgente degli dei intellettuali e demiurgici che governano gli dei visibili, madre e insieme sposa del grande Zeus, grande dea venuta all'esistenza dopo e con il grande creatore, sovrana di ogni vita e causa di ogni generazione».[92] Poichè la Madre, in quanto Provvidenza universale, sovrintende agli «esseri sottoposti alla nascita e alla distruzione»,[93] essa ama Attis, principio demiurgico di tali esseri. Ma ella desidera che la forza generatrice e feconda di questo si rivolga all'ordine intelligibile piuttosto che a quello materiale, e che dunque egli non si lasci attrarre dalla *genesis* nè travolgere da essa.

Tale è il significato profondo del mito, là dove esso narra che «la Madre degli dei esortò Attis a servirla senza allontanarsi nè amare alcun'altra».[94] Ma la discesa del principio demiurgico continuò fino alle estreme regioni della materia, avendo Attis spezzato la familiarità con la Madre degli dei e contratto nozze con la Ninfa. Giuliano allude ad un particolare mitico ignoto alle altre fonti quando attribuisce a Coribante, qui identificato col grande Helios, l'iniziativa di affidare al leone il compito di trovare Attis e denunciare alla dea il suo tradimento.[95]

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[89] *Orat.* V, 165b; cfr. anche *ibid.* 171a : Attis possiede «τὴν κατάστικον τοῖς ἄστροις τιάραν».

[90] La versione mitica riferita da Pausania e da Arnobio presenta la sposa di Attis come figlia del re di Pessinunte. Giuliano qui si ricollega ad una diversa versione, attestata anche in Ovidio che conosce la *nympha Sangaritis*, oggetto dell'amore di Attis (*Fasti* IV, 229). Aggiunta specifica di Giuliano è la menzione dell'ἄντρον come luogo in cui si compiono le nozze di Attis; essa è chiaramente dettata dai suoi particolari presupposti ideologici, dato il noto simbolismo della grotta come «figura» del cosmo, quale è svolto nel *De antro Nympharum* porfiriano.

[91] *Orat.* V,165 c : «Ὁ δὲ [*sc.* Ἄττις] ἐπειδὴ ποϊὼν ἦλθεν ἄχρι τῶν ἐσχάτων, ὁ μύθος αὐτὸν εἰς τὸ ἄντρον κατελθεῖν ἔφη καὶ συγγενέσθαι τῇ νύμφῃ, τὸ δίυγρον αἰνιττόμενος τῆς ὕλης, καὶ οὐδὲ τὴν ὕλην αὐτὴν νῦν ἔφη, τὴν τελευταίαν δὲ αἰτίαν ἀσώματον, ἣ τῆς ὕλης προέστηκε».

[92] *Ibid.*, 166 a.

[93] *Ibid.*, 166 b.

[94] *Ibid.*, 166 c - 167 b.

Il mito, nella versione frigia, attribuisce alla follia, ispirata da Agdistis che irrompe nel luogo in cui si celebrano le nozze di Attis, l'atto della mutilazione, causa della morte del giovane. Giuliano, come già l'esegeta naasseno, interpreta questo episodio drammatico come un evento positivo, una volta che l'ἐκτομή risulta essere il mezzo scelto dalla Grande Dea per mettere un freno all'attività generatrice del principio demiurgico che aveva travalicato i limiti assegnati.[96] Tale attività non è peraltro in sé una realtà negativa, essendo necessaria e benefica ai fini della vita cosmica ed espressione peculiare della natura del demiurgo. Infatti più oltre, riassumendo i dati fondamentali della sua esegesi del mito frigio, Giuliano dichiara esplicitamente che la κοινωνία del principio demiurgico con la materia, raffigurata dalla discesa di Attis nella grotta e dalle nozze con la ninfa, «non è contraria alla volontà degli dei e della loro Madre», sebbene il mito presenti quell'evento come negativo. A riprova di ciò adduce il fatto che, dopo la mutilazione, la dea non ha più rancore nei confronti del giovane ma riprende ad amarlo. Essa «lo richiama gioiosamente verso di sé o piuttosto lo custodisce presso di sé».[97]

L'esegesi filosofica di Giuliano traspone di fatto su un piano speculativo di marca neoplatonica la tipica ambivalenza del rapporto fra la grande dea e il suo paredro, oggetto di predilezione ma anche determinato alla scomparsa e alla morte proprio in virtù del suo rapporto con la dea; costei, nella struttura della coppia, rappresenta il principio stabile della vita feconda mentre l'elemento maschile subisce la crisi, con alternanza ciclica di presenza-assenza.

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[95] *Ibid.*, 167 b-c. Come è noto, il leone è l'animale sacro alla dea Cibele nella comune tradizione; qui esso è figura del principio igneo che si oppone all'umidità rappresentata dalla ninfa.

[96] *Ibid.*, 167 c-d.

[97] *Ibid.*, 170 c - 171 d.

Nello schema esegetico costruito nella Orazione sulla Madre degli dei la caratteristica ambiguità del tema vitalistico soggiacente al culto frigio è assunta ad esprimere una diversa, ma altrettanto tipica, ambiguità inerente al sistema ideologico giulianeo, di ispirazione platonica. Questo sistema, infatti, per un verso afferma la necessità e positività dell'azione demiurgica del principio divino ma per l'altro avverte il pericolo di tale azione, esplicantesi in un livello ontologicamente «altro», nel contesto di una struttura che oppone dualisticamente il sostrato materiale all'essenza divina.[98] Infatti l'attività demiurgica rischia, quando non siano rispettati i limiti precisi stabiliti dalla Provvidenza universale, di far persistere indebitamente il principio divino nel livello materiale, coinvolgendolo nella mutabilità e nel flusso ininterrotto delle nascite e delle morti che caratterizzano quel livello.

Tale rischio è più evidente e drammatico allorchè si passa dal piano cosmologico a quello antropologico, proponendosi allora con urgenza il problema della posizione dell'uomo nei confronti dei due livelli, divino e materiale, e dei loro reciproci rapporti. A questo problema accenna Giuliano quando, dalla interpretazione dei dati mitici che gli hanno offerto l'occasione di formulare la propria dottrina teologica e cosmologica, viene all'esame della prassi rituale del culto frigio, in cui cerca ulteriore conferma alla propria tesi esegetica.

Sebbene distingua dai riti a tutti noti quelli condotti διὰ τοὺς μυστικοὺς καὶ κρυφίους θεσμούς, nei quali sono da vedere i veri e proprii misteri,[99] l'autore fa oggetto di discussione esclusivamente i primi. Si tratta del noto ciclo festivo di marzo, che nel IV sec. si presenta compiutamente organizzato in una successione di atti rituali (cannoforia, dendroforia, *dies sanguinis*) culminante nel giorno degli *Hilaria*, seguito dalla *Lavatio*.[100] La cerimonia del taglio dell'albero sacro, se per un verso dà luogo a considerazioni moraleggianti,[101] per l'altro introduce la tematica antroposofica, essendo interpretata come figura del movimento dell'anima verso l'alto, essa che, di natura divina, come Attis un giorno è discesa dal cielo, cadendo sulla terra.[102] Anche l'anima umana, dunque, deve porre un termine alla ἀπειρία e, riacquistata la propria stabilità, rivolgersi verso l'Uno. La festa gioiosa degli *Hilaria* esprimerà allora la letizia di «un'anima sfuggita alle corse verso l'infinito, alla generazione e all'agitazione interiore, la quale si è elevata verso gli dei medesimi».[103]

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[98] Siffatta ambivalenza sta egualmente alle radici del pensiero plotiniano, pur attento a sottolineare la positività del cosmo contro i suoi detrattori gnostici (H. Ch. Puech, *Plotin et les Gnostiques*, in *Entretiens sur l'Antiquité classique*, V, Vaudœuvre-Genève 1957, 161-190; V. Cilento, *Paideia antignostica. Ricostruzione d'un unico scritto da «Enneadi» III,8, V,8, V,5, II,9*, Firenze 1971). Si veda, in particolare, H. Jonas, *The Soul in Gnosticism and Plotinus* in *Le Néoplatonisme*, Colloques Internationaux du Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, Sciences humaines, Royaumont 9-13 juin 1969, Paris 1971, 45-53; D. O'Brien, *Plotinus on Evil. A Study of Matter and the Soul in Plotinus' Conception of human Evil*, *ibid.*, 113-146. In relazione a Macrobio il tema è ampiamente discusso da J. Flamant, *Macrobe et le néoplatonisme latin, à la fin du IVe siècle* (EPRO 58), Leiden 1977, 483-651. Per le varie posizioni di autori medio- e neo-platonici sul problema antropologico dell'origine e destino dell'anima basti rimandare all'opera fondamentale di A.J. Festugière, *La révélation d'Hermès Trismégiste*, III: *Les doctrines de l'âme*, Paris 1953.

[99] *Orat.* V,169 a. Tale menzione è fatta in rapporto alla cerimonia del taglio dell'albero, cui seguirebbero appunto cerimonie pubbliche e private. Non è però del tutto certo

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se Giuliano si riferisca ai veri e proprii misteri metroaci noti da altre fonti o non alluda piuttosto alla pratica della mutilazione del *dies sanguinis*, cui aveva già fatto riferimento con una terminologia di assonanze misteriche, definendola «santa e indicibile messe del dio Gallo» (*ibid.*, 168 d.).

[100] Per i problemi relativi alla costituzione di tale ciclo festivo, che J. Carcopino attribuiva nel suo complesso all'imperatore Claudio (*La réforme romaine du culte de Cybèle et d'Attis*, I. *L'introduction officielle a Rome*, in *Aspects mystiques de la Rome païenne*, *cit.*, 49-75), si veda C. Gatti, *Per la storia del culto della «Magna Mater» in Roma*, in *RendILomb* LXXXII, 1949, 253-262; P. Lambrechts, *Les fêtes «phrygiennes» de Cybèle et d'Attis*, in *BIBR* XXVII, 1952, 141-170; J. Beaujeu, *La religion romaine a l'apogée de l'Empire*, I. *La politique religieuse des Antonins (96-192)*, Paris 1955, 279-330; D. Fishwick, *The Cannophori and the March Festival of Magna Mater*, in *TAPA* XCVII, 1966, 193-202.

[101] *Orat.* V,169 a-b. Dopo aver affermato che il rito della ἐκτομὴ τοῦ δένδρου ha rapporto esclusivo con la vicenda di Attis e non con i misteri, Giuliano dichiara che, attraverso di esso come di un «simbolo», «gli dei ci insegnano che bisogna raccogliere dalla terra ciò che vi è di più bello, ossia la virtù accompagnata dalla pietà, per farne omaggio alla dea, in quanto simbolo della nostra condotta quaggiù». E poco più oltre: «Il rito ci invita dunque, noi che siamo celesti per natura ma siamo stati trasportati sulla terra, a mietere la virtù accompagnata dalla pietà nella nostra condotta terrena, per affrettarci a raggiungere la dea ancestrale e creatrice della vita (ζωογόνος)». Trad. secondo G. Roschefort, *op. cit.*, 116 sg.

[102] *Orat.* V,169 c: «Allora, immediatamente dopo il taglio dell'albero, la tromba suona il richiamo per Attis e per tutti noi, che un giorno ci siamo allontanati dal cielo verso la terra e qui siamo caduti» («Εὐθὺς οὖν ἡ σάλπιγξ μετὰ τὴν ἐκτομὴν ἐκδίδωσι τὸ ἀνακλητικὸν τῷ Ἄττιδι καὶ τοῖς ὅσοι ποτὲ οὐρανόθεν ἔπτημεν εἰς τὴν γῆν καὶ ἐπέσομεν»).

[103] *Ibid.* 169 d: «Τί γὰρ εὐθυμότερον, τί δὲ ἱλαρώτερον γένοιτο ἂν ψυχῆς ἀπειρίαν μὲν καὶ γένεσιν καὶ τὸν ἐν αὐτῇ κλύδωνα διαφυγούσης, ἐπὶ δὲ τοὺς θεοὺς αὐτοὺς ἀναχθείσης;». Cfr. 169 c: «Μετὰ δὴ τὸ σύμβολον τοῦτο, ὅτε ὁ βασιλεὺς Ἄττις ἵστησι τὴν ἀπειρίαν διὰ τῆς ἐκτομῆς, ἡμῖν τε οἱ θεοὶ κελεύουσιν ἐκτέμνειν καὶ αὐτοῖς

La vicenda mitica di Attis, dunque, se per un verso esprime l'incessante attività demiurgica del terzo principio, la cui tendenza verso l'infinito è continuamente raffrenata dalla Provvidenza universale che ha fissato dei limiti precisi alla produzione degli esseri,[104] per l'altro si offre come paradigma della situazione dell'anima umana, di natura divina ma caduta nel regno della mutabilità e del divenire, da cui deve allontanarsi per ritornare al sommo principio dell'essere. Giuliano vede esemplificata tale situazione nelle modalità del rito metroaco, con la sua alternanza di lutto e di letizia; di esso egli più oltre esaminerà le diverse pratiche astensionistiche, egualmente alla luce di questa dottrina animologica, nella convinzione che l'ἁγνεία mira proprio all'ἄνοδος τῶν ψυχῶν.[105]

Pari attenzione alla prassi rituale del culto frigio, oltre che al suo contenuto mitico, è prestata dall'autore del *De diis et mundo*, la cui esegesi, in maniera molto sintetica e densa, segue le linee fondamentali del Discorso di Giuliano.[106] La Gran Madre è dea ζωογόνος, Attis è τῶν γινομένων καὶ φθειρομένων δημιουργός, mentre il fiume Gallos rappresenta il ciclo della Via Lattea, a partire dal quale ha inizio

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τὴν ἐν ἡμῖν αὐτοῖς ἀπειρίαν καὶ κινεῖσθαι ἐκ τούτων. ἐπὶ δὲ τὸ ὡρισμένον καὶ ἑνοειδὲς καί, εἴπερ οἷόν τέ ἐστιν, αὐτὸ «τὸ Ἓν» ἀνατρέχειν». Viene così sottolineato il carattere paradigmatico e «simbolico» della vicenda del principio demiurgico a livello cosmico (il «re Attis») in rapporto alla vicenda antropologica dell'anima decaduta nella materia e destinata al ritorno al livello degli intelligibili.

[104] Cfr. *ibid.* 171 c-d dove Giuliano, conformemente alla prospettiva ciclica della sua visione cosmosofica, sottolinea che la narrazione mitica è figura di una situazione immutabile: «Mai è avvenuto in maniera diversa da come ora avviene, ma Attis è sempre l'assistente e il guidatore del cocchio della Madre, sempre tende alla generazione ma sempre si ritrae dalla corsa verso l'infinito, grazie alla causa determinata delle forme. Al suo richiamo, per così dire, dalla terra, egli riprende — si dice — lo scettro del suo antico potere, benchè non sia affatto decaduto nè decada, ma si parla di decadimento a causa della sua mescolanza con l'elemento passibile».

Sul significato del mito, che in forme paradossali rivela una verità profonda relativa all'essenza della realtà, si veda anche *ibid.* 170 a-b.

[105] *Orat.* V,175 b. Un'ampia sezione del trattato è dedicata all'esame delle diverse prescrizioni rituali relative ai cibi, interpretate appunto in funzione dello sforzo catartico che l'anima è chiamata a sostenere per allontanarsi dalla sfera terrena e fare ritorno al mondo divino (*ibid.*, 173 a - 178 d).

[106] Sallustio, *De diis et mundo* IV ed. A. D. Nock, 6 sg. Il mito è evocato nei suoi tratti essenziali: Attis esposto lungo le rive del fiume Gallo è amato dalla Madre degli dei che lo adorna dell'ἀστερωτὸς πῖλος e lo tiene presso di sé. Ma il giovane si innamora della ninfa e si unisce a lei, abbandonando la dea. Costei infonde in Attis una rovinosa follia, per la quale egli si mutila per ritornare poi presso la Gran Madre.

τὸ παθητὸν σῶμα. Come gli dei superiori presiedono al perfezionamento degli dei secondi, così la Madre ama Attis e gli conferisce le δυνάμεις celesti, di cui è figura il πῖλος.[107]

Identificata la ninfa al flusso del divenire in cui il demiurgo è attratto, Sallustio, come Giuliano, vede nella mutilazione il segno del suo allontanarsi dalla generazione per fare ritorno al mondo divino.[108] Si tratta dell'eterno processo cosmico che la riflessione speculativa abbraccia nella sua totalità sebbene il discorso mitico lo presenti come una successione di eventi.[109] Tale processo, d'altra parte, si propone all'uomo come un modello esemplare, una volta che la vicenda di rilevanza cosmica del principio divino corrisponde, sul piano antropologico, alla vicenda della singola anima.

Sebbene nell'esegesi di Giuliano e di Sallustio prevalga senz'altro il dato cosmosofico né si stabilisca un esplicito rapporto fra Attis-demiurgo e l'origine dell'anima umana, il parallelismo tra i due piani è abbastanza netto e significativo. L'interpretazione sallustiana delle successive cerimonie del ciclo festivo frigio sottolinea ancor meglio di quella di Giuliano siffatto parallelismo, presentando ciascuna di esse come un momento decisivo della vicenda antropologica : «In primo luogo, essendo anche noi caduti dal cielo e coniugati con la ninfa, siamo nella tristezza e ci asteniamo dal pane e da ogni altro nutrimento denso e impuro (entrambi sono infatti contrarii all'anima); poi il taglio dell'albero e il digiuno in quanto anche noi abbiamo troncato il progresso ulteriore della generazione; dopo di ciò il nutrimento di latte, come quelli nati di nuovo. Quindi manifestazioni di letizia e ghirlande, quale un ritorno verso gli dei».[110]

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[107] Sul simbolismo cosmico del copricapo di Attis cfr. R. Turcan, *L'aigle du pileus* in *Hommages Vermaseren*, *cit.*, III, 1281-1292.

[108] *De diis et mundo* IV ed. Nock 8,11-14 : «ἐπεὶ δὲ ἔδει στῆναι τὴν γένεσιν καὶ μὴ τῶν ἐσχάτων γενέσθαι τὸ χεῖρον, ὁ ταῦτα ποιῶν δημιουργὸς δυνάμεις γονίμους ἀφεὶς εἰς τὴν γένεσιν πάλιν συνάπτεται τοῖς θεοῖς».

[109] *Ibid.*, 8,14-16 : «ταῦτα δὲ ἐγένετο μὲν οὐδέποτε, ἔστι δὲ ἀεί, καὶ ὁ, μὲν νοῦς ἅμα πάντα ὁρᾷ, ὁ δὲ λόγος τὰ μὲν πρῶτα τὰ δὲ δεύτερα λέγει».

[110] *Ibid.*, 8,19-25 : «καὶ πρῶτον μὲν ὡς καὶ αὐτοὶ πεσόντες ἐξ οὐρανοῦ καὶ τῇ νύμφῃ συνόντες ἐν κατηφείᾳ ἐσμὲν σίτου τε καὶ τῆς ἄλλης παχείας καὶ ῥυπαρᾶς τροφῆς ἀπεχόμεθα (ἑκάτερα γὰρ ἐναντία ψυχῇ)· εἶτα δένδρου τομαὶ καὶ νηστεία ὥσπερ καὶ ἡμῶν ἀποκοπτομένων τὴν περαιτέρω τῆς γενέσεως πρόοδον· ἐπὶ τούτοις γάλακτος τροφὴ ὥσπερ ἀναγεννωμένων. ἐφ᾽οἷς ἱλαρεῖαι καὶ στέφανοι καὶ πρός τοὺς θεοὺς οἷον ἐπάνοδος».

Alla luce dei presupposti neoplatonici dell'esegeta, dunque, il rituale metroaco si configura come una μίμησις del grande processo della *demiourgia* cosmica da parte dell'uomo[111] che in esso vede in pari tempo scandite le tappe successive della propria vicenda di decadimento e di ritorno alla fonte divina da cui procede.

Certamente non si attribuirà siffatta concezione al patrimonio religioso dei comuni fedeli di Cibele ed Attis, essendo in presenza di un ben definito contesto ideologico e di autori che, nel dichiarato proposito di recuperare i valori religiosi del paganesimo, utilizzano schemi mitici e rituali in funzione della propria visione del mondo.

E' difficile tuttavia valutare il grado di penetrazione di siffatte esegesi misteriosofiche in quei circoli colti che, al tempo della «rinascita» pagana promossa da Giuliano e alimentata da varie personalità politiche e religiose nello scorcio del IV sec.,[112] si rivolsero ai culti mistici e misterici come a espressioni privilegiate della religione tradizionale dell'Impero. E' noto infatti come proprio in questo periodo la pratica del sacrificio taurobolico trova speciale favore a Roma e ragguardevoli personaggi dell'aristocrazia compiono tale rito quasi a conferire una suprema sanzione alla propria «carriera» religiosa, che conosce la partecipazione ai diversi riti misterici, oltre che ai culti romani tradizionali. Una delle iscrizioni che ricordano l'avvenuta celebrazione di questo rito cruento, che assume in quest'epoca significati mistici e soteriologici assai rilevanti,[113] reca una dedica che esalta, insieme con la facoltà demiurgica di Attis, la sua qualità di supremo reggitore del Tutto.[114]

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[111] *Ibid.*, p. 8, 16-19: «οὕτω δὲ πρὸς τὸν κόσμον οἰκείως ἔχοντος τοῦ μύθου, ἡμεῖς τὸν κόσμον μιμούμενοι (πῶς γὰρ ἂν μᾶλλον κοσμηθείημεν;) ἑορτὴν ἄγομεν διὰ ταῦτα».

[112] Le ricerche su questo tema sono notoriamente assai numerose. Qui basti ricordare D.N. Robinson, *An Analysis of the Pagan Revival of the Late Fourth Century, with Especial Reference to Symmachus* in *TAPA* XLVI, 1915, 87-101; P. De Labriolle, *La réaction païenne*, Paris 1934 (1958^9); H. Bloch, *A new Document of the Last Pagan Revival in the West*, in *HTR* XXXVIII, 1945, 199-244; Id., *The Pagan Revival in the West at the End of the Fourth Century*, in A. Momigliano (ed.), *The Conflict between Paganism and Christianity in the Fourth Century*, Oxford 1963, 193-218; B. Kötting, *Christentum und heidnische Opposition in Rom am Ende des 4. Jahrhunderts*, Münster i.W. 1961; J.F. Matthews, *Symmachus and the Oriental Cults*, in *JRS* LXIII (1973), 175-195; J. Wytzes, *Der letze Kampf des Heidentums in Rom*, Leiden 1977 (EPRO 56).

[113] Si veda in proposito quanto da noi osservato in *Soteriologia e aspetti mistici nel culto di Cibele e Attis*, *cit.*, 137-150, cui ci permettiamo di rimandare anche per la relativa documentazione e bibliografia.

Ancora un tardo epigono della scuola neoplatonica, Damascio, riecheggerà le speculazioni su Attis-demiurgo, pur collegando il personaggio con la luna piuttosto che con Helios,[115] e svilupperà ampiamente il tema della θεὰ ζωογόνος, sorgente delle potenze che presiedono alla generazione, identificata con una Rhea che il riferimento ai Φρύγιοι λόγοι rivela assimilata a Cibele.[116] Siffatta tematica, del resto, era già annunciata negli Oracoli Caldaici dove si proclama che «Rhea, in verità, è la fonte e il flusso degli esseri intellettuali; infatti è lei, la prima in potenza, che ha concepito la loro nascita nel suo seno ineffabile e la diffonde, rapida nel suo volgersi, sul Tutto».[117]

Alla terra identifica invece la Madre degli dei Macrobio, nel contesto dell'ampia elaborazione teologica posta in bocca a Vettio Agorio Pretestato nel primo giorno dei *Saturnalia*.[118] Nella prospettiva dello enoteismo solare ivi affermato come unico modulo interpretativo dei più diversi, culti, greci, romani ed orientali, Attis appare come figura del Sole; i suoi tipici attributi pastorali (*fistula* e *virga*) sono interpretati rispettivamente come immagine dei venti che traggono dal sole la loro sostanza e della stessa potenza dell'astro, il quale governa tutte le cose. L'esegesi di Macrobio, trascurati i contenuti mitici del culto, vede esemplificata nelle pratiche rituali del ciclo festivo di marzo la fase equinoziale di primavera. La letizia degli *Hilaria*, infatti, dopo la catabasi e il lutto, celebra il momento in cui per la prima volta il sole rende il giorno più lungo della notte.[119]

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[114] «Μητέρι τῇ πάντων Ῥείῃ ... τε γενέθλῳ / Ἄττει θ᾽ ὑψίστῳ καὶ συ[νέχο]ντι τὸ πᾶν, / τῷ πᾶσιν καιροῖς θεμε[ρώτε]ρα πάντα φύοντι». *IG* XIV,1018 = *CIG* 6012 b, *CIL* VI,509 *apud* H. Hepding, *op. cit.*, 82 sg. nº 15. Sul probabile significato cosmico delle raffigurazioni di Attis-pilastro cfr. Ch. Picard, *Attis-Atlante et le pilier du ciel*, in *Starinar* N.S. (= 4 S.) 7/8, 1956/57, 15-22; M. Renard, *Attis-piliers de Clavier-Vervoz et d'ailleurs*, in *BAB* 5e S., LXI, 1975, 14-29 Pl. I-XI.

[115] *De Princ.* 352 ed. C. Ae. Ruelle, *Damascii Successoris Dubitationes et solutiones de primis principiis, in Platonis Parmenidem*, Paris 1899, II, 214,5 sgg.; trad. A.-Ed. Chaignet, Paris 1898, III, 67. Testo anche *apud* O. Kern, *Orphicorum Fragmenta*, Berlin 1922, 223 fr. 201 : «τοῦ δὲ ἑξῆς διακόσμου προϊστάμενοι κατ᾽ ἰδιότητα· οἷον ὁ Ἄττις ἐν τῆι σεληναίαι καθήμενος λήξει δημιουργεῖ τὸ γενητόν». Damascio continua ricordando che analogo significato si attribuiva ad Adonis ἐν ἀπορρήτοις, mentre simili interpretazioni circolavano in ambiente «orfico» e teurgico in rapporto a numerose altre divinità (*ibid.* : οὕτως ἔχοντα καὶ τὸν Ἄδονιν εὑρίσκομεν ἐν ἀπορρήτοις, οὕτω πολλοὺς θεοὺς παρ᾽ Ὀρφεῖ τε καὶ τοῖς θεουργοῖς).

[116] *De princ.* 282 ed. Ruelle, II, 154, 15 sgg.; trad. Chaignet, II, 389 : «Ἥ τε γὰρ Ῥέα πάντων ἐστὶ ῥοὴ κατὰ τὸν ἐν Κρατύλῳ Σωκράτην, καὶ πάντα ἴσησιν ἐν ἑαυτοῖς καὶ ἀνακαλεῖται πρὸς ἑαυτήν, ὡς καὶ οἱ Φρύγιοι διδάσκουσι λόγοι».
Per la speculazione sulla *zoogonia* promossa da Rhea cfr. *ibid.*, 278-284 ed. Ruelle, II, 149-160; trad. Chaignet, II, 381-399.

[117] *Apud* Proclo, in *Crat.* p. 81,6-8 P ed. E. De Places, *Oracles chaldaïques. Avec un choix de commentaires anciens*, Paris 1971, 81 nº 56 :
«Ῥείη τοι νοερῶν πηγή τε ῥοή τε·
πάντων γὰρ πρώτη δυνάμει κόλποισιν ἀφράστοις
δεξαμένη γενεὴν ἐπὶ πᾶν προχέει τροχάουσαν».

[118] *Sat.* I,21,7-10 ed. N. Marinone, Torino 1977^{2}, 286-289. Sui problemi relativi all'autore e all'opera si veda ora J. Flamant, *op. cit.* dove, alle pp. 652-680, è analizzato il tema della «teologia solare» di Macrobio. Su questa tema, nel più ampio contesto del

La familiarità dell'ambiente neoplatonico con il complesso mitico-rituale frigio, cui erano applicati peraltro schemi esegetici diversi,[120] è infine confermata dall'interesse di Porfirio e di Proclo. Del primo, infatti, Giuliano dichiara di sapere che si era applicato all'interpretazione degli stessi temi da lui stesso trattati, pur non avendo letto le opere relative.[121] Un'eco di tali interpretazioni si conserva tuttavia in Eusebio[122] e in Agostino,[123] che cita appunto *Porphirius*, *philosophus*

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paganesimo romano, è sempre utile il noto lavoro di F. Cumont (*La théologie solaire du paganisme romain* in *MAI*, XII, 2e partie, 1913, 447-479).

[119] *Sat.* I,21,10 ed. Marinone 288: «*Praecipuam autem solis in his caerimoniis verti rationem hinc etiam potest colligi, quod ritu eorum catabasi finita simulationeque luctus peracta, celebratur laetitiae exordium a.d. octavum kalendas Apriles. Quem diem Hilaria appellant, quo primum tempore sol diem longiorem nocte protendit*».

[120] Si può ricordare in proposito un breve cenno di Plotino che, in direzione opposta alla linea interpretativa di Giuliano e Sallustio, stabilisce l'equivalenza Gran Madre -ὕλη. La presenza di eunuchi nel culto della dea, infatti, esprimerebbe la sterilità connaturata alla materia, là dove solo la «forma» (εἶδος) è produttrice di vita (*Enn.* III, 6,19 ed. E. Bréhier, Paris 1963^2, III, 122).

[121] *Orat.* V,161 c: «Ὑπὲρ δὲ ὧν εἰπεῖν ἐπῆλθέ μοι παρ᾽αὐτὸν ἄρτι τὸν τῆς ἁγιστείας καιρόν, ἀκούω μὲν ἔγωγε καὶ Πορφυρίῳ τινὰ πεφιλοσοφῆσθαι περὶ αὐτῶν· οὐ μὴν οἶδά γε οὐ γὰρ ἐνέτυχον, εἰ καὶ συνενεχθῆναί που συμβαίη τῷ λόγῳ».

[122] *Praep. evang.* III,11,12 *apud* H. Hepding, *op. cit.*, 47: «Ἄττις δὲ καὶ Ἄδωνις τῇ τῶν καρπῶν εἰσὶν ἀναλογίᾳ προσήκοντες. ἀλλ᾽ὁ μὲν Ἄττις τῶν κατὰ τὸ ἔαρ προφαινομένων ἀνθέων καὶ πρὶν τελεσιγονῆσαι διαρρεόντων — ἔνθεν καὶ τὴν τῶν αἰδοίων ἀποκοπὴν αὐτῷ προσανέθεσαν, μὴ φθασάντων ἐλθεῖν τῶν καρπῶν εἰς τὴν σπερματικὴν τελείωσιν, — ὁ δὲ Ἄδωνις τῆς τῶν τελείων καρπῶν ἐκτομῆς σύμβολον». Tale esegesi deriverebbe dal περὶ ἀγαλμάτων porfiriano. Cfr. anche *ibid.*, III,11,15; III,11,17; III,13,14 *apud* H. Hepding, *loc. cit.*

[123] *De civ. Dei* VII,25 *apud* H. Hepding, *op. cit.*, 69. Dopo aver notato che Varrone non ricorda nei suoi scritti Attis né si cura di interpretarne la vicenda mitica, afferma: «*sed docti Graeci adque sapientes nequaquam rationem tam sanctam praeclaramque tacuerunt. Propter vernalem quippe faciem terrae, quae ceteris est temporibus pulchrior,*

nobilis a proposito di un'esegesi «fisica» del personaggio di Attis, identificato ai fiori. La mutilazione sarebbe espressione dell'evento naturale secondo il quale *flos decidit ante fructum*.

Di Proclo, che nel già ricordato *Inno ad Helios* menziona Attis come una delle molteplici manifestazioni del Sole,[124] il biografo Marino sottolinea la scrupolosa osservanza delle pratiche catartiche ed astensionistiche frigie.[125]

Di lui Marino ricorda l'opera esegetica sul culto metroaco, nella quale proponeva una sua «teologia», interpretando «filosoficamente» il complesso dei dati mitici e rituali pertinenti alla Gran Madre e ad Attis.[126]

La perdita di tale scritto ci priva di un testimone senza dubbio significativo di una letteratura che i dati esaminati fanno ritenere assai ricca e varia. Fiorita negli ambienti culturalmente più vivaci del tardo-paganesimo, in cui gli interessi speculativi si accompagnavano ad una rinnovata attenzione per i culti tradizionali, essa esemplifica, in relazione al culto mistico e misterico frigio, la tendenza misteriosofica ad una reinterpretazione dei dati mitici e rituali in rapporto alla vicenda dell'anima divina, che in Grecia aveva fatto già le sue prove più rilevanti nell'ambito mosso e vario dell'orfismo.[127]

Porphyrius, philosophus nobilis, Attin flores significare perhibuit, et ideo abscisum, quia flos decidit ante fructum».

[124] Vv. 24-26 *apud* H. Hepding, *op. cit.*, 73: «σὲ κλυτὸν ὑμνείουσι Διωνύσοιο τοκῆα·/ὕλης δ᾽ αὖ νεάτοις ἐνὶ βένθεσιν εὔιον Ἄττην, / ἄλλοι δ᾽ ἁβρὸν Ἄδωνιν ἐπευφήμησαν ἀοιδαῖς».

[125] *Vita Procli* c. 19 *ibid.*, 73: «τὰς δὲ μητρῳακὰς παρὰ Ῥωμαίοις ἢ καὶ πρότερόν ποτε παρὰ Φρυξὶ σπουδασθείσας καστείας ἑκάστου μηνὸς ἥγνευεν. Cfr. *ibid.* c. 33.

[126] *Ibid.* c. 33: «εἰ δέ τις ἐπιποθεῖ κατιδεῖν αὐτοῦ καὶ ταύτην τὴν ἐπιτηδειότητα, λαβέτο εἰς χεῖρας τὴν μητρῳακὴν αὐτοῦ βίβλον. ὄψεται γάρ, ὡς οὐκ ἄνευ θείας κατακωχῆς τὴν θεολογίαν τὴν περὶ τὴν θεὸν ἐξέφηνεν ἅπασαν, καὶ τὰ ἄλλα τὰ μυθικῶς περὶ αὐτὴν καὶ τὸν Ἄττιν δρώμενά τε καὶ λεγόμενα φιλοσόφως ἀνέπτυξεν, ὡς μηκέτι θράττεσθαι τὴν ἀκοὴν ἐκ τῶν ἀπεμφαινόντων θρήνων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν ἐκεῖ κρυφίως λεγομένων». L'espressione conclusiva del brano citato rimanda alla distinzione, già sottolineata da Giuliano, fra aspetti pubblici e misterici del culto metroaco.

[127] La bibliografia sul tema, oggetto di accesi dibattiti, è notoriamente assai ampia. Basti qui ricordare le posizioni equilibrate di M.P. Nilsson (*Early Orphism and kindred Religious Movements*, in *HTR* XXVIII 1935, 181-230), W.K.C. Guthrie (*Orpheus and Greek Religion*, London 1935, trad. fr. Paris 1956) e M.-J. Lagrange (*Introduction à l'étude du Nouveau Testament*, IV *Critique historique*, I. *Les mystères : l'orphisme*, Paris 1937) che discutono ampiamente le conclusioni delle ricerche anteriori. Una più recente messa a punto di alcuni aspetti del problema in varii lavori di U. Bianchi (*Orfeo e*

E' peraltro significativo ai fini della storia religiosa del mondo tardoantico che in alcuni autori, quali un Giuliano e un Proclo, l'esegesi misteriosofica si accompagni ad un reale a profondo impegno nella concreta vita religiosa del culto frigio. L'indagine critica manterrà accuratamente distinto il livello della prassi cultuale, con i connessi contenuti mitici ed ideologici, riconoscibile dal complesso della documentazione come patrimonio comune e caratteristico dell'area religiosa metroaca nel corso del suo sviluppo storico, rispetto alle varie formule interpretative che, ispirate da particolari presupposti dottrinali, hanno utilizzato ai propri fini i dati offerti da quell'area religiosa. Tuttavia si riconoscerà che il culto frigio, senza essere certo riducìbile, nella sua varietà di manifestazioni e diversità di livelli religiosi, a tali interpretazioni «sofiche», quando attrae l'attenzione degli esegeti neoplatonici mostra di aver raggiunto l'ultima e matura fase di quel processo che, fin dai primi secoli dell'Impero, ha inserito i personaggi divini ai quali si rivolge in una dimensione astrale e cosmica, frutto di elaborazioni speculative ma percepita anche nell'attualità della pratica religiosa, almeno in alcuni ambienti di fedeli.

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l'orfismo nell'epoca classica, in *SMSR* XXVIII, 1957, 151-156; *L'orphisme a existé*, in *Mélanges d'histoire des religions offerts à H.-Ch. Puech*, Paris 1974, 129-137; *La religione greca*, Torino 1975, 225-239; *Prometeo, Orfeo, Adamo, cit.*, 129-143).

ABERAMENTHŌ

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A trois reprises, le codex Askewianus (ed. C. Schmidt, Copenhague 1925) associe le nom de Jésus au mot Aberamenthō par une proposition normative : ⲓⲥ ⲉⲧⲉ ⲁⲃⲉⲣⲁⲙⲉⲛⲑⲱ ⲡⲉ (367,22 ; 354,8 et 360,5 : Aberanenthō). Dans *Church and Gnosis* (Cambridge 1932, 81-83), F. C. Burkitt a émis l'hypothèse qu'Aberamenthō serait une transcription défectueuse de Ῥαδάμανθυς, Βραδάμανθυς en éolien, d'où dériverait notre Aberamenthō, et que par conséquent, qualifié de Rhadamanthe, Jésus aurait été assimilé à une divinité infernale ! C. Bonner (*Studies in Magical Amulets*, Ann Arbor 1950) traita cette hypothèse de « futile speculation » (203) mais ne proposa lui-même aucune explication ni du palindrome en son entier et en tant que tel chez les magiciens ni du pourquoi de sa récupération chez les gnostiques de l'Askewianus. C'est à ces deux questions que je souhaite répondre.

Tout d'abord, à quoi sert le palindrome ? Dans quel contexte apparaît-il ? Treize emplois peuvent être relevés dans la collection des papyrus grecs magiques, réunie par les soins de Karl Preisendanz, *PGM*², Stuttgart 1973-4 [= P.].

1. Une recette de phylactère dont le matériau se compose de poils arrachés à la moustache d'un chat prévoit, dans le P. Mimaut (= III P.), la récitation d'une prière vespérale à Hélios-Mithra, « le saint navire » et « le saint roi » ; les noms de l'adjuration « en langue hébraïque » (κατὰ τῆς ἑβραικῆς φωνῆς, 119) s'achèvent par l'incantation du palindrome d'Aberamenthō, qui se présente ainsi (117-118) :

αμεραμενθωουθλε[ρ]θεξαναξ[εθρελθυο]ωθνεμαρεβα.

2. Le commencement du même papyrus précise comment, pour confectionner un charme de victoire, le praticien utilise le cadavre d'un chat mâle qu'il a fait périr par noyade ; il doit, entre autres, introduire dans les trois ouvertures du chat trois lamelles contenant les sortilèges dont il a besoin; sur la deuxième lamelle placée dans l'oreille est inscrit le palindrome (67-68) :

α[βεραμ]ενθωο[υθ]λεραεξ[αν]αξε[θρ]ελθυοωεθνε[μαρεβα].

3. Un fragment de recette pour attirer à soi (*agōgḗ*), conservé dans le P. Osl. 3 (IV^{e} s.) et édité par S. Eitrem (= XXXVIII P.), contient une invocation au dieu héliaque «en saillie sur l'océan» (ὁ ἐν τῷ ὠκεανῷ ὀχεύων, 15-16; cf. III,142-144 P.); la prière égrène les huit aspects animaliers ou formes du dieu, c'est-à-dire ses noms, selon les heures du jour. La forme du dieu à la troisième heure est celle d'un serpent, et son nom est (20-21) :

αβερανεμανε Θωύθ.

4. La prière consécratoire (*teletḗ*) à usage multiple du codex grec de Paris (= IV P.) a la même structure que le charme d'amour du P. Osl. 3; Hélios Cosmocrator, dominateur de la mer, est invoqué comme étant le «grand serpent qui marche en tête de tous les dieux»; la prière le qualifie en copte de «dieu de tous les dieux» et l'identifie à Sabaoth Adonai; à la troisième heure du jour, ici aussi, sa forme est celle d'un serpent, et son nom est (1656-7) :

αμεκρανεβεχεο Θωύθ,

le dieu Thot étant ici associé à la vierge Mekran ou Mekhran qui est le troisième des Tychē à visages de serpents et à robes de byssus qui gardent le ciel (cf. également IV 671 P.; Mekram *ap.* W. Gundel, *Dekane u. Dekansternbilder*^{2}, 80, n^{o} 28).

5. Dans la salutation du matin à Hélios, qui accompagne l'acte rituel (*poíēsis*) décrit dans le P. Berol. 5026 (= II P.), Apollon «souverain du monde» et «protecteur du feu» est proclamé αὐτεξούσιος (101) et «réuni à lui-même» (ὁ ἑαυτῷ συνγινόμενος, 120-121) puis il est incanté à l'aide du logos d'Aberamenthō (125-126) :

αβεραμενθωουθλερθεξαναξεθρελυοωθνεμαρεβα;

or ce dernier est précédé de l'expression «créateur des eaux» (κτίστα ὑδάτων, 122) et suivi de la formule : «dieu très grand et fort» (ὁ μέγιστος καὶ ἰσχυρὸς θεός, 126).

6. La recette pour invoquer Apollon (*apollōniakḗ epíklēsis*) du P. Berol. 5025 (= I P.), qui est une demande d'oracle pour «amener le dieu à soi» (292), prévoit que la mèche de la lampe nécessaire à l'incantation doit être un morceau de lin fin, sur lequel on aura écrit au préalable les deux palindromes d'Aberamenthō et d'Aemina (294) :

αβεραμενθωουλερθεξαναξεθρενλυοωθνεμαραιβαι ;

l'incantation à Apollon *anax* qui suit assimile le dieu héliaque aux anges du «grand Zeus» : Michel et Gabriel, et aux noms divins : Abrasax, Aiôn, Adonaios et Eloaios.

7. Une recette pour s'emparer d'un voleur, dans le P. Lond. 46 (= V P.), présente une invocation à Hermès-Iaō «porte-lumière», qui se termine par la double récitation du palindrome d'Aberamenthō accompagnant le rite sacrificiel (178-179) :

αβεραμενθωουλερθεξεναξσονελυσωθνεμαρεβα.

8. Le logos complet d'Aberamenthō revient à deux reprises dans une recette de ligature (*kátokhos*), utilisable en toute occasion, du P. Osl. 1 (= XXXVI P.) ; sur une tablette de plomb doivent être gravés les noms de Seth et le grand palindrome entourant la figure typhonienne (7-8) :

αβερραμενθωουλερθ[ε]ξαναξεθρελυοωθμεμαρεβα ;

le texte ajoute : τοῦ Σήθ et répète la formule à droite de la figure séthienne (10-14) en changeant αβε... en ιαβε... et μεμα... en νεμα...

9. Une présentation et un contexte similaires se lisent dans le P. Iand. 87 (= LVIII P.) où il est recommandé au praticien de lécher à la pleine lune la tablette de plomb qui porte gravés les noms typhoniens s'achevant par l'incantation du palindrome (36-39) :

αμενθωου[λερ]θεξαναξ[εθρ]ελυωθ[νε]μαρεβα.

10. Pour l'amant dépité qui veut se venger de sa maîtresse, une recette du codex grec de Paris (= IV P.) recommande de dessiner sur une brique crue un âne au galop enduit de sang de porc et de suc d'oignon, puis d'inscrire sur la brique, en même temps que la prière à Typhon «qui ébranle le monde» son «grand et honorable nom», c'est-à-dire le logos d'Aberamenthō (3272), en conséquence de quoi la femme désirée sera frappée du «mouvement de la mer», c'est-à-dire deviendra totalement insomniaque.

11. Écrite sous forme d'un billet de Nephōtēs à Psammētique roi d'Égypte et dans le but d'obtenir un oracle par lécanomancie, une recette du même codex énumère titres et fonctions de Typhon «porte-sceptre» et «dieu des dieux»; il est proclamé ἄναξ (181) puis le document ajoute immédiatement: αβεραμενθωου λόγος, autrement dit le praticien doit réciter alors le palindrome d'Aberamenthō, grâce auquel, au terme de l'invocation, il deviendra maître de l'ἰσόθεος φύσις (220), c'est-à-dire de la puissance magique qui rend égal aux dieux et contraint à manifestation.

12. Dans le rouleau démotique de Londres et de Leyde, édité par F. Ll. Griffith et H. Thompson et daté paléographiquement de la fin du II^e^ ou du début du III^e^ s., une imprécation grecque conservée dans la partie du rouleau appartenant au Musée de Leyde (J 383, col. xxiii = XIV P.), contient une liste de noms typhoniens servant à exprimer l'αὐθεντικὸν ὄνομα, c'est-à-dire le nom souverain en efficacité et absolument décisif grâce auquel tout ennemi personnel sera réduit à l'impuissance par une fièvre carabinée. La liste des noms imparables des divinités acolytes de Seth dans l'outre-tombe, parmi lesquels sont nommés Sōrō, Neboutosoualēth, Aktiōphi et Ereshkigal, se clôt par l'énoncé du logos complet d'Aberamenthō suivi des syllabes liminaires du palindrome d'Aemina (24):

αβεραμενθωουλερθεξαναξεθρελυωθνεμαρεβα.

13. Une imprécation contenue dans le P. Cairo 10563, récemment réédité par A. Henrichs (= LIX P.), prévoit qu'Isis accablera de châtiments tout violeur de la tombe de son orant défunt: Phteious appelé aussi Saïonēis, fils de Sentaēsis; le texte de l'invocation précédant la menace se compose d'une double série de quatre appels typhoniens suivis de quatre palindromes. «Toi, l'esclave du glorieux Ablanathanalba; toi, le serviteur du beau dieu Akrammakhamarei; toi, l'esclave de Iaeō Sabaō Abrasax Adonai; toi, le serviteur des dieux beaux et glorieux». Suit la grande tétrade à formation rétrograde: Aberamenthō en tête, puis Aemina et Erēkisith, enfin Iaeō. Le palindrome d'Aberamenthō, qui ouvre la série, s'énonce ainsi (6) en lecture continue:

α[βε]ραμενθωο[υλερθ]εξαναξεθρελ[υ]οωθνεμαρεβα.

Ces emplois du palindrome dans le domaine gréco-égyptien appellent quelques observations. La composition de la formule est constante en dépit de corruptions minimes. Sa lecture par aller et retour en fait par excellence un outil utilisable dans le contexte des représentations et personnifications du cycle astral et solaire (**1-7**); quant à son emploi dans les imprécations typhoniennes (**8-13**), il reste un produit du syncrétisme, lié essentiellement à la croyance à l'efficacité souveraine de son incantation et non à la nature des éléments qui le composent. Les manipulateurs antiques ont relevé dans sa facture les deux unités significatives suivantes : le patronyme divin énoncé par la formule est Thot (**3** et **4**) avec son titre grec : ἄναξ (**6** et **11**).

Or, étant donné la consonance «hébraïque» de la formule entière (cf. **1**) et les titres de «créateur des eaux», «dominateur de la mer», «en saillie sur l'océan» (**5. 4. 3.**) attribués à Thot-Hélios, l'ensemble du palindrome peut être interprété comme une formulation de la démiurgie de Thot sur le domaine de l'eau.

Ainsi, αβερα-μεν apparaît comme une transcription de l'hébreu אביר מים «fort» ou «puissant des eaux» (en lecture inversée après *ánax*); θω(ο)υθ est la forme copte et grécisée du nom du dieu; la seconde forme intervenant après *ánax* est araméenne : θυ(ο)ωθ, cf. P. Boylan, *Thoth the Hermes of Egypt*, Oxford 1922, 4-5; λερθ- est l'abréviation — avec finale -εξ des noms de démons ici imposée par nécessité anagogique — de λερθμιν ou λερθεμινω (cf. IV,3269-70 P., contexte immédiat de **10**), qui est la lecture inversée de מטר אל (non inversée après *ánax*) : «dieu de pluie» ou «dieu rosée», cf. M. Schwab, *Vocabulaire de l'angélologie*, 409; ἄναξ, enfin, est la pièce maîtresse et la plaque tournante du palindrome puisque ce mot proclame la souveraineté du dieu et assure, par la lettre ν, la circularité des phonèmes. De la sorte est obtenue l'interprétation du logos complet : «Puissant des eaux, Thot, dieu de pluie, ô souverain : pluie de Dieu, Thot, aux eaux puissantes».

Le lien entre Thot et les eaux n'est pas une invention du fabricant du palindrome. Le scarabée E 3408, XVIII^{e} Dyn., du Musée du Louvre, étudié par E. Drioton (cf. *ER* 1, 1933, 39-51), met l'inondation du Nil sous la dépendance du dieu-lune : «C'était précisément en qualité de Thot que le roi (= Thoutmosis III) était censé gouverner, du haut du ciel, l'inondation du Nil» (46). A l'appui de cette doctrine de la démiurgie de Thot sur les eaux, Drioton mentionne un passage du ch. 62 du *Livre des morts* selon sa recension d'époque ptolémaïque transmise par le P. Turin 1791, pl. XXIII Lepsius, dans lequel le Nil est appelé *ḳbḥw ḏḥwty*, «domaine de l'eau de Thot».

Or un tel remaniement du texte dans le sens du syncrétisme n'est pas aussi isolé et tardif que le pensait Drioton. Mme M. Bellion me signale que l'expression est attestée entre XXVIe Dyn. et époque ptolémaïque dans la table d'offrandes Guimet n° 5, cf. J. Capart, *Recueil de monuments égyptiens*, I, Bruxelles 1902, pl. XLVIII; sous la XIXe Dyn. dans la recension du même ch. 62 du *Livre des morts* transmise par le P. Louvre 3092 (III 93), cf. S. Ratié dans *IFAO* Bibl. d'Ét. 43, Le Caire 1963; sous la XVIIIe Dyn. — donc contemporain du scarabée E — dans la recension du même passage du *Livre des morts* transmise par le P. Nebseni, Br. Mus. 9900, cf. Naville, *Das aegyptische Todtenbuch*, II, Berlin 1886, pl. 128 Aa; dans les *Coffin Texts*, enfin, de la XIIe Dyn., cf. A. de Buck, *The Egyptian CT*, V, 8d, spell 356.

L'antique assimilation de Rê par Thot comme démiurge et maître de l'eau a donc perduré jusqu'à l'époque gréco-romaine où Hermès est aussi Hélios (**3. 4. 7.**), «souverain du monde» et «créateur des eaux» (**5**), «seigneur de l'Aiôn» et «de tout part entouré d'eau» ainsi que le déclare un fragment du Ve livre des *Ptolemaïka* cité dans le P. Leid. W (= XIII 982. 991 P.). Née sous le Moyen Empire et restée vivace dans les grimoires, cette tradition d'Hermès gardien du domaine de l'eau sera recueillie par les homérisants allégoristes et les doxographes platoniciens. Dans le Περὶ ἀγαλμάτων, Porphyre lui aussi fait d'Hermès le logos créateur et interprète de toutes choses (17*, 15 Bidez). Trois siècles plus tard, sous Justinien, Jean Lydus entend encore dire qu'Hermès est celui qui préside aux eaux : ἔφορον τῶν ὑδάτων (*De mensibus* IV,76; 129,5 Wünsch)!

De la sorte, l'assimilation de Jésus à Aberamenthō proposée par l'Askewianus n'est ni abstruse ni fantaisiste. Elle prend place dans l'histoire des interprètes de cette tradition. La mention du plus beau des palindromes accolée au nom de Jésus a un sens immédiatement saisissable dans le texte et le contexte. Jésus est Aberamenthō parce qu'il exerce la fonction d'Hermès-Thot comme souverain de tous les στοιχεῖα, lettres et éléments. Il est le maître de l'alphabet parce que, dieu du verbe comme Hermès, il possède la science d'incanter les voyelles divines et les noms sacrés (cf. 353,9-12; 353,25-354,1 Schmidt). Il est le maître des éléments parce que, *ánax* du domaine liquide comme

Thot, il marche sur la mer (*Mt* 14, 25-26), sur les flots de la mer (T^{syr}), sur l'eau (T^{ar}); de là vient que l'auteur gnostique le fait se tenir sur l'eau de l'océan (353,6-7 Schmidt). C'est donc à bon droit que Jésus peut être proclamé logos d'Aberamenthō (p. 354,8 Sch.) puisqu'il personnifie la puissance souveraine que les papyrus attribuent à ce palindrome. Sa parole est acte, et ce que son verbe dit, la machinerie cosmique l'exécute aussitôt (cf. 354, 9-18).

La culture de celui qui composa le palindrome et celle du rédacteur de la partie finale de l'Askewianus sont identiques : une Égypte où un rabbin peut fabriquer pour son consultant païen une formule magique qui énonce la doxologie de Thot dans la langue de celui qui «étend sa main sur la mer» (*Ex* 14, 26-27) et où un didascale chrétien peut rédiger pour ses auditeurs un texte de révélation proclamant la doxologie de Jésus dans le langage de la clientèle des magiciens.

L'ICONOGRAPHIE D'ATTIS MOURANT

MAARTEN J. VERMASEREN
(Utrecht)

Après la publication des volumes III et IV du *Corpus Cultus Cybelae Attidisque* qui traitent les monuments de l'Italie et surtout de leurs centres principaux, Rome et Ostie,[1] et après la publication de mon livre *Cybele and Attis, the Myth and the Cult*,[2] M. le Docteur Federico Zeri, citoyen de la ville moderne de Mentana, la ville antique de Nomentum, a eu l'extrême obligeance de m'écrire qu'il est en possession d'une nouvelle statue, inédite, d'un Attis mourant; ensuite il a bien voulu m'en envoyer des photographies (Pls I-II) et me permettre d'en donner la première publication. La statuette, que j'ai pu étudier en 1978 pendant une visite inoubliable à cette riche collection du Dr F. Zeri,[3] est en marbre blanc (hauteur 0.26; longeur 0.54) et elle a été trouvée il y a beaucoup d'années dans le Tibre, entre Rome et Ostie. La statuette doit donc avoir appartenu à un petit Métroon ou Attideum situé dans un des multiples villages qui longent la rive gauche du Tibre et la Via Ostiensis. Après la déstruction du sanctuaire probablement par les Chrétiens, on a jeté ce témoignage précieux d'un culte détesté dans la fleuve, comme on l'avait fait parfois avec les corps de certains Empereurs mauvais. On trouve d'ailleurs des traces de cette déstruction violente, surtout sur la partie gauche de la tête d'Attis jadis soutenue par sa main gauche; les deux jambes et les pieds manquent encore, ainsi que la plus grande partie du bras droit. Le jeune berger est couché sur un rocher, ce qui lui permet de faire reposer la tête

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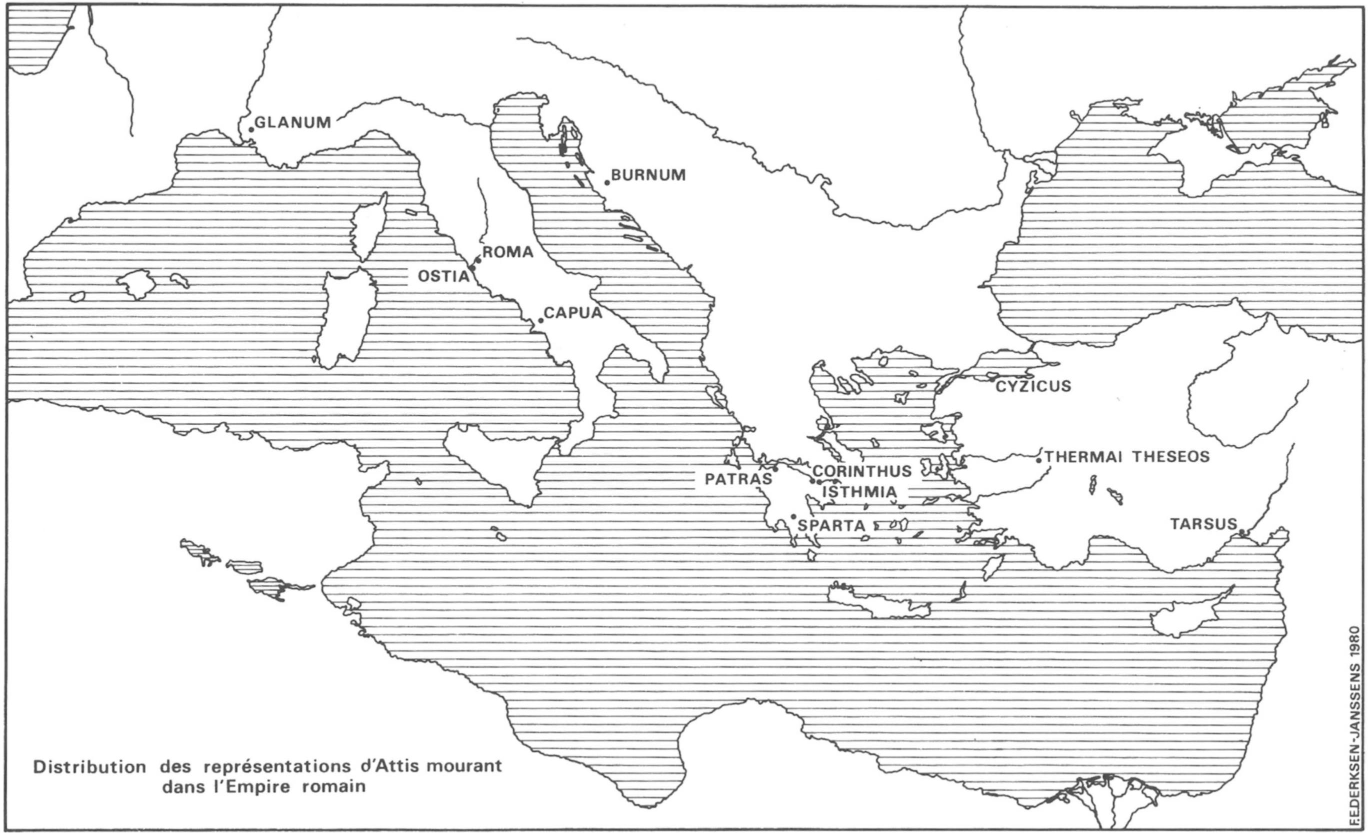
[1] M. J. Vermaseren, *Corpus Cultus Cybelae Attidisque* (*CCCA*) (EPRO 50), Leiden 1977^{ss}: I *Asia Minor*; II *Graecia atque insulae* (en préparation); III *Italia-Latium*, Leiden 1977; IV *Italia-aliae provinciae*, Leiden 1978; V *Africa*, *Hispania*, *Gallia*, *Britannia*; VI *Germania et aliae provinciae*; VII *Musea et collectiones privatae*, Leiden 1977; VIII *Gemmae atque monetae*; IX *Addenda et indices.*

[2] London 1977.

[3] Sur cette collection *cf.* C. Pala, *Nomentum* (Forma Italiae, Reg. I, vol. XII), Roma 1976. Les photographies (Planches I et II) ont été exécutées par l'Institut allemand à Rome.



GLANUM
BURNUM
ROMA
OSTIA
CAPUA
CYZICUS
THERMAI THESEOS
PATRAS
CORINTHUS
ISTHMIA
SPARTA
TARSUS
F.EDERKSEN-JANSSENS 1980

Distribution des représentations d'Attis mourant dans l'Empire romain dans une position naturelle. Il est habillé d'un vêtement oriental qui se compose d'un bonnet phrygien dont les couvre-oreilles ont été conservés pour la plus grande partie, d'une *tunica manicata* entourée d'une large ceinture, et d'un manteau couvrant les épaules. Ce vêtement montre partout des plis profonds faits au foret. La jambe droite doit avoir reposé sur la jambe gauche inclinée sur laquelle on peut observer encore une partie des *anaxyrides*. Ainsi même l'Attis couché a les jambes croisées comme sur les représentations habituelles du dieu debout.[4] Sur le lit rocheux et près de la tête d'Attis, on voit le *pedum* et une *syrinx* avec sept tuyaux, mais en cet endroit le rocher est partiellement endommagé. Une corde montre que cet instrument musical pourrait éventuellement avoir été attaché à une branche d'un arbre, un pin ou cyprès, comme on peut l'observer sur d'autres monuments du culte métroaque.[5] Dans sa main droite, qui repose sur la cuisse, Attis tient un épi de blé et une branche terminée par des graines de pavots. Même si le sculpteur a créé une statue un peu académique, le visage du dieu est toutefois impressionant: la bouche mi-ouverte, le large nez oriental, les yeux ouverts et nerveux, les longues boucles de cheveux nous montrent un jeune homme qui meurt trop tôt sur les rives du fleuve Gallus ou Sangarius en Asie Mineure, fleuve maintenant remplaçé par le Tibre.[6] Les yeux ouverts indiqués par un cercle et un petit trou dans le centre permettent de dater la sculpture des dernières décennies du troisième siècle de notre ère. Aussi la statue appartient à un groupe de représentations d'Attis mourant dont les monuments les plus importants en Italie ont été trouvés justement en Ostie.

Nous savons par les auteurs antiques,[7] spécialement par le poète

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[4] Sur l'iconographie d'Attis *cf.* M.J. Vermaseren, *The Legend of Attis in Greek and Roman Art* (EPRO 9), Leiden 1966; idem, *Iconografia e iconologia di Attis in Italia*, dans *Studi Romagnoli* 27, 1976, 47-62.

[5] *CCCA* III, index.

[6] *Cf.* le texte de Pline, *NH*, XXXI,5,9 = p. 30 *ed.* G. Serbat (et pas 2,9 comme est mentionné dans *CCCA* IV, no 104) qui compare les sources de Venafrum avec celles du Gallus. En général, voyez Fr. di Capua, *Un epigrafe stabiese e il culto della «Deum Mater» presso le sorgenti di acque minerali*, dans *Rend. Acc. Napoli* XXI, 1941, 75-85 avec bibliographie antérieure.

[7] En général M.J. Vermaseren, *Legend*, 3 ss; *Cybele and Attis*, 90 ss.

Ovide[8] et par l'apologiste Arnobe,[9] que la légende la plus connue sur les relations amoureuses de Cybèle et d'Attis était transmise par les prêtres du sanctuaire de Pessinus où se trouvait le centre du culte métroaque en Asie Mineure. Le beau berger phrygien doit mourir parce qu'il est devenu infidèle à la Grande Déesse-Mère dont il est le protégé ou le fils et l'amant favori.[10] Son amour pour une simple Nymphe, pas du tout comparable à une Déesse majestueuse, devait devenir ainsi une passion désastreuse qui causera sa mort. Devenu fou par la jalousie de Cybèle, il en arrive à s'émasculer; il meurt couché sous un pin, sur un rocher auquel son sang donnera maintenant pour toujours une couleur rouge.[11] Des fleurs et spécialement des violettes naissent également du sang coulant. Les auteurs ne racontent pas expressivement que le jeune victime renaîtra mais Attis semble en tout cas appartenir à cette fameuse catégorie des divinités qui chaque année, après l'hiver, s'éveillent de nouveau et donnent de la fertilité au pays. Les artistes aussi reproduisent la version pessinuntienne de la légende et parfois ils y ajoutent des traits intéressants et réalistes: ainsi selon une tradition ancienne, ils représentent sur des reliefs, des statues ou des lampes le malheureux Attis mourant trop jeune et couché, comme un fils unique et déploré sur une peinture d'une tombe étrusque ou sur le couvercle d'un sarcophage romain.[12] Quand les sculpteurs furent obligés d'exécuter pour la première fois une représentation d'Attis mourant, ils ont donc trouvé dans leur entourage immédiat des prototypes existants qu'ils ont dû seulement adapter à la légende phrygienne. Aussi les artistes romains font parfois une allusion à l'éviration, acte détesté et même défendu par les Romains.[13] Mais dans notre nouvelle statue, cet élément est absent et la scène est harmonieuse et tranquille. Attis donne plutôt l'impression qu'il s'est réveillé après un long sommeil hivernal et qu'il apporte aux habitants du pays les nouveaux épis du blé, sinon il tiendrait également une branche de pavots, symbole du royaume des morts.[14] On pourrait attribuer à la même série deux terres cuites provenant respectivement de S. Maria Capua Vetere et de Tarsos (?) en Asie Mineure. La première a été trouvée il y a un siècle dans une nécropole située près d'un temple dans le village Curti (près de Capoue) et est actuellement perdue.[15] Mais selon un dessin conservé, la terre cuite représente Attis étendu sur un rocher. Le dieu porte le bonnet phrygien et une longue *tunica manicata*; il tient dans ses mains un masque barbu, probablement celui d'un dieu fluvial, qui doit faire une allusion à sa mort près du fleuve Sangarius. Il n'est pas du tout impossible — mais nous ne le savons pas — que cette statuette ait été mise dans la tombe d'un jeune homme pour l'identifier avec le jeune berger phrygien. La seconde statuette[16] fait partie d'une lampe sur laquelle Attis, en costume oriental, se repose et tient dans ses mains une grande torche. Ce dernier trait ne se rencontre pas sur d'autres monuments d'Attis mourant et l'on peut donc se demander si elle représente effectivement les derniers moments du dieu. D'autre part une petite sculpture provenante de l'Attideum d'Ostie[17] appartient sans aucun doute au même groupe. Ce monument, daté du second siècle après J.C., montre un Attis en costume oriental avec ceinture, étendu sur un lit rocheux avec coussinet comme sur les monuments précédents, mais maintenant

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[8] Ovid., *Fasti*, IV, 179 ss; *Met.*, VIII, 751; *Met.*, X, 103 ss; *Ibis*, 505 s; *cf.* Vermaseren, *Legend*, 32.

[9] Paus., VII,17; Arnobius, *Adv. Nat.*, V,5-7.

[10] Voyez aussi n. 27 (Attis fils).

[11] Stace, *Silv.*, I,5, 36-41, *cf.* sur ce texte L. Robert, *Maesta Synnas*, *Stace*, *Attis et les monnaies*, dans *JS* 1962, 43-55.

[12] Voyez p.e. un couvercle d'un sarcophage de l'ancien Musée de Latran: O. Benndorf-R. Schöne, *Die antiken Bildwerke des Lateranischen Museums*, Leipzig 1867, no 501; Fr. Cumont, *Recherches sur le Symbolisme funéraire des Romains*, Paris 1942, 400 et Pl. XLII,1; Helbig, *Führer* I^4, Tübingen 1963, 725 no 1011 (troisième siècle). Voyez ici Pl. III,1.

[13] *Dig.*, XLVIII,8,4,2 (= II, p. 820 *ed.* Th. Mommsen): «*nemo liberum servumve invitum sinentemve castrare debet*, *neve quis se sponte castrandum praebere debet*».

Cf. Th. Mommsen, *Römisches Strafrecht*, Leipzig 1899; Graz 1955^2, 637 avec n. 5 pour les auteurs romains (spécialement Suet., *Dom.*, 7); Fr. Cumont, *Rel. or.*^{4}, 48 et 223 n. 9; Hitzig dans *PWRE* III, 1772 *s.v.* castratio; Hug dans *PWRE* III (Suppl.), 450 s *s.v.* Eunuchen. Voyez aussi P.W. van der Horst, *The Sentences of Pseudo-Phocylides*, Leiden 1978, 235 s no 187: «Cut not a youth's masculine procreative faculty» avec bibliographie. Un cas intéressant est mentionné par Iustin, *Apol.*, I,29 (sous Felix, préfet d'Egypte entre 150-153). Pour l'éviration dans les Sentences de Sextus *cf.* R. van den Broek, *Niet-Gnostisch Christendom in Alexandrië voor Clemens en Origenes*, dans *NTT* 33, 1979, 287-299, spécialement 292 s.

[14] Sur le symbolisme des pavots: Cumont, *Symb. fun.*, 219 n. 4; 397 ss.

[15] *CCCA* IV, no 92 et fig. 7.

[16] Vermaseren, *Legend*, 34 n. 5 and Pl. XX. Le monument sera publié de nouveau dans *CCCA* I.

[17] *CCCA* III, no 378.

il tient dans sa main gauche une *syrinx*, près de ses pieds on voit une paire de cymbales et sur le rocher une double flûte est représentée. Ces instruments musicaux et leur musique énervante l'ont porté à la folie qui a causé son éviration et sa mort. Mais comme sur le nouveau monument, ce trait cruel de l'émasculation est omis; le sculpteur se contente de montrer la mort du dieu phrygien mais pas la cause.

Il est intéressant de noter que ce même type «paisible» est connu également en Asie Mineure et en Grèce. Dans la même période donc les artistes suivent un certain dessin très répandu. Les monnaies de Cyzique,[18] une ville où comme dans toute la province de Phrygie le culte métroaque est bien attesté, montrent pendant la période des Antonins Attis couché sur la terre. Ses vêtements, une *tunica manicata* et des *anaxyrides*, sont ornés d'étoiles; dans sa main droite allongée il tient une patère et il fait reposer son bras gauche sur une ciste. Dans le fait que les jambes croisées d'Attis ont été liées avec une chaîne, M. H. von Fritze voit une confirmation d'une texte de Plutarque,[19] qui raconte que selon une légende des Paphlagoniens, le jeune dieu est lié et dort pendant l'hiver pour se réveiller au commencement du printemps. Mais il y a aussi d'autres monnaies de la même ville sur lesquelles on peut voir Attis dans la même attitude couchée, mais cette fois les *anaxyrides* sont ouvertes pour montrer bien le ventre. On retrouve ce trait caractéristique qui veut mettre en relief soit l'éviration soit la bisexualité sur beaucoup de représentations d'Attis androgyne. Les étoiles sur les vêtements montrent d'autre part qu'Attis est devenu à la fin du deuxième siècle une divinité cosmique.[20]

Des fouilles en Grèce nous ont fait connaître trois lampes d'Attis étendu; elles ont été fabriquées à Corinthe mais découvertes respectivement à Sparte, Patras et Isthmie. Elles datent de la fin du deuxième ou du commencement du troisième siècle. Les lampes ont été étudiées récemment par Philippe Bruneau[21] et par Oscar Broneer,[22] qui a

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[18] H. von Fritze, *Der Attiskult in Kyzikos*, dans *Nomisma* IV, 1909, 30 ss; Vermaseren, *Legend*, 32 s.

[19] Plut., *Is. et Os.*, 69 (= p. 226 *ed.* J. Gwyn Griffiths).

[20] *Cf.* Vermaseren, *Legend*, 50 s and Pl. XXXII,1 and 33 n. 1.

[21] Ph. Bruneau, *Lampes Corinthiennes*, dans *BCH* XCV, 1971 - II,437-501, spécialement 483 ss no 46 avec figs 46-50.

[22] O. Broneer, *Isthmia* III. *Terracotta Lamps*, Princeton 1977, 70 no 2842. Ces lampes seront publiées de nouveau dans *CCCA* II.

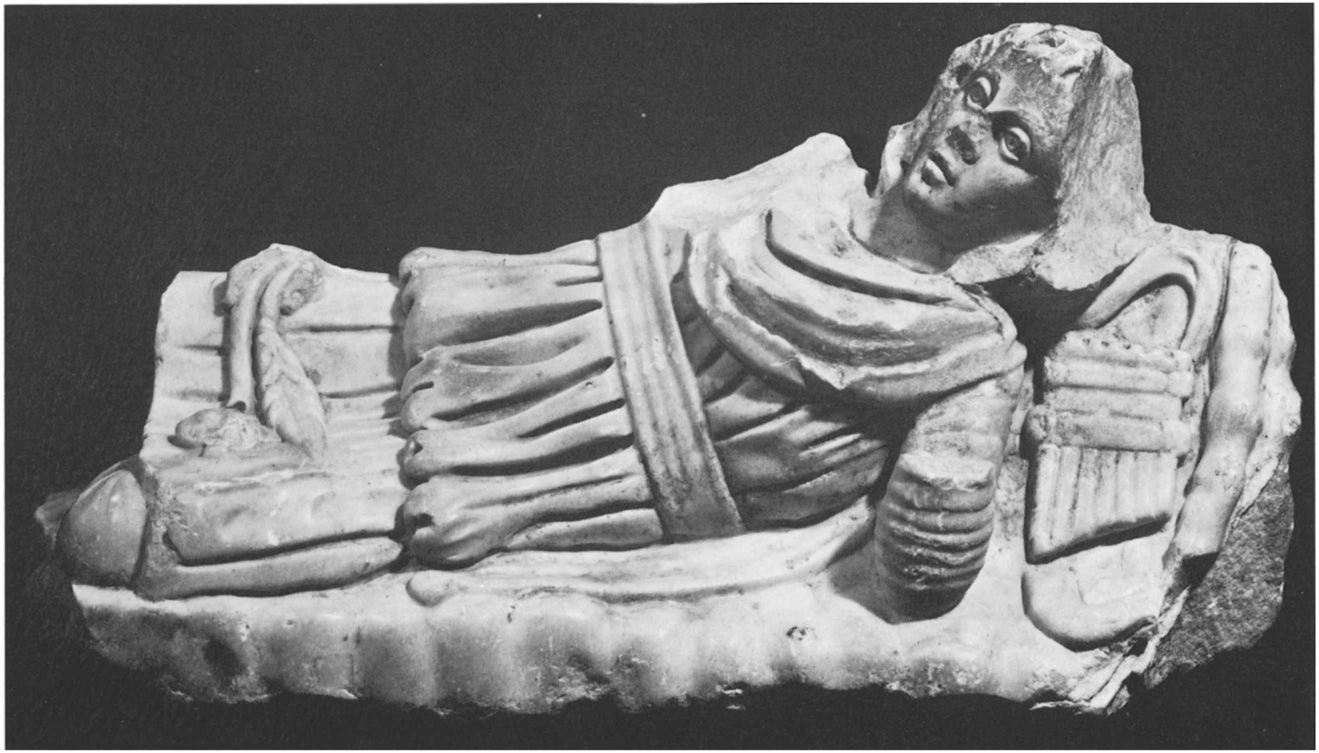

Plate I

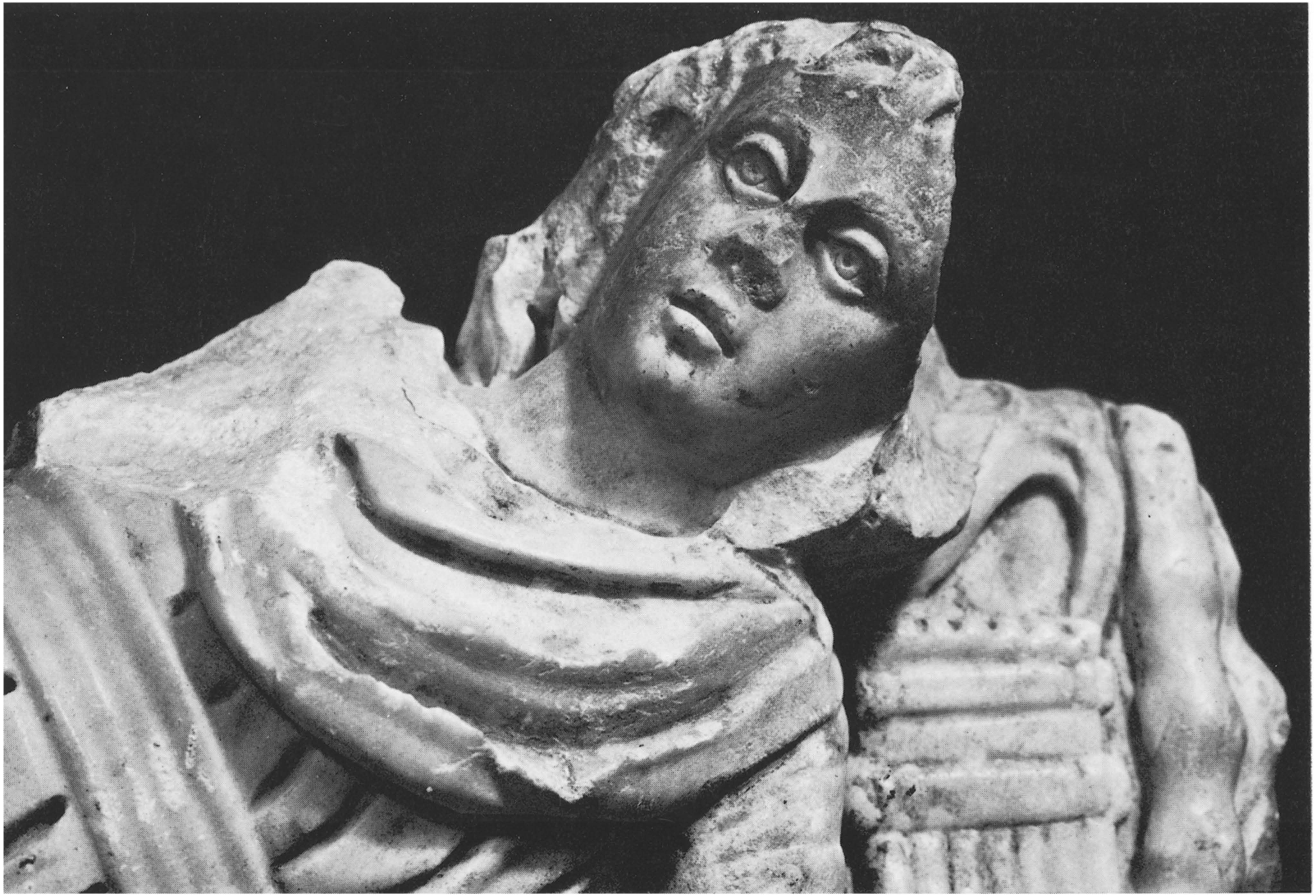

Plate II

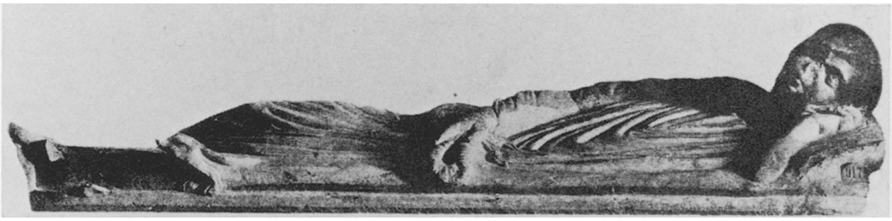

Plate III, 1

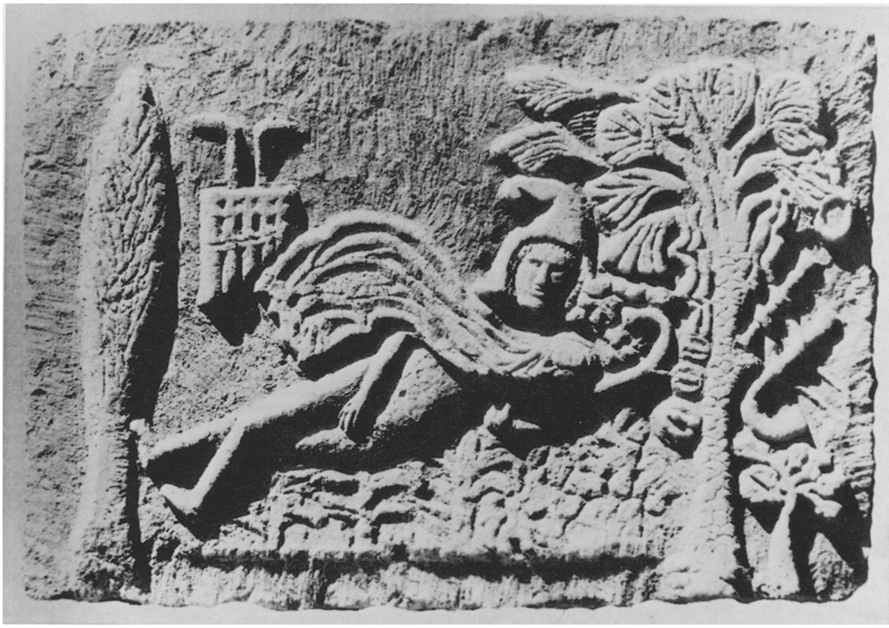

Plate III, 2

découvert l'exemplaire tout original dans des fouilles à Isthmie, actuellement poursuivies par P.A. Clement. Les deux lampes de Patras et de Sparte sont d'une même *patrix* et portent respectivement les signatures des pottiers P(h)osphoros et Preimos. Elles appartiennent au type «paisible»: Attis est à demi étendu sous un arbre; il est presque nu, parce qu'il porte seulement le bonnet phrygien et un manteau qui couvre les épaules et les hanches. Il a les jambes croisées et il porte des sandales. La main droite repose sur sa cuisse gauche comme s'il voulait dissimuler son sexe; il tient dans la main gauche un *pedum*. Il semble qu'une paire de cymbales soit suspendue aux branches de l'arbre; dans le champ on voit une *syrinx*, une flûte droite, une flûte courbée et sous la main du dieu un *tympanum*. Sur le bord de la lampe il y a une rangée de feuilles de vignes alternant avec des grappes. Selon M. Broneer, la lampe de Patras est un moulage de la lampe de Sparte, maintenant à Berlin. Mais la lampe d'Isthmie représente un autre type plus compliqué parce qu'on voit maintenant Attis mourant en présence de Cybèle assise sur un trône flanqué de deux lions. Le dieu est à demi étendu sous un pin; il est bien reconnaissable à son vêtement phrygien. Il repose sa tête sur son bras gauche; dans sa main droite il tient un *pedum*; en dessous de son corps on voit deux flûtes, une droite et une courbée, tandis qu'une *syrinx* est suspendue à l'arbre. La signature du pottier Sekoundos situe la lampe dans le deuxième siècle de notre ère. Cet objet précieux fut découvert juste au-dessus du niveau du sol appartenant au sanctuaire de Palaimon. Aussi M. Broneer suggère que la lampe «with its allusions to the mystery cult of the Asiatic goddess, would have been an appropriate dedication in the shrine of Palaimon in which nocturnal rites of a mystic nature played a prominent role.»

La lampe d'Isthmie est probablement une copie unique d'un ou de plusieurs reliefs qui, dans un sanctuaire, devaient commémorer ce moment le plus dramatique de la liaison amoureuse de Cybèle et d'Attis. Nous en connaissons deux exemples pas identiques mais au moins comparables qui ne proviennent pas de Grèce mais de la Liburnie, en Yougoslavie, et de Thermai Theseos, dans la partie nord-est de la Lydie. Les sculptures de Burnum, un *castrum* dans l'intérieur de la Liburnie, font partie d'une frise et furent récemment publiés de nouveau par Julijan Medini.[23] Cette frise appartient sans doute à un Métroon, qui, selon les fouilles, «était situé dans la partie occidentale du soi-disant *jeune pretorium*, tandis que son pendant, à la partie Est de l'édifice, était aussi un sanctuaire, consacré, prétend-on, à Vénus ou bien à Rome, et orné de séquences du mythe d'Adonis. On considère, à juste titre, que les deux sanctuaires étaient en rapport avec le culte impérial.» Ces reliefs, partiellement perdus, et le sanctuaire sont difficilement datables, mais personellement je suppose qu'une date se rapprochant de la fin du deuxième siècle est probable.[24] Selon Medini «la frise représentait une suite d'au moins quatre scènes particulières, séparées l'une de l'autre par une bande plastique et dans la scène du champ droit, aux dimensions les plus étendues, Cybèle se tient à gauche, à demi tournée vers Attis couché sous un arbre, et appuyé contre celui-ci.»

Un deuxième ensemble est constitué par les trois reliefs rupestres, mal conservés, découverts près d'un sanctuaire thermal à Thermai Theseos (actuellement Hamam). Ces reliefs sont déjà connus depuis longtemps.[25] Il semble qu'ici un affluent du fleuve Hermos soit identifié avec le Gallos ou le Sangarios, parce qu'on peut distinguer sur un des reliefs, connu aussi par un dessin du siècle passé, deux femmes, sans doute Cybèle et une Nymphe qui, les bras levés, se lamentent près du corps d'Attis étendu sur une litière. On a supposé qu'un homme avec tunique courte était aussi présent. La scène est comme celle de Burnum et devait inspirer les fidèles pendant les fêtes de douleur et de joie commémorant surtout les moments les plus heureux et tristes de ce beau garçon-dieu qui n'a pu rester fidèle à sa passion pour la déesse impérieure et exigeante. Il est intéressant de noter que naguère M. Peter Hermann[26] a pu publier une petite statuette (hauteur 0.18; largeur 0.48, donc un peu plus petit que la nouvelle statue de la collection Zeri) en marbre qui aurait été découverte au-dessus des reliefs rupestres puis transportée à Şehitlioğlu, situé à un k.m. de distance de Hamam. La statuette représente Attis à demi étendu mais la tête et la partie supérieure du corps sont perdues. Le dieu est vêtu d'une tunique, d'un manteau et des *anaxyrides* et il a les jambes croisées. On n'y voit pas d'instruments musicaux. Sur la base, se lit une épigramme dont les trois premières lignes, bien conservées sont reproduites ci-dessous :

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[23] Les publications les plus importantes de cette frise sont de E. Reisch, *Das Standlager von Burnum*, dans *JÖAI* XVI, 1913 (*Beiblatt*), 112 ss et surtout les cols 119-122 avec figs 33 et 34 et de J. Medini, *Le culte de Cybèle dans la Liburnie antique*, dans *Homm. Maarten J. Vermaseren* II (EPRO 68), Leiden 1978, 732-756 et surtout 744-746 avec Pl. CLV,1.

[24] La preuve que Burnum n'était plus un centre militaire au deuxième siècle (Medini, 746 n. 23) n'est pas décisive pour la date des reliefs.

[25] Voyez un dessin dans S. Reinach, *Voyage archéologique en Grèce et en Asie Mineure de M.P. Le Bas*, Paris 1888; P. Hermann dans *Denkschr. Ak. Wien* 80, 1962, 43 et Pl. XI,3; Vermaseren, *Attis*, 8, 32; Karwiese dans *JÖAI* 1971, 54 et fig. 3 après Le Bas. Les reliefs seront publiés de nouveau avec la bibliographie antérieure dans *CCCA* I (Asia Minor).

Μητέρος ἀθανάτων Φρύγιον θάλος ἀγλαὸν Ἄττην
ἄντρῳ ἐνὶ ζαθέῳ, γείτονα Ναϊαδων,
εἴδρυσεν κλείδουσα Οὐαλέντιλλ’ εὐπατέρεια.

Le savant éditeur de cette inscription a déjà noté quelques observations précieuses. D'abord Attis est mis en scène comme phrygien — la version phrygienne donc de la légende était la plus répandue et suivie — et comme descendant, c'est à dire comme fils de la Mère des dieux elle-même. Cette version est surtout connue par Lucien mais aussi par d'autres auteurs.[27] Le dieu est vénéré dans une grotte sacrée[28] et ici dans une grotte voisine aux Naïades,[29] des Nymphes aquatiques et surtout des sources. La dédicace de cette statuette a été faite par Curtia Iulia Valentilla[30] que nous connaissons aussi par d'autres inscriptions de cette région où sa famille possédait des terrains. Elle est la fille d'un Curtius Iulius Priscus[31] qui a été *archon Sardianorum* et *consularis* pendant la règne de Septime Sévère.

Retournons à Ostie et à Rome, où doit se situer l'atelier de la nouvelle «statuette Zeri» et où les fouilles de l'Attidéum par Monsieur Guido

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[26] P. Hermann, *Ergebnisse einer Reise in Nordostlydien*, dans *Denschr. Ak. Wien* (philos.-hist. Klasse) 80, 1962, 43 ss, no 36 et Pl. XI,1. Le monument sera repris dans *CCCA* I (Asia Minor).

[27] *Cf.* Vermaseren, *Attis*, 9; Scholia ad Luc., *Iup. trag.*, 8 (p. 60, 13 *ed.* Rabe); *cf.* Mên comme fils de Cybèle sur une inscription de Kula (?) : E. Schwertheim dans *Ist. Mitt.* 25, 1975, 357-365 et Pl. 66.

[28] Pour la grotte sacrée en général : D.M. Pippidi, *Grottes dionysiaques à Callatis*, dans *BCH* LXXXVIII, 1964, 151-158 avec bibliographie.

[29] Pour les Naiades *cf.* L. Robert dans *Hellenica* II,100; *Hellenica* IV, 8 ss; 78 ss.

[30] Groag-Stein, *PIR* II^2, 395, no 1622.

[31] Groag-Stein, *PIR* II^2, 389, no 1596.

Calza ont mis au jour deux autres statues d'Attis couché qui toutes les deux montrent une grande originalité de conception artistique. Ces deux monuments montrent également un certain antagonisme: l'un reproduit le type «paisible», sans mettre l'accent sur l'éviration, tandis que l'autre représente justement cet acte de la manière la plus réaliste.[32] Cette scène cruelle se déroule aux bords du fleuve Sangarius ou Gallos, maintenant remplacé par le Tibre parce qu'on y voit le masque barbu du dieu fluvial au milieu d'un taureau et d'une vache ou d'un mouton, puis il y a un bouc et un coq. Au-dessus de ce paysage rustique et des animaux symboliques du culte métroaque, Attis est étendu au moment de sa mort tragique. Il tient le bras droit avec le *pedum* derrière sa tête pour la soutenir mieux. Entre ses jambes on aperçoit la faucille (*falx*) et les testicules. Derrière Attis mourant, il y a un second berger phrygien debout. Doit-on l'identifier aussi avec Attis quelques instants avant sa castration sous cet arbre symbolique plein de fruits automnaux, ou annonce-t-il plutôt un nouvel Attis et est-ce pour cette raison qu'il est représenté plus petit que le personnage central?

L'autre statue,[33] beaucoup plus grande mais également datée du deuxième siècle, exhale quand-même une atmosphère différente, tout en ayant des affinités avec les représentations d'Attis mourant. La statue montre plutôt un dieu philosophique et cosmique, un dieu qui doit être venéré parce qu'il est devenu éternel par sa mort, un dieu donc qui pour ses fidèles est devenu victorieux par son retour. Le lit rocheux, le masque barbu sur lequel Attis fait reposer son bras gauche avec le *pedum* nous déplacent de nouveau immédiatement aux bords du fleuve. Le beau corps juvénile du dieu est seulement couvert par un manteau sur les épaules et les jambes afin de mieux montrer son hermaphroditisme. Le visage a des traits féminins; autour de ses longues boucles de cheveux, Attis porte une couronne de fruits; le bonnet phrygien est entouré de cinq rayons de soleil; sur le haut du bonnet repose un croissant lunaire d'où émergent deux épis de blé; dans sa main droite il tient des épis de blé, des pommes de pin et des pavots.

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[32] *CCCA* III, no 384.

[33] *CCCA* III, no 394.

On peut donc remarquer que généralement, le dieu mourant porte des vêtements orientaux mais plusieurs fois aussi les artistes préfèrent montrer son corps apollinien ou dionysiaque. Nous avons déjà vu ce trait sur les lampes de Sparte et de Patras, toutes les deux fabriquées à Corinthe, et de nouveau sur ce fameux monument d'Ostie dédié par C. Cartilius Euplus, qui dédia maintes statues dans le grand complexe triangulaire et nous pourrons l'observer aussi sur un relief provenant de Glanum (St. Rémy en Provence). Ce monument démontre par sa grande ressemblance avec les deux lampes grecques qu'il y avait des prototypes dont les autres représentations ont été dérivées.[34] Toutefois, il y a toujours certaines caractéristiques personnelles de l'artiste. Dans le cas du relief de Glanum, l'artiste provincial a créé un entourage original. Maintenant Attis est étendu avec les jambes croisées sur le sol rocheux parsemé de petites plantes entre deux grands arbres, un cyprès et un palmier, qui tous les deux — on le sait déjà depuis longtemps par les études profondes du grand savant belge Franz Cumont — ont une claire signification funéraire.[35] Sauf un bonnet phrygien et une pèlerine flottante dans le vent chaud du doux pays du Rhône, Attis est nu et avec son bras droit il couvre les particularités de son sexe, A côté du dieu, on trouve le *pedum* du berger; puis alors il y a les instruments musicaux: une large *syrinx* est visible près du cyprès tandis qu'une flûte droite (*tibia*) et une flûte courbée (*cornu*) se trouvent à la droite du palmier. Ce relief aussi date du deuxième siècle.

Celui des fidèles qui imite par excellence dans sa vie terrestre le sort triste qu'a subi le malheureux Attis est naturellement le *gallus*. Aussi nous ne nous étonnons pas quand nous voyons par ailleurs sur le pectoral d'une statue d'un archigallus provenant de Rome,[36] le berger phrygien mourant, servant d'exemple à son prêtre dévoué. Cet ornement a la forme d'un temple et dans le tympan, Attis, avec les jambes croisées, repose sur son flanc gauche. Il semble porter seulement un bonnet phrygien et une pèlerine. On ne peut discerner s'il tient quelque objet dans sa main droite, mais il soutient de la main gauche sa tête inclinée vers le sol. Près de lui il y a une corne (?) et un *pedum*, attributs du berger. Carlo Pietrangeli,[37] qui a consacré une belle publication à cette statue connue depuis la fin de la Renaissance, suggère comme date le troisième siècle.

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[34] Vermaseren, *Legend*, 35 and Pl. XXI,2. Voyez ici Pl. III,2.

[35] Fr. Cumont, *Symb. fun.*, index *s.v.* palme; Cumont, *La stèle du danseur d'Antibes et son décor végétal*, Paris 1942.

[36] *CCCA* III, no 249 et Pls CXL-CXLI. En général G.M. Sanders, *Gallos*, dans *RAC* 8, 1972 *cols* 984-1034; G.M. Sanders, *Les Galles et le Gallat devant l'opinion chrétienne*, dans *Hommages à Maarten J. Vermaseren* III (EPRO 68), Leiden 1978, 1062-1091.

Une autre statue fameuse encore est celle qui fut trouvée par Calza[38] dans les fouilles de la nécropole d'Isola sacra près d'Ostie et qui date de la seconde moitié du troisième siècle. Seul le couvercle du sarcophage est conservé. L'archigalle se repose pour jamais, soutenant sa tête de la main gauche; dans sa main droite il tient une branche de pin; près de ses pieds on voit une *cista mistica* avec serpent. Toujours cette même attitude habituelle du mourant et du mort qui sera transmise par les siècles suivants, jusque dans ces monuments magnifiques de la Renaissance dédiés aux Papes et aux évèques.[39] Mais ces monuments doivent donner l'impression d'un sommeil éternel, avec l'espoir d'une résurrection. Aussi la typologie d'un Attis mort pour toujours, exprimée sur un petit relief de Rome,[40] n'a pas trouvé d'imitations.[41] Toutefois, même ici, l'artiste a déposé à la droite d'Attis un flambeau allumé, symbole de la lumière. Ainsi on peut dire également de la statue Zeri que son trait le plus caractéristique est le symbolisme exprimé par les objets qu'il tient dans la main droite et par lesquels ce petit et beau monument devient immédiatement comparable avec la grande statue cosmique d'Attis dédiée par Euplus : l'épi = la vie et les pavots = la mort; mais on pourrait aisément renverser cet ordre des symboles :[42] la mort et la vie nouvelle!

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[37] C. Pietrangeli, *La statua di un gallus nei Musei Capitolini*, dans *BCR* IX, 1962, 9-15.

[38] *CCCA* III, no 446. *Cf.* nos 447 et 448.

[39] On pourrait penser à la tombe fameuse de Jules II dans l'Église de S. Pietro in Vincoli, *cf.* Charles de Tolnay, *Michelangelo*, Princeton 1975, 98: «the statue of the Pope is a half-reclining figure (neither a Quattrocento corpse, nor sleeping as in the work of Andrea Sansovino) in the pose of a river god. Here Michelangelo repeats a motif of Etruscan tombs, by creating a figure leaning on one elbow.» See also H.E. s'Jacob, *Beschouwingen over Christelijke grafkunst voornamelijk in Frankrijk en Italië*, Leeuwarden 1950; H.E. s'Jacob, *Idealism and Realism, A study of Sepulchral Symbolism*, Leiden 1954.

[40] *CCCA* III, no 309.

[41] Un petit relief en terre cuite trouvé dans la Basilica d'Ephèse et datant probablement de l'époque hellénistique, montre un Attis enfant enveloppé par des bandelettes mais qui ne couvrent pas son sexe. M. Stefan Karwiese explique cette représentation comme un Attis mort (dans *JÖAI* 1971, 50-62), mais personnellement je pense plutôt à un Attis bébé, que l'artiste a clairement voulu caractériser comme une représentation du dieu phrygien. Pour cette terre cuite d'ailleurs unique, comparez les représentations d'Attis bébé dans M.J. Vermaseren, *Attis*, 10 et Pl. I,1.

Quelles perspectives! Vraiment, on peut observer, encore aujourd'hui, comment les paysans de Pessinunte battent le blé en grange sur un endroit circulaire proche de la nécropole de leurs ancêtres.

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[42] *Cf.* D. M. Cosi, *Salvatore e salvezza nei Misteri di Attis*, dans *Aevum* 50, 1976, 42-71.

UNE ANAPHORE INCOMPLÈTE?

Les Fragments sur Papyrus Strasbourg Gr. 254

H. A. J. WEGMAN
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L'anaphore égyptienne ou alexandrine[1] se décèle par les éléments suivants : les supplications avant l'epinikios humnos, une épiclèse avant le récit de l'institution, l'emploi de 1 Cor. 11,26 dans l'anamnèse au sens strict (c'.a.d. l'emploi de καταγγέλλοντες au lieu de μεμνημένοι), une seconde épiclèse à la fin de la prière. Les dits éléments, arrangés ainsi, sont les distinctifs de cette anaphore; l'explication définitive de cet ensemble nous manque jusqu'ici. Pour ma part j'ai essayé d'expliquer ces particularités; je crois d'en avoir trouvé la clef dans les fragments sur papyrus Strasbourg (sigle : Str. gr. 254), édité par M. Andrieu et P. Collomp.[2] Après une réconstruction méticuleuse les auteurs savants nous donnent leur conclusion (p. 512) : «On ne connaissait jusqu'ici la liturgie de Saint Marc que par des manuscrits assez tardifs. Notre papyrus est peut-être sept ou huit siècles plus ancien. Il n'est d'ailleurs lui-même qu'une copie, déjà altérée, et le texte qu'il présente remonte plus haut. On peut, sans témérité, admettre que cette rédaction de l'anaphore de Saint Marc était déjà en circulation au temps de saint Athanase». Le point douteux est la fin du texte : une doxologie 'finale' avant le Sanctus. Les éditeurs du papyrus supposent que le Sanctus, le récit de l'institution, l'anamnèse et l'épiclèse ont fait partie du texte, et que, par conséquent, la prière reconstruite est incomplète. Voici, par contre, mon hypothèse: dans le texte de Str. gr. 254 je crois pouvoir trouver la couche la plus ancienne de la prière eucharistique égyptienne, une couche comparable à l'anaphore reconstruite des Apôtres Addai et Mari de la tradition chaldéenne. Ces vieilles couches de la prière eucharistique montrent beaucoup d'analogie avec la bénédiction de Didachè 10, qui a son tour remonte indirectement à la bénédiction juive, la «birkat ha-mazon». Quoique dégagée du repas, cette prière eucharistique a continué à exister comme descendante de la bénédiction strophique juive.

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[1] L'arrière-fond de l'anaphore égyptienne a été l'objet des êtudes multiples, qu'on trouve dans la bibliographie du receuil, édité par A. Hänggi-I-Pahl, *Prex eucharistica* (Spicilegium Friburgense 12), Fribourg 1968, 99-100; 101; 116; 120; 124-125; 140; 141. On notera encore : R. G. Coquin, *L'anaphore alexandrine de saint Marc*, dans *Eucharisties d'Orient et d'Occident* (Semaine liturgique de l'Institut Saint Serge), II, Paris 1970, 51-82; J. Godart, *Traditions anciennes de la grande prière eucharistique*, dans *QLP* 48, 1967, 198-218; K. Hruby, *La birkat hamazon; la prière d'action de grâces après le repas*, Mélanges Dom Botte, Louvain 1972, 205-222; E. von der Goltz, *Tischgebete und Abendmahlsgebete in der altchristlichen und griechischen Kirche*, Leipzig 1906; W. Rordorf, G. Blond ea., *L'eucharistie des premiers chrétiens* (Le point théologique 17), Paris 1976.

[2] M. Andrieu-P. Collomp, *Fragments sur papyrus de l'anaphore de Saint Marc*, dans *RevSR* 8, 1928, 489-513 (voir l'appendix).

1. *Structure de la prière*

En premier lieu nous faisons une analyse descriptive de l'anaphore de Saint Marc et de notre papyrus à l'aide des études de H. Engberding et R. Coquin.[3] Ensuite nous comparons le résultat avec des textes parallèles.

1.1 *L'anaphore de Saint Marc*

L'anaphore se déroule ainsi:

a) la louange et l'offrande des dons, tout en rendant grâces (εὐχαριστοῦντες προσφέρομεν);
b) les intercessions;
c) le «Sanctus», auquel se joint une formule de transition avec épiclèse;
d) le récit de l'institution avec l'anamnèse (c'.à.d. une réponse au «faites ceci en mémoire de moi»);
e) l'épiclèse;
f) la doxologie finale.

A l'exception de la place des intercessions (b) la prière ressemble beaucoup à l'anaphore antiochienne ou hagiopolite; sa structure cohérente depuis le Sanctus le montre, sauf la formule de transition (le soi-disant Post Sanctus), qui est rudimentaire et dont l'épiclèse courte a été intercalée. La rédaction plus ancienne a été à mon avis:

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[3] R.G. Coquin: note 1; *H. Engberding, Neues Licht über die Geschichte des Textes der ägyptischen Markusliturgie*, dans *OrChr* 40, 1956, 40-68; id.: *Das anaphorische Fürbittgebet der griechischen Markusliturgie*, dans *OrChrPer* 30, 1964, 398-446.

«Πλήρης γάρ ἐστιν ὡς ἀληθῶς ὁ οὐρανὸς καὶ ἡ γῆ τῆς ἁγίας σου δόξης διὰ τῆς ἐπιφανείας τοῦ κυρίου καὶ θεοῦ καὶ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ ... ὅτι ... τῇ νυκτὶ ᾗ παρεδίδου». Une telle formule se trouve dans l'anaphore de Saint Jean Chrysostome pour faciliter la transition du Sanctus au récit de l'institution. L'épiclèse courte de l'anaphore de saint Marc Πλήρωσον ... ταύτην τὴν θυσίαν ... διὰ τῆς ἐπιφοιτήσεως τοῦ ... πνεύματος ne va pas bien avec le début du récit de l'institution. L'intercalation serait à dater en plein 4me ou même au 5me siècle.

Ce qui frappe de plus, c'est le fait que, dans toutes ses parties à l'exception du début (a), l'anaphore de Marc contient des emprunts quasi-directs de l'anaphore de Jérusalem, appelée aussi «de Saint Jacques». Partout dans notre prière on trouve des tournures analogues. Dans (a) c'est le passage sur la loi et les prophètes, par lesquels Dieu a rappelé l'homme pécheur. Dom Engberding a trouvé maints emprunts dans les intercessions (b). En ce qui concerne (c)-(d)-(e)-(f) l'emprunt de l'anaphore de Jérusalem est presque complet; une lecture attentive p.e. de (d)-(e) en fait la preuve.

Il semble, que sous l'influence de la liturgie hagiopolite l'anaphore égyptienne a été adaptée au temps que l'anaphore de Jérusalem a reçu sa forme définitive, c.-à-d. après Cyril de Jérusalem. Cet évêque, dans sa cinquième catéchèse, connaît une anaphore sans le récit de l'institution et l'anamnèse, qui auraient été ajoutés justement à cause de sa mystagogie.[4] Par conséquent une adaptation dans la deuxième moitié du 4me siècle au plus tôt. Il est possible, que des moines syriens aient introduit en Égypte le texte élaboré de l'anaphore de Saint Jacques. Par son autorité elle aie été insérée dans l'ancienne couche de la prière égyptienne.

Si c'est vrai, alors il faudrait en conclure tout d'abord, que les éléments (c)-(f) viennent de la tradition syrienne. Deuxièmement il serait à peine justifiè de parler d'une anaphore alexandrine: cette anaphore n'existerait pas, sauf dans les parties (a) et (b). Cette conclusion peut être affirmée par le papyrus Str.gr. 254, qui correspond exactement à cette couche plus ancienne de l'anaphore de Saint Marc.

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[4] Le texte de l'anaphore de Jérusalem: *Prex Eucharistica*, 244-261; A. Tarby, *La prière eucharistique de l'Église de Jérusalem*, Paris 1972; E.J. Cutrone, *Cyrill's mystagogical catecheses and the evolution of the Jerusalem Anaphora*, dans *OrChrPer* 44, 1978, 52-64.

1.2 *Le papyrus Str. gr. 254*

Nous en donnons le texte selon l'edition critique d'Andrieu-Collomp, réproduit ici dans l'Appendix de cette étude. Le texte est lacuneux, mais il paraît qu'il occupe exactement un feuillet, recto et verso. Le début du texte comme aussi sa doxologie finale sont assez complets; la plus grande lacune se trouve dans la partie centrale des intercessions.

La structure de la prière est comme suit:

(a) une louange à Dieu, qui a créé le ciel, la terre et l'homme, par sa sagesse, sa lumière, son Fils, Jésus Christ;
(b) par lui, avec lui et avec l'Esprit Saint grâce est rendue à Dieu; à Lui l'offrande des dons, c.-à-d. une culte non sanglant et universel;
(c) les intercessions pour les vivants et les morts.

La structure est strophique, bien qu'il ne soit pas sûr, qu'on puisse parler de deux strophes (a) et (b); elles sont entrelaçées; leur contenu pourtant est bien différent.

La première strophe (a) a une lacune au début; on pourrait ajouter Ἀληθῶς γὰρ ἄξιον ἐστιν καὶ δίκαιον, comme dans l'anaphore de Saint Marc. Dans ce cas on doit supposer l'existence du dialogue introduisant, qui est connu de plusieurs sources.

La deuxième strophe (b) se caractérise par le couple εὐχαριστοῦντες προσφέρομεν et par l'emploi de la prophétie de Malachie 1,11, un texte qui est très connu aux premiers chrétiens, depuis Didachè 14.

La troisième strophe (c) comprend les intercessions avec le mot-clef: μνήσθητι. Les lacunes de cette strophe sont, avec quelque probabilité, à compléter avec le texte parallèle de l'anaphore de Saint Marc. Car l'ordre des intercessions dans les deux textes est similaire; c'est pourquoi on peut compléter la lacune de telle manière: après les prières pour les ἄρχοντας et βουλάς suivent les intercessions pour les malades, pour tous ceux qui souffrent, pour les condamnés, pour tous ceux qui sont dans la nécessité, pour ceux qui sont en voyage et, enfin, une prière inspirée par ps. 65,12: «couronner l'année de tes bontés». Ensuite notre texte se poursuit: εἰς θερισμόν ... διὰ φύλαξον, διὰ τοὺς πτωχοὺς τοῦ λαοῦ σου. Il me semble, que la formulation de la supplication pour les condamnés suppose une communauté persecutée : «τοὺς ἐν φυλακαῖς ἢ ἐν μετάλλοις ἤ δίκαις ἤ καταδίκαις ἢ ἐν ἐξορίαις ἤ πικρᾷ δουλείᾳ ἤ φόροις κατεχομένους πάντας ἐλέησον, πάντας ἐλευθέρωσον. La paix constantinienne a terminé les persécutions des chrétiens ; c'est alors du troisième siècle que vient notre texte.

Nous avons donc une prière en trois strophes, qui s'accorde parfaitement avec l'anaphore reconstruite de Saint Marc. Ce n'est pas une anaphore au sens technique du mot, mais plutôt une bénédiction strophique, dont nous connaissons plusieurs exemples. En plus on doit conclure, que le texte semble être complet ; ce n'est pas un « Bruchstück » d'une anaphore. Voyons maintenant les textes parallèles.

1.3 *Les parallèles*

Le premier texte qu'on peut citer, c'est *l'anaphore des Apôtres Addai et Mari.* Ailleurs j'ai étudié cette prière remarquable.[5] Comme résultat de mon analyse j'ai proposé une réconstruction du texte, en trois couches successives, dont la plus ancienne nous montre une bénédiction en trois strophes : une louange du Nom divin, une action de grâces pour la rédemption et une intercession commémorative. La différence du contenu ne peut pas dissimuler la similitude de structure des deux textes, qui l'un et l'autre sont strophiques.

Une analyse attentive de l'*anaphore de Saint Jean Chrysostome*[6] (comp. l'anaphore syrienne des Douze Apôtres) nous pourrait amener à un résultat pareil. Il semble, que la couche primitive de cette anaphore comporte deux strophes : l'une est une action de grâces (et une louange) pour la création et le rédemption ἕως ἡμᾶς εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸυ ἀνήγαγες καὶ ... et les intercessions dans l'autre, dont le début comprend une formule d'une couleur assez primitive : προσφέρομεν σοι τὴν λογικὴν λατρειάν ὑπερ. Une doxologie conclut la prière. C'est là une structure similaire à celle d'Addai et Mari : dans les deux cas nous avons affaire à une prière du type de bénédiction.

Quelle est l'origine de ce type? Notre réponse fera en deux étapes successives.

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[5] H.A.J. Wegman, *Pleidooi voor een tekst ; de anaphora van de apostelen Addai en Mari*, dans *Bijdragen* 40, 1979, 15-43 ; B. D. Spinks, *The original form of the anaphora of the Apostles ; a suggestion in the light of maronite Sharar*, dans *EphLit* 91, 1977, 146-161.

[6] *Prex eucharistica*, 223-229 ; 265-268.

Premièrement, *Didachè* 10, selon l'opinion largement acceptée,[7] contient une action de grâces strophique après le repas hebdomadaire d'une communauté chrétienne à la fin du premier siècle, ou encore «une eucharistie» après le repas. Qu'est ce que veut dire «après le repas»? Selon toute vraisemblance *Didachè* 9 et 10 tracent le déroulement du repas communautaire en mémoire du Seigneur. La soi-disante fraction du pain est une partie de ce repas. On se rassemble, le père de la communauté dit le «qidduš», une bénédiction de la coupe et du pain (dans cet ordre) avant le repas (comp. *Did.* 9). Ensuite on mange. Après le repas on fait l'action de grâces en mémoire du Seigneur, qui lui-même a pris le pain et la coupe, en bénissant Dieu. Cette action de grâces après le repas comprend le rite de l'élévation des dons vers Dieu avec une bénédiction. Ensuite on distribue les dons eucharistiés (comp. *Did.* 10; Justin, *Apol.* 1,66) pour les partager «en famille» comme signe d'unité. Or ce trio : élévation des dons — bénédiction — communion s'appelle «eucharistia», terme technique au début du second siècle pour ce rite après le repas. Il semble, que de très bonne heure on a voulu marquer l'importance des actes-clef du Seigneur, en les réunissant à la fin du repas communautaire. D'ailleurs Marc 14,22-25 déjà en donne l'impression.

Or : cette bénédiction «eucharistique» de Didachè 10 comporte trois strophes, dont la troisième est une supplication, ce qui est une parallèle remarquable en ce qui concerne le texte de Str.gr. 254. La source de notre texte semble être la bénédiction primitive après le repas, c.-à-d. l'eucharistie chrétienne en mémoire du Seigneur. Au temps que le repas communautaire est tombé en désuétude, on a conservé le rite commémoratif du Repas du Seigneur. On trouve les prières, qui accompagnaient ce rite commémoratif, dans *Didachè* 10 et, à mon avis, également dans Str. gr. 254, ainsi que dans la couche primitive de l'anaphore d'Addai et Mari.

Deuxièmement, on est d'accord, que l'arrière-fond de ce que nous avons trouvé, est la tradition juive par rapport au repas familier. En fin de compte une seule prière peut être la source de ce qu'on appelle la bénédiction chrétienne : c'est la birkat ha-mazon, dont la réconstruction remonte au premier siècle de l'ère chrétienne.[8] C'est dans la tradition juive et, par conséquent: «judéo-chrétienne», qu'on trouve le rite et la prière exemplaires de l'eucharistie chrétienne.

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[7] W. Rordorf, *La Didàchè*, dans *Le point théologique* 8-28; voir SC 248, 174-181 (édition critique avec commentaire).

Une conclusion provisoire: les fragments sur papyrus Str. gr. 254, édités par Andrieu-Collomp, ne contiennent pas une anaphore incomplète du type alexandrin, mais plutôt une bénédiction eucharistique complète en trois strophes. Les fragments marquent une étape de l'évolution de l'Eucharistie. Les strophes 1 et 2 ont été combinées et la strophe 2 comporte l'idée assez évoluée de εὐχαριστοῦντες προσφέρομεν. Toutefois la structure de la prière décèle encore l'état primitif du rite de la fraction du pain et de l'action de grâces. Ailleurs j'ai proposé une généalogie de la prière eucharistique[9]; notre texte appartient à une ramification très primitive et proche de la racine de l'eucharistie.

2. *Le contenu alexandrin de la prière*

Une lecture attentive du texte révèlera un contenu très marqué. Notre commentaire veut expliquer quelques passages intéressants et faire ressortir le caractère proprement alexandrin du texte. J'avoue, qu'il est difficile de fonder solidement les données, que nous fournit une lecture plus ou moins intuitive.[10]

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[8] L. Finkelstein, *The birkat ha-mazon*, dans *The Jewish Quarterly Review* 10, 1929, 243-259; J. Heinemann, *Prayer in the Talmud*, Berlin 1977, 13-76.

[9] *QLP* 61, 1980, 263-278.

[10] Mon étude — j'en suis sûr — est à approfondir par ceux qui connaissent, mieux que moi, la tradition théologique et culturelle alexandrine. Pour mon commentaire j'ai consulté: *TWNT* et *A Patristic Greek Lexicon* (Lampe), sv. ἀλήθειᾶ; εἰκών; θυσία; λατρεία; σοφία; φῶς; υἱός; γνῶσις; H. Chadwick, *Early christian thought and the classical tradition*, Oxford 1966; C.J. de Vogel, *Wijsgerige aspekten van het vroeg-christelijke denken*, Baarn 1970 (avec bibliographie); J. Daniélou, *Message évangélique et culture hellénistique aux IIe et IIIe siècles*, Paris 1961; J. Leporte, *La doctrine eucharistique chez Philon d'Alexandrie*, Paris 1972; C. Montdésert, *Clément d'Alexandrie*, Paris 1944; H. Crouzel, *Théologie de l'image de Dieu chez Origène*, Paris 1956; A. Jaubert, *La notion d'Alliance dans le judaisme aux abords de l'ère chrétienne*, Paris 1963; M. Harl, *Origène et la fonction révélatrice du Verbe incarné*, Paris 1958; G. Kretschmar, *Studien zur frühchristlichen Trinitätstheologie*, Tübingen 1956, 27-61; J. Pelikan, *The emergence of the catholic tradition* (= *The Christian Tradition; a History of the development of Doctrine*, I) Chicago 1971; L. Schefzyck, *Schöpfung und Vorsehung*, dans *Handbuch der Dogmengeschichte*, II,a, Freiburg 1963; R. Kerkhoff, *Das unablässige Gebet; Beiträge zur Lehre vom immerwährenden Beten im Neuen Testament*, München 1954; J.N.D. Kelly, *Early christian Creeds*, London ^{3}1972; R. Ledogar, *Acknowledgment*, Rome 1968.

2.1 εὐλογεῖν

Traduction grecque de «berak» (comp. eulogètos-baruk), mot-clef de la bénédiction : louer, confesser, une louange de caractère individuelle ainsi que cultuelle. L'objet de la louange est la grandeur, la splendeur (δόξα) de Dieu-Pantocrator.

On pourrait combler la lacune de Str. gr. 254 avec le texte de l'anaphore de Saint Marc, qui donne en plus les mots σὲ αἰνεῖν σὲ ὑμνεῖν σοὶ ἀνθομολογεῖσθαι, qui expriment la même attitude de l'homme priant.

2.2 νύκτωρ τε καὶ μεθ' ἡμέραν

Expression propre à notre texte et à celui de Marc. On peut penser au service continu du temple (1 Chron. 9,33; comp. Lev. 8,35); le vrai culte pourtant se fait par la prière, la conversion du cœur et le jeûne permanents (ps. 51,19; Lc. 2,36-37; 1 Tim. 5,5). Et surtout du discours de Saint Paul devant Agrippa le texte : «Maintenant encore, si je suis mis en jugement, c'est à cause de mon espérance en la promesse faite par Dieu à nos pères et dont nos douze tribus, dans le culte qu'elles rendent à Dieu avec persévérance, nuit et jour, espèrent atteindre l'accomplissement» (Act. 26,6-7). Il y a, enfin, un culte permanent devant le trône de Dieu (Apoc. 4,8; 7,15).

Nous pourrions associer «nuit et jour» avec διὰ πάντου (χρόνου), expression liée au culte ainsi qu'aux sacrifices réguliers dans le temple de Jérusalem (comp. Lev. 6,13; 2 Chron. 16,40; 23,31; 2 Chron. 2,3), spécialement aux services du matin et du soir. Luc 24,53 dit, que les disciples étaient continuellement dans le temple à louer Dieu.

La liturgie permanente est à la base de la prière des heures de la communauté chrétienne dès le début, continuée et développée par l'opus Dei des moines. La prière, régulièrement fait aux heures fixes, est «hostia spiritalis quae pristina sacrificia delevit. Nos sumus veri adoratores et veri sacerdotes, qui spiritu orantes spiritu sacrificamus orationem hostiam Dei propriam et acceptabilem...» (Tertullien, *De orat.* 28). On notera l'idée de l'offrande spirituelle et acceptable, qui reviendra plus loin dans notre texte pour accentuer le caractère propre de l'Eucharistie chrétienne. Cette offrande, pour les auteurs chrétiens, est l'accomplisement du culte des anciens, prédit par le prophète Malachie (1,11).

2.3 σοὶ τῷ ποιήσαντι

La louange adressée au Créateur du ciel et de tout ce qu'il contient, de la terre, des mers, des fleuves et de tout ce qui est dedans, est caractéristique pour les prières eucharistiques de la tradition alexandrine. Dans les autres traditions on trouve plutôt l'éloge du Créateur de tout ce qui est visible et invisible. L'expression πάντων ὁρατῶν τε καὶ ἀοράτων ποιητήν se trouve dans les symboles de la foi du 4me siècle d'Antioche et de Césarée, et plus spécialement dans le symbole de Nicée. Pour notre texte on ne peut alléguer comme témoin le symbole accepté définitivement par le Concile de Chalcédon, qui emploie ποιητὴν οὐρανοῦ καὶ γῆς ὁρατῶν τε πάντων καὶ ἀοράτων. Notre texte est différent et d'un caractère hymnique; on notera l'attention «flottante» pour ce qui est le continu essentiel de la Bible: la louange du Dieu Créateur, chantée dans Génèse 1 une fois pour toutes et répétée depuis ce temps par toutes les liturgies. C'est Génèse 1 avant tout, que notre prière suit de près (la création du ciel, du soleil, de la lune, des astres, de la terre, de la mer); la mention des rivières est-elle plus spécialement égyptienne?

D'où vient cette louange exclusive de Dieu-Créateur? Pourquoi pas un mot concernant là rédemption? Un souci anti-gnostique? Influence des textes hymniques de l'Ancien Testament?

2.4 σοὶ τῳ ποιήσαντι τὸν ἄνθρωπον κατ᾽ ἰδίαν εἰκόνα καὶ καθ᾽ ὁμοίωσιν

Expression propre à la tradition alexandrine, étant donné que le même passage dans l'anaphore de Jérusalem n'est pas authentique.[11] Ici Génèse 1,26 est à la base de notre texte, qui n'emploie pas ps. 8,6, comme le fait l'anaphore de Saint Basile: καὶ εἰκόνι τῇ σῇ ὁ θέος τιμήσας αὐτόν.

Dieu est loué parce qu'il a créé l'homme à son image et sa ressemblance. On est tenté d'entendre un écho de la théologie d'Origène. Pour lui l'image unique de Dieu c'est le Logos. L'homme a été créé d'après cette image du Logos-Fils. Il dit: «... devenir semblable à Dieu dans la mesure possible ... Cela Moise l'a le premier signifié, lorsqu'il raconte la première création de l'homme: Dieu dit, faisons l'homme selon notre image et notre ressemblance... Par ces mots ...

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[11] Tarby, 54 (note 23).

il montre que l'homme a reçu, dans sa première création, la dignité de l'image, mais que la perfection de la ressemblance est réservée pour la fin...».[12] Pour arriver à la ressemblance l'homme doit suivre le Fils, tandisque la ressemblance ultime reste un don du Dieu. Un autre texte[13] dit: «Le vrai pain cependant, c'est le pain, qui nourrit l'homme véritable, qui a été créé à l'image de Dieu. Et quiconque s'en nourrit, reçoit la ressemblance avec le Créateur».

Mais ce n'est pas d'Origène que vient cette pensée théologique. Clément d'Alexandrie la développe pareillement, quand il dit, en commentant un texte de Platon, que le κατ᾽ εἰκόνα a été donné à l'homme dès sa création, tandis qu'il devait recevoir le καθ᾽ ὁμοίωσιν à son achèvement.[14] Irénée de sa part réfère l'image à la structure matérielle de l'homme, et la ressemblance au don du pneuma.[15] L'un et l'autre sont une participation du Verbe, mais la ressemblance n'est donné pleinement qu'avec le Christ.

Une telle exégèse et ce courant d'idées peuvent être à la base de notre texte, qui, dans ce cas, est d'une allure assez primitive. En outre nous pourrions donner une réponse au fait que le texte semble être une louange exclusive de Dieu-Créateur. Cette exclusivité ne serait qu'une apparence. La voie du croyant qui, par l'intervention du Fils, le mène de l'image à la ressemblance, son achèvement, c'est l'histoire du salut. Dans une phrase unique on voit exprimé ce que Saint Basile dessine dans une page.

2.5 πάντα δὲ ἐποίησας διὰ τῆς σοφίας σου τοῦ φωτὸς τοῦ ἀληθινοῦ σου υἱοῦ τοῦ κυρίού

Dieu a tout créé par sa sagesse, la lumière véritable, son fils, notre Seigneur et Sauveur Jésus Christ. Un passage remarquable, qui n'a pas le mot «Logos» et qui unit «sagesse-lumière-fils». Avec cette formule nous sommes sans doute dans une ambiance alexandrine. La tradition alexandrine a fait de très bonne heure le lien Logos-Sagesse, en suivant Philon[16] et à la différence de la théologie trinitaire primitive d'Antioche (Sagesse-Esprit).[17] Déjà le Livre de la Sagesse (9,1; comp. 8,21-36, textes très connus dans cette ambiance) comporte la prière: «Dieu des Pères ... toi qui, par ta parole, a fait l'univers, toi qui, par ta Sagesse, as formé l'homme...». On connaît la pensée de Justin (*Dial.* 61,1): «comme principe avant toutes les créatures, Dieu engendra de lui-même une certaine Vertu verbale que l'Esprit saint appelle tantôt la «gloire du Seigneur», ou même «fils», tantôt «sagesse», «ange», «Dieu», «Seigneur» et «Verbe» ... elle porte tous les noms parce qu'elle exécute la volonté du Père et qu'elle est née du Père par volonté».

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[12] *Peri Archon* III,6,1 (traduction Crouzel, 218 (voir 147-245)).

[13] *Peri Euchès* 27,2.

[14] *Strom.* II,21,131,6 (SC 38,133); voir Daniélou, 374-381.

[15] *Adv. Haer.* V,1,2 (SC 153,72); voir Daniélou, 365-374; 103-122.

[16] Kretschmar, 42-43.

Pour Clément et plus encore pour Origène l'autorévélation du Logos (son épiphanie) illumine l'âme de l'homme croyant. Par cette révélation on peut atteindre la vision de la Doxa du Père, ce qui est le Fils: la phase finale de la gnose. Au lieu de «Logos» ils imploient aussi «sagesse» et «vérité».[18] L'apparition du Christ est la révélation de la Sagesse.

Par la liaison Logos-Sagesse nous touchons à la base de notre texte; c'est, à mon avis, le prologue de l'évangile de Saint Jean. C'est là qu'on trouve combiné la création par le Verbe, lumière véritable, et l'incarnation du Fils unique du Père. C'est surtout par la lecture du Prologue, que nous comprenons notre passage.

Dans ce passage on voit alors une combinaison de Génèse 1 et Jean 1, comme un écho de la vigile pascale, qui commence par l'annonce de la création et culmine, dans l'office du matin, par la lecture du Prologue. On chante la création, qui atteint son apogée dans l'apparition du Verbe, le Fils unique de Dieu, par qui tout fut et sans qui rien ne fut. Cette lecture de l'Écriture, pourtant, a été marquée par l'ambiance alexandrine, qui a orienté la lecture liturgique. Clément, Origène, Athanase, les coryphées de l'école alexandrine, développent la même théorie avec des accents, propres à leur génie: le monde visible a été créé par le Logos-Sagesse de Dieu, Créateur de l'invisible; ce monde visible a été également ordonné selon la Sagesse (κατὰ τὴν σοφίαν), qui est verité et vie.[19] Par l'emploi de «διὰ», notre passage est plus près de la pensée d'Origène, qui, au fond, subordonne le Logos à Dieu-Pantocrator, tandis qu'Athanase met l'accent sur la divinité du Logos-Sagesse, qui s'est fait chair, mais qui reste avec Dieu, étant lui-même Dieu. Au lieu de «διὰ» Athanase préfère «μετά», comme on voit dans sa doxologie.

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[17] Kretschmar, 27-33 (61).

[18] p.e. *C. Celsum* 8,12 (SC 150,200); 3,60-61 (SC 136,138-142); *In Jer.* 19 (SC 238, 220): άλλα δεῖσθαι, ὥς προεῖπον, ἐπιφανείας τῆς δυνάμεως Ἰησοῦ, καθ᾽ ὃ σοφία έστί, καθ᾽ ὃ λόγος, καθ᾽ ὃ ἀλήθεια, ἵνα ἥ έπιφάνεια αὐτοῦ ποιήσῃ φῶς ἐπὶ τοῦ προσώπου τῆς ψυχῆς μου. Voir aussi: Clément Al., *Prot.* VIII,80 (SC 2,146-147).

[19] p.e. *In Joan.* I,19 (SC 120,118-20) (voir: Harl, 121-138; de Vogel, 23-35).

Ainsi notre strophe remarquable nous dirige vers le milieu alexandrin, où l'influence du judaisme hellénisé a été forte et profonde. De ce milieu vient une louange liturgique, conservée sur papyrus. On date les fragments aux environs de l'année 300, mais le courant d'idées, conservé dans le texte, semble beaucoup plus ancien et nous mène vers le début du troisième siècle.

2.6 δι᾿ οὗ σοὶ καὶ σὺν αὐτῷ σὺν ἁγίῳ πνεύματι[20]

La deuxième strophe commence par une formule, qui montre un remaniement postérieur. Comme le prouve la doxologie finale de nos fragments, le «δι᾿ οὗ» est la rédaction primitive. On verra plus loin, que le texte de base de notre strophe est Hebr. 13,15; là on lit également «διά». D'ailleurs l'expression «par lui» est généralement connue d'après les sources les plus anciens (comme *Didachè* 9 et 10; Justin., *Apol.* 1,65 et 67; Clèment de Rome, ad Cor. 64, 65,2) et les doxologies primitives. On confesse le Christ-Médiateur, par qui l'Église a accès à Dieu, qui dirige nos prières (la louange, les supplications) vers le Père. Car c'est le Christ, qui est entré dans le ciel, afin de paraître maintenant devant la face de Dieu en notre faveur (Hebr. 9,24).

Le «σὺν αὐτῷ» (μεθ᾿ οὗ) exprime la consubstantialité du Fils et du Saint Esprit avec le Père, l'enjeu décisif de la foi orthodoxe dès le début du quatrième siècle contre les groupements arianisants. La doxologie alexandrine attribue la «δόξα» au Père avec le Fils et avec le Saint Esprit (comp. Athanase, *Ep. IV ad Serap.*, nr. 25). Pourtant, même dans cette doxologie postérieure on maintient le «δι᾿ οὗ» primitif, devenu si traditionnel, qu'on ne pouvait plus le changer.

Le «σύν», en usage pour les doxologies postérieures et remaniées, est malendroit dans cette strophe, qui parle de l'offrande pure, que Jésus présente au Père. Comment offrir l'offrande spirituelle, qui commémore le sacrifice du Christ, à Lui-même et au Saint Esprit? De plus le «σὺν αὐτῷ» est placé après «σοί», tandis que les doxologies plus récentes le donnent, logiquement, avant «σοί». Nous avons affaire d'un remaniement.

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[20] J. Hanssens, *La Liturgie d'Hippolyte*, Rome 1959, 343-370.

La redaction primitive porterait ainsi: «Vous avez créé tout par votre sagesse, la lumière véritable, votre Fils et notre Seigneur et Sauveur Jésus Christ, par qui nous vous offrons ce sacrifice spirituel, en rendant grâces».

2.7 εὐχαριστοῦντες προσφέρομεν τὴν θυσίαν λογικὴν τὴν ἀναίμακτον λατρείαν

La suite de cette phrase comporte la prophétie de Malachie 1,11. Tertullien (*De orat.* 28, cité plus haut) parle de «hostia spiritalis», mettant ainsi l'accent sur une conviction assez répandue parmi les auteurs prénicéens, surtout en ce qui concerne l'eucharistie en mémoire de Jésus, le seul prêtre du nouveau testament.

Il semble que la recherche persistante de leur identité est la cause principale du fait, que les premiers chrétiens se sont faits les apologistes de la foi nouvelle contre les institutions anciennes (la loi, le culte du temple, la prêtrise, les sacrifices, les fêtes ...) et ont revendiqué, contre cette tradition juive, l'unicité de leur message et la seule vérité de la foi des apôtres. Cela pourrait expliquer la rigueur de leur apologie «accaparante» en ce qui concerne leurs célébrations, soit de l'Eucharistie soit de la fête de Pâques. Pour eux, enfin, le culte chrétien est l'abolition définitive de tout ce qu'il y a de cultuel dans la tradition juive. Le temple de Jérusalem a été détruit en signe de l'inauguration d'un culte nouvel dans un temple spirituel, qui n'est pas fait de main d'homme (Hebr. 9,11), un culte qui, seul, est acceptable à Dieu. La même conception, d'ailleurs, paraît dans la pratique réligieuse des communautés de Qumran et dans la pensée de Philon.[21] Pour le dernier l'idéal lévitique c'est la vraie «therapeia», c.-à-d. l'offrande de soi-même, l'offrande «eucharistique» des pensées et des actes humains, une «θυσία λογική, ἀναίμακτος», une offrande des lèvres pures. Cette offrande spirituelle est le vrai «todah», la véritable action de grâces.

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[21] Leporte, 128-140; Jaubert, 375-469.

Déjà *Didachè* 14 cite Mal. 1,11 : l'eucharistie du dimanche (cette institution typiquement chrétienne) est l'accomplissement de la parole prophétique sur le culte universel, ἐν παντὶ τόπῳ καὶ χρόνῳ ou : ἀπ᾽ ἀνατολῶν ἡλίου καὶ μέχρι δυσμῶν selon notre strophe. Justin (*Dial.* 43,3; 117,1) est encore plus explicite : le culte chrétien est le seul culte pur et agréable à Dieu, tandis qu'Il ne se plaît plus dans les sacrifices de l'ancien rite. Au lieu des multiples sacrifices sanglants, il y a le sacrifice unique chrétien en mémoire du Christ, le seul Grand Prêtre, et célébré d'un cœur contrit, avec la louange et l'action de grâces, le fruit de lèvres qui confessent son nom (Hebr. 13,15). La tradition a réuni Mal. 1,11 et ps. 50,7-23 (l'offrande d'un sacrifice d'action de grâces) et ps. 51,18-19 (le vrai sacrifice, c'est un cœur brisé). En bref, la confession des péchés, la louange, l'action de grâces sont les éléments essentiels et idéals du culte chrétien, qui se distingue ainsi nettement du culte extérieur dans les temples payens et, auparavant, dans le temple de Jérusalem. Irénée, qui réagit contre une spiritualisation excessive du culte et qui, par conséquent, rehausse la valeur propre des dons humains (le pain, le vin) parle d'un culte nouveau, d'une offrande pure et universelle (*Adv. Haer.* IV,17,5).

La base de cette théologie est avant tout la pensée paulinienne (Rom. 12,1) : «Je vous exhorte ... à offrir vos personnes en hostie vivante, sainte, agréable à Dieu : c'est là le culte spirituel, que vous avez à rendre. Et ne vous modelez pas sur le monde présent». Ce dévouement personnel à Dieu s'oppose à l'asservissement au péché (Rom. 6,6). Le vieil homme a été crucifié avec le Christ, pour que fût détruit le corps de péché. Ainsi les fidèles sont vivants pour Dieu dans le Christ; leur culte est agréable et vivant. Un autre «logique» se met au jour, une nouvelle raison d'être : le croyant est capable de servir Dieu.

Un autre texte de base est fourni par l'auteur de l'Epître aux Hébreux, qui d'ailleurs est d'origine alexandrine. Un texte capital se trouve dans 13,15 : «Par lui, offrons à Dieu un sacrifice de louange en tout temps, c'est à dire le fruit des lèvres qui confessent son nom». L'auteur invite les convertis de se convertir vraiment et d'accepter la voie du Christ, le nouveau prêtre, celui qui a inauguré le culte nouveau. Par lui la communauté nouvelle peut célébrer l'Eucharistie, que l'auteur vise probablement dans 13,9-16. La mémoire de la souffrance et de la mort du Seigneur est le noyau du repas eucharistique, ainsi que la bienfaisance et la mise en commun des ressources (l'agape).

L'arrière fond de l'Eucharistie chrétienne est la θυσία αἰνέσεως (Hebr. 13,15). Les mots grecs traduisent l'hébreu «todah», célébré pendant le «zebah šelamim». Il est très probable, que le mot εὐχαριστία, terme technique dans le milieu chrétien primitif, comporte la même idée de «todah».[22] L'eucharistie est l'action de grâces après l'offrande des dons à Dieu, qui les rend aux participants. Le todah chrétien pendant le repas est spirituel, c'.a.d. inspiré par l'offrande du Seigneur. L'action liturgique est spirituelle par Lui, qui seul a offert un culte agréable, en s'offrant lui-même. La communauté chrétienne fait la mémoire du Seigneur, qui par sa mort est entré auprès du Père pour être le Médiateur de la nouvelle alliance. Le sacrifice n'est plus une hostie sanglante, mais une mémoire spirituelle.

En bref, il semble que — pour les auteurs chrétiens — l'Eucharistie synthétise les idées sur un culte spirituel, qui ont animé les groupements dans le judaisme, qui ont cherché le renouveau du culte officiel. On met au centre l'offrande des lèvres, c.-à-d. la louange et l'action de grâces intérieures, en mémoire du Seigneur pendant le repas qui vient de Lui. On lève vers Dieu les dons, le pain et la coupe, en disant une bénédiction.

Nous constatons de nouveau, que nos fragments ont conservé des éléments très primitifs; l'emploi de Mal. 1,11 et l'élévation des dons avec l'action de grâces en font la preuve. Ce n'est plus probablement le repas, qui est le noyau de la vie de la communauté, mais l'élément essentiel de ce repas a été conservé: la bénédiction. «En rendant grâces nous vous offrons le culte spirituel», en mémoire de Celui qui a souffert hors de la porte.

2.8 Δεόμεθα καὶ παρακαλοῦμεν σε μνήσθητι

La troisième strophe comporte les intercessions. Plus haut nous avons décrit le «home-land» de cette prière. C'est d'abord *Didachè* 9 et 10; puis on notera la supplication dans *Ep. ad Cor.* 59-62 de Clément de Rome. Les Didascalies connaissent les intercessions pour les morts pendant la célébration de l'Eucharistie.[23] Le genre vient de la tradition juive (comp. la troisième strophe de la birkat ha-mazon). L'embolisme de la birkat ha-mazon du pesaḥ est particulièrement intéressant:[24] on prie pour que Dieu fasse mémoire de notre mémoire (nos prières pour l'unité, la paix etc.). On commémore tous ceux qui ont besoin de la prière et les recommende au bon souvenir de Dieu.

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[22] H. Cazelles, *L'anaphore et l'Ancient Testament*, dans *Eucharisties d'Orient et d'Occident*, I,11-21.

Ainsi, dans les trois strophes, la mémoire est le mot-clef de la bénédiction; la louange, l'action de grâces et l'intercession se fondent sur la commémoraison, qui, d'ailleurs, est l'essentiel de l'ordre du Seigneur: «faites ceci en mémoire de moi».

On notera l'expression τοὺς ἐπικαλουμένους το ὄνομα σου. L'invocation du Nom est assez fréquente dans le Nouveau Testament.[25] L'essentiel de la prière dans la tradition de la Bible est la demande pour que le Nom ou la Gloire (doxa) de Dieu descende et repose sur ceux qui l'invoquent. C'est l'Esprit de Dieu, qui tombe sur ceux qui écoutent la parole, et qui a été répandu sur ceux qui étaient assidus à la prière. Or il est remarquable qu'on trouve l'épiclèse, au sens technique, toujours au même endroit, c'.a.d. juste devant les intercessions. Est-ce qu'il y a une évolution de l'invocation du Nom, en tant que supplication pour l'unité de l'Église et pour la paix du monde, à l'invocation du Saint Esprit sur les dons et sur ceux qui les apportent? En tout cas, notre strophe est assez archaïque: elle manque l'épiclèse et ne donnent que les intercessions à l'endroit traditionnel, dans la troisième strophe, mais en forme plus élaborée.

3. *Ma conclusion*

Premièrement. Les fragments Str.gr.254 sont vraiment «alexandrins»; leur contenu remonte à une époque reculée, disons le troisième siècle.

Deuxièmement. Les fragments nous montre une Eucharistie en pleine évolution. Ce n'est plus, semble-t-il, le repas, qu'on voit dans notre texte, et pas encore la célébration glorieuse de la Sainte Liturgie. On constate une forme intermédiaire: une bénédiction strophique a été conservée, tandis que la table et le repas sont disparus. Voilà un type simple de la célébration de l'Eucharistie, qui ne comprend ni le soi-disant moment consécratoire du récit de l'institution ou de l'épiclèse, ni l'idée de la «mimèsis», c.-à-d. la représentation dans les rites visibles du mystère caché. Ce n'est pas la célébration, supposée par Cyril de Jérusalem (*Cat. myst.* 4 et 5), par Théodore de Mopsueste (*Homélie* XV). Notre texte n'est pas de l'allure de l'anaphore de Saint Basil ou de Saint Jacques; il est plus primitif, mais pas moins important. Cette prière me semble importante pour notre connaissance de l'Eucharistie «évoluante» au troisième siècle.

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[23] *Didascalia* 26 (ed. Vööbus, CSCO 408,243-244).

[24] Texte latin (L. Ligier), *Prex eucharistica*, 27.

[25] TWNT III, κάλεω (K.L. Schmidt).

Troisièmement. Il n'est même pas exclu que cette prière ait servi pour une Eucharistie-agape. Il y a des textes qui montrent qu'en Égypte, plus longtemps qu'autre part, le lien entre le repas et l'eucharistie a été gardé.[26] D'ailleurs je suis d'avis, que l'expression «prospheromen» suppose un rite plus évolué et qu'il serait assez bizarre de spiritualiser totalement le sens de ce mot.

APPENDIX

M. Andrieu-P. Collomp, *Fragments sur papyrus de l'anaphore de saint Marc*, in *Rev SR* 8 (1928) 489-515 (voir : *Prex Eucharistica*, 116-119).

Recto

σε (?)
εὐλογεῖν νύκτωρ τε
καὶ μ[ε]θ᾽ [ἡ]μέραν [σοὶ τῷ ποιήσαντι τὸν οὐ-]
ραν[ὸν καὶ] πάντα τὰ ἐν [αὐτῷ, γῆν καὶ τὰ ἐν τῇ γῇ, θα-]
λά[σσας] καὶ [ποτ]αμ[ο]ὺς κ[αὶ πάντα τὰ] ἐ[ν αὐ-
τοῖς, σοὶ τ]ῷ ποι[ήσ]α[ντι τ]ὸν ἄνθρωπο[ν κατ᾽]
ἰδ[ίαν εἰκόν]α κα[ὶ καθ᾽ ὁ]μ[ο]ίωσιν· [π]άντ[α δὲ]
ἐπ[οίησας δ]ιὰ τῆς σοφίας σου τοῦ φωτὸς τ[οῦ]
ἀληθεινοῦ σου υἱοῦ τοῦ κ(υρίο)υ καὶ σ(ωτῆ)ρ(ο)ς ἡμῶν ἰ(ησο)ῦ
χ(ριστοῦ),
δι᾽ οὗ σοὶ καὶ σὺν αὐτῷ σὺν ἁγίῳ πν(εὐματ)[ι ε]ὐχαρισ-

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[26] K. Gamber, *Liturgie übermorgen*, Freiburg 1966,75-88.

τοῦντες προσφέρο[μ]εν [τ]ὴν θυ̣[σί]αν τὴν λο-
γικήν, τὴν ἀναί[μακτ]ον λατρε[ίαν] ταύτην,
ἣν προσφέρει σοι πά[ν]τα τὰ ἔθνη ἀ[π᾽] ἀνατολῶ(ν)
ἡλίου [κ]αὶ μέχρι δυσμῶν ἀ[π]ὸ [ἄ]ρ[κτ]ου καὶ μέ-
χρι μ[εση]μβ[ρί]α[ς], [ὅτι μ]έγα [τὸ ὄ]νο[μά] σου ἐν πᾶ-
[σι] τοῖς ἔθνεσιν · καὶ ἐν πα[ντὶ τ]όπω̣ θυμ[ία]μα
προσφ[έ]ρετα[ι τῶ̣] ἁγ[ί]ω̣ σου [ὀ]νόματι, καὶ θυσία
καθαρά, ἐφηθυσί[α] καὶ προσφορά. Δεόμεθα
καὶ παρακαλοῦμέ[ν] σε · μνήσθητι τῆς ἁγί-
ας σου καὶ μόνης [κ]αθολικ[ῆ]ς ἐκκλησίας πά(ν)-
των τῶν λαῶν κ[αὶ πάν]των [τῶν] ποιμνίω[ν σου].
Τὴν ἐξ οὐ[ραν]ῶν εἰρή[νην β]ράβ[ευσον ταῖς ἁ-
πάντων ἡ]μῶν καρδί[αις, ἀ]λ[λ]ὰ κα[ὶ τοῦ βίου]
το[ύτου] τ[ὴ]ν εἰρή[νην] ἡ[μῖν] χάρισαι · τ[ὸν βασιλέα]
τῆς γῆς εἰρηνικὰ [πρ]ὸς ἡμᾶς καὶ [π]ρὸ[ς τὸ ἅγιον]
ὄνομά σου, τὸν ἡ[γ]ούμενον τῆς ἐπ   [τὰ]
[στ]ρατιωτικά, [τ]οὺς ἄρχον[τα]ς, βου[λάς]
                                        εχ (?)

Verso

                                        σι
                        ξιωσ   ισ (?)
                νι (?)   τους   ο
        ρα ο   ο   ι (?)
          σο   π   [ε]ἱς [σπέρμα καὶ
εἰς θ]ερισμόν ο   ους   λ (?)
διαφ[ύ]λαξο[ν], δι[ὰ] τοὺς πτ[ω]χοὺς [τοῦ λ]α-
[οῦ σου], δι᾽ ἡμ[ᾶς] πάντας τοὺς ἐπικαλουμένους
τὸ ὄνομά [σου], διὰ πάντας τοὺς ἐλπίζον-
τας ἐπί σε · [τῶ]ν κακ[οιμ]ημένων τὰς ψυχὰς
ἀνάπαυσ[ο]ν · μνήσθ[ητι] τῶ[ν] ἐπ[ὶ] τ[ῆς σή]με-
ρον ἡμέρ[ας τ]ὴν ὑπόμνησιν ποιού[με]θα ·
καὶ ὧν λέγ[ομεν καὶ] ὧν ο[ὐ] λέγομεν τ[ὰ ὀ]νό-
ματα ·   [τῶν ἁπαντα-]
χοῦ ὀρθοδόξω[ν ἁγίω]ν π[α]τ[έ]ρων ἡμῶν καὶ

ἐπισκόπων καὶ [δ]ὸς ἡ[μῖν] με[ρί]δα καὶ κλῆ-
ρον ἔχειν μετὰ τῆς καλ   [τῶ]ν
ἁγίων σου προφητῶν, ἀ[πο]στόλω[ν] καὶ [μ]αρ-
τύρων τὰς πρεσβεία[ς] α[ὐ]τῶν τὴν   η
    πρόσ[δεξαι] (?)   α   ν
        [κατα]ξίω[σ]ο[ν]   ν   [π]ρο οφ
        ς προσδ[εξ]άμ[ε]νος
        τικα αὐτοῖς δ[ώ]ρησαι δι[ὰ τοῦ κ(υρίο)]υ
[καὶ σ(ωτῆ)ρ(ο)ς ἡ]μῶν · δι᾿ οὗ σοὶ δόξα εἰς τοὺς α[ἰῶ-
νας τῶν] αἰώνω[ν].

GNOSIS AND THE MYSTERIES

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Many years ago Professor Quispel wrote that practically the entire Near East belonged among the ancestors of Gnosticism. These words, as it happens, provide a neat illustration of the danger of quoting statements out of context. In context they are perfectly in order, and beyond reproach, as the conclusion to some pages of discussion and backed as they are by a brief summary of the main points: «So hat dann angeblich beinahe der ganze Vorderorient zu den Ahnen des Gnostizismus gehört: der iranische Zostrianus, die babylonische Astrologie, die syrische Noria, der Samariter Dositheos, der judische 'Wahre Prophet' fanden sich in diesem Sammelsurium zusammen".[1]

Obviously it would be legitimate enough to cite these words as a warning against any attempt, in the present state of our knowledge, to identify any single *fons et origo* for the gnostic movement: practically the entire Near East has made its contribution. One may recall the famous words of Reitzenstein: «It is hardly to be avoided that according to inclination and the direction his studies have taken, one writer claims too much as Egyptian, another too much as Babylonian, a third all as Persian, and that the individual worker contracts a kind of colour-blindness, which makes him insensitive to important distinctions".[2] Professor Quispel, with many others today (including the writer), would stress the significance of the Jewish contribution, but this also cannot be done to the neglect of other factors. The gnostic phenomenon is too complex, and possessed of too many ramifications, to be pinned down to any single source or origin.

On the other hand it would a gross misuse of Professor Quispel's statement, and indeed a logical fallacy, to use it as the basis for including anything and everything: practically the entire Near East has made its contribution, therefore anything from the Near East in this period may be assumed to have contributed. The fallacy is obvious when stated in this form, but the danger is none the less present and it is easy to fall unwittingly into the trap.

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[1] *Gnosis als Weltreligion*, Zurich 1951, 9.

[2] *Poimandres*, Leipzig 1904, 250; translation from C. H. Dodd, *The Bible and the Greeks*, London 1935, xv.

The oriental mystery religions afford a case in point. They are all, or at least nearly all, older than Christianity, and form part of the background, the environment into which both Christianity and a developed Gnosticism emerged. How far are they significant for the origins of either, and what contribution have they made? In the early days of *Religionsgeschichte* there was in some quarters a tendency to multiply the possible parallels, to include as parallels and influences what were in fact no more than superficial resemblances, and in particular to assume that Christianity was always and everywhere the debtor; which of course provoked the inevitable re-action. Today we should in many ways see things differently, in a more balanced and nuanced way. In particular we should pay more attention to chronology: the peak period for the mysteries was precisely one in which Christianity was already making headway. Moreover we should wish to ask how far the ideas and beliefs of the mysteries remained constant over the centuries of their history, how far they were themselves modified by the influence of their environment.

The problem is in part that the mysteries were esoteric religions, their initiates vowed to secrecy, so that we know comparatively little of their actual beliefs and ceremonies. This unfortunately has sometimes allowed free play to speculation and to inferences for which there is no real foundation. A certain notorious book of recent years even speaks of the mystery religions having their headquarters in Jerusalem![3] On a more serious and scholarly level, Professor Kurt Rudolph in his book *Die Gnosis* writes: «In diesem Zusammenhang ist auch ein Hinweis auf den Anteil der hellenistischen Mysterien bei der Ausbildung der Gnosis angebracht. Bekanntlich ist die Organisationsform der gnostischen Gemeinden der der Mysterien nicht unähnlich gewesen. Die den einzelnen Mysterienreligionen zugrunde liegenden Vorstellungen, die nur selten

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[3] To supply bibliographical details would give this volume a publicity which it does not deserve.

(wie zum Beispiel in den ägyptischen Isismysterien) zu einer Theologie zusammengefasst wurden, haben in der Gnosis ein gewisses Echo gefunden, indem sie zugunsten der eigenen Lehre ausgelegt wurden und so als ein Mittel zu ihrer Propagierung dienten (vgl. die sogenannte 'Naassenerhomilie'). Es ist nicht ausgeschlossen, dass in einige gnostische Gemeinden (Ophiten, Naassener) spezielle Mysterienüberlieferungen Eingang fanden, die sich um das gemeinsame Schicksal von Gottheit und Gläubigen rankten und die Erlösung auf praktisch-kultischem Wege zu realisieren suchten, wie es die Mysterienkulte bezweckten".[4] At an earlier stage (p. 230) he had noted that some gnostic communities probably corresponded to the pattern of mystery conventicles, whereas others had more the character of philosophic schools. Later (p. 303-4) he draws attention to the Graeco-oriental syncretism of the period («ist doch jede Religion strenggenommen ein synkretistisches Gebilde; 'reine Religionen' finden sich nur in Schreibtischtheorien"). But that, significantly, is all. On both sides we find esoteric communities meeting together for worship, the form and content of which remain largely unknown in point of detail. On both sides there is a concern with salvation, but is notorious that this is a very fluid and indeed protean concept which might well have meant different things to different groups. In particular it would be of value to know exactly what views were held by one group or another in regard to the evil from which deliverance was sought, the means by which it was held to be effected, and the goal to which it was thought to lead. It is by attention to such points that we may learn to discover the distinctive differences as well as the surface similarities, which may be merely superficial and of no real significance.

One striking feature of Professor Rudolph's paragraph is his reference to ideas which found an echo in Gnosis, and were adapted and re-interpreted to suit the needs of gnostic doctrine and promote its propagation. This is remarkably similar to what many people have thought of the relation between Gnosis and Christianity, and of course raises the self-same questions. Is this the influence of the mysteries upon Gnosis, or gnostic influence on the mysteries? If the former, does this not suggest that in the case of Gnosis and Christianity some greater consideration should be given to the possibility that sometimes at least it was Gnosis and not Christianity that was the recipient, taking over and adapting Christian (and older Jewish) ideas for its own ends?

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[4] *Die Gnosis*, Leipzig 1977, 302f.

At all events, the picture is rather vague and nebulous. Moreover any attempt to reach anything clearer and more definite seems in the nature of the case doomed to failure. Certainly any attempt to explain Gnosis and Gnosticism on the basis of the mystery religions would be open to a charge of *obscurum per obscurius*. There are however certain points which can be made, and which deserve consideration.

In the first place there is the remarkable fact that from Irenaeus to Harnack the traditional view of Gnosticism saw in it the contamination of Christianity not through the mystery religions but through Greek philosophy.[5] This may have a sociological explanation, in that the mysteries appear to have appealed more to the lower classes, whereas the more educated turned to philosophy. It would certainly have sociological implications, for it would suggest that the rise of Christian Gnosticism must be located in a period when Christianity was moving up from the lower classes into more educated circles. This does not mean that there was no Gnosis prior to that, for there is much to suggest that the gnostic "attitude" was already in existence well before the development of the gnostic systems. Even the opponents of the theory of a pre-Christian Gnosticism admit the presence in the first century A.D. or earlier of trends and tendencies which are already moving in the direction of a developed Gnosticism.

The point for the moment is that it is to Greek philosophy and not to the mysteries that the Church Fathers look for an explanation of Gnosticism. Since the Nag Hammadi library became accessible it is no longer possible simply to accept the statements of the Fathers at face value, but in this case their evidence is confirmed by the paucity of reference to mystery deities both in their reports and in the new texts. Only Hippolytus in his account of the Naassenes mentions Attis and Adonis,[6] and neither of them plays any significant part in the system; they are introduced as part of the process of gnostic re-interpretation of existing beliefs and concepts, a clear instance of the gnostic syncretism and adaptation. Adonin does occur as one of the archons in the Apocryphon of John, but in a variety of forms in different places (Adoni, Adonein), and in any case it is open to question whether this name should be linked with Adonis or derived from the Hebrew Adonai. Isis, Osiris, Sarapis and Mithras do not seem to occur either in the patristic sources or in the Nag Hammadi texts. This is in very striking contrast to the prominence given to Jesus, and more particularly, in certain systems, to figures from the Old Testament, and suggests that if the mysteries were significant it was in a somewhat different way from Judaism and Christianity.

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[5] Cf. R.P. Casey, in *JTS* 36, 1935, 45ff.

[6] Hippol. *Ref. V* 7.13, 15; 9.8-9 (Attis); V 7.11, 12; 9.8 (Adonis).

One figure may however give us pause here, and that is Sophia. It has frequently been suggested that the figure of Wisdom in late Jewish speculation came into prominence as in some sense a counterblast to Isis. If that be so, then the Sophia of Gnosis, who is in some sense a development of the Jewish Wisdom, would ultimately be influenced by the figure of Isis; but this is at best indirect, and there has been considerable development in between.

The one cult for which it does seem possible, on the basis of our knowledge, to claim some affinity is that of Mithras, with its seven grades of initiation corresponding to the seven planets, but even here there are points to give us pause. The planets in Gnosis are hostile powers, which is not the case for Mithraism. Moreover Mithraism was a masculine religion, which matches rather badly with the prominence of women in certain gnostic groups, and the attraction which Gnosis apparently exercised upon them. And thirdly Mithraism, for all its long history, appears to have been rather late in making its entrance upon the stage of Graeco-Roman religion. The point here is precisely that there may be superficial resemblances which suggest some relationship, but this is simply not enough. We have to examine these points of contact to determine whether the contact really exists, whether the two systems mean the same thing by the ideas they have in common, whether the one has actually borrowed from the other, or reacted against it.

A final point is the one made long ago, that it was only those cults which were capable of being hellenised and spiritualised that stood any real chance of success in the Graeco-Roman world. The mysteries, like Judaism and Christianity, had in some way to come to terms with Greek ideas and Greek philosophy. Many years ago E. R. Goodenough sadly lamented the fact that reviewers of his book *By Light, Light* had almost uniformly neglected the main body of the work to fasten on his suggestion that Philo of Alexandria had converted Judaism into a mystery religion. Only in the second edition of his *Introduction to Philo Judaeus* did he finally come out with a fully satisfactory solution: as far back as Plato, the philosophers were using mystery terminology for their own purposes, speaking of initiation into the mysteries of philosophy, and it was this convention that Philo was following.[7] E. Wind's *Pagan Mysteries in the Renaissance*,[8] as it happens, has little or nothing to do with the oriental mystery religions; the mysteries are those of Platonism and Neo-Platonism. The use of the same terminology is not enough, nor is the sharing of common ideas. We have to try to see how these ideas were understood, what they meant, in the several traditions with which we are concerned, before we can form any judgment as to relationships or borrowings or influences.

Professor Rudolph's paragraph probably says all that can safely be said in the present state of our knowledge. The mysteries certainly contributed to the religious ferment of the early Roman Empire, and some of their ideas no doubt passed into Gnosticism, some of their traditions were taken over. But this is at most to speak in general terms. It is when we try to identify specific points of contact, specific influences, to determine what traditions were taken over and how they were modified, that the problems arise. Alan Richardson, for example, in rejecting the Bultmann theory of a pre-Christian Gnosis, writes: "A thoughtful person could not have been converted to Gnosticism in the same way as he could have been to Judaism or Christianity: what he might have done would have been to become an initiate in one of the many mystery cults".[9] Later on he writes that Paul's converts "would know all about the mystery-cults with their claims to impart saving *gnosis*".[10] Quite apart from any questions of consistency in Richardson's position, it may be asked whether the concept of salvation in the mysteries was of one communicated by *gnosis* — or by the performance of a ritual. All religions profess in some sense to convey a knowledge of God, hence a *gnosis*; but it is precisely the nature, content and significance of this *gnosis* that is in question. How far is it a gnostic *gnosis*, embodying the particular characteristics and connotation which the term has in gnostic usage?

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[7] *By Light, Light*, Yale 1935; *Introduction to Philo Judaeus*, Oxford 1962.

[8] London 1958, new and enlarged edition 1968.

[9] *An Introduction to the Theology of the New Testament*, London 1958, 41.

[10] *Op. cit.*, 47.

One other phrase in Professor Rudolph's statement calls for repeated emphasis: "indem sie zugunsten der eigenen Lehre ausgelegt wurden". Such ideas as were taken over from the mysteries were re-interpreted, adapted to suit the needs of gnostic speculation, just as with ideas from Judaism or Christianity. This implies that Gnosis is in some sense different from and alien to all of them, and not simply to be explained by smooth development or derivation from any one of them, whatever they may have contributed to its growth.

It is a pleasure to pen these words in tribute to one who over many years has contributed significantly to the study of the problems of Gnosticism, and has provided stimulus and inspiration to others. The problems are not yet solved, and much remains to be done, but without such guides as Professor Quispel the state of our research would be much the poorer.

“TERRA AUTEM STUPIDA QUADAM ERAT ADMIRATIONE”

Reflexions on a remarkable translation of Genesis 1:2a

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The beginning chapters of Genesis, and the first verses of the first chapter in particular, have caused an endless variety of speculations of both the Jewish and the Christian exegetes.[1] The exegesis of the early Christian writers shows again and again what one may call the ‘encounter’ between Christian belief and Greek philosophy. Those thinkers, educated in Greek philosophy, read the Bible with their philosophical eyes. In this way they followed the example of the hellenizing Jew, Philo of Alexandria, who’s way of approach had not found many followers among the Jews themselves. In the first verse not only the term ἀρχή had drawn the attention of those thinkers,[2] but also the verb ποιεῖν and the terms οὐρανός and γῆ.[3]

The present paper will deal with the exegesis of the first half of the second verse, in which the author states that the earth was *tohu* and *bohu*, and in particular on a remarkable rendering of this text mentioned by Calcidius in his commentary on Plato’s *Timaeus.*

To almost all Christian exegetes the Bible was accessible in a Greek form only. The most authoritative translation was that of the Septuagint, in which the semi-verse under discussion ran as follows: ἡ δὲ γῆ ἦν ἀόρατος καὶ ἀκατασκεύαστος.

A few authors, for instance saint Basil in his second homily *In Hexae-*

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[1] For a survey, see *In Principio. Interprétations des premiers versets de la Genèse* (Études Augustiniennes), Paris 1973.

[2] See my contribution to *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt*, entitled: *Frühchristliche Bibelexegese. ‘Der Anfang’*. This paper was written in 1971, but did not appear as yet.

[3] See my paper *The Early Christian Exegesis of ‘Heaven and Earth’ in Genesis 1,1*, in *Romanitas et Christianitas*. Festschrift J.H. Waszink. Amsterdam-London 1973, 371-382.

meron, gave a literal interpretation of this text: the earth was 'invisible', since it was hidden under the surface of the water, and it was 'unordered' or 'unequipped', because it was without the equipment of plants, trees, etc.

Most interpreters, however, championed an allegoric interpretation of these words. Considering the problem, whether the idea of matter was found in the Holy Scripture Origen observes in *De princ.* IV, 4,6 (Rufinus' translation): "*Quam plurimi sane putant ipsam rerum materiam significari in eo, quod in principio Genesis scriptum est a Moyse: 'In principio fecit deus caelum et terram, terra autem erat invisibilis et incomposita'; invisibilem namque et incompositam terram non aliud eis Moyses quam informem materiam visus est indicare*". To them 'earth' stood for 'matter', of which Aristotle had stated that it was ἀνείδεος and ἄμορφος. The two qualifications of earth in the Septuagint were understood as the equivalents of these Aristotelian epithets. The other Greek translations, *viz.* those of Aquila, Symmachus and Theodotion were interpreted in a similar way. In Gregory of Nyssa's *Apologia in Hexaemeron* one finds them summed up and applied to matter.[4]

In his commentary on Plato's *Timaeus* Calcidius, dealing with the problem of matter, mentions (the latin translations of) the Septuagint, Aquila and Symmachus, and then continues as follows: "*Sed Origenes asseverat ita sibi ab Hebraeis esse persuasum, quod in aliquantum sit a vera proprietate derivata interpretatio; fuisse enim in exemplari: 'Terra autem stupida quadem erat admiratione'.*"[5]

The meaning of this remarkable text must be that Origen, according to Calcidius, stated that the afore said interpretation (the *three* translations were, in his view, in fact essentially *one* interpretation; hence the singular) diverted considerably from the true sense of the Genesis text. The ground for this opinion were 'the Hebrews' who had informed him that the hebraïc original had a different meaning, namely "the earth was lying speechless in a kind of admiration". — "*Ita*" is explained by the words "*fuisse enim in exemplari*". The word "*exemplar*" sometimes means 'manuscript', but in the present case it cannot have that sense, since the reading of 'a manuscript' is not a convincing argument here; moreover, one would have expected then "*in exemplari aliquo*".

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[4] See M. Alexandre, *L'exégèse de Gen. 1,1-2a dans l'In Hexaéméron de Grégoire de Nysse: deux approches du problème de la matière*, in *Grégor von Nyssa und die Philosophie*, herausgegeben von H. Dörrie, M. Altenburger, U. Schramm, Leiden 1976, 159 ss.

[5] *Timaeus a Calcidio translatus commentarioque instructus* ed. J.H. Waszink (Plato Latinus IV). Londoni-Leida, 1962, 290,9-11.

In my commentary on Calcidius' treatise on matter, twenty years ago, I could not throw much ligth on this text. I referred to the attempt of Fabricius to explain this rendering of the Hebrew. He stated that *tohu* and *bohu* both could have the significance of *admiratio*. But this rather vague indication did not help much. Hence it could happen that Waszink, in the *apparatus fontium* of his famous edition, stated: "*de hac versione nihil invenire potui*".

Calcidius' assertion is remarkable for several reasons: 1. The rendering itself is, at least at first sight, very strange; 2. The assertion that Origen, the author of the Hexapla, approved this translation is amazing; 3. One wonders who were the Hebrews who are said to be Origen's witnesses.

As to the rendering itself, I had already understood that it was not so strange and had nothing to do with a lack of knowledge of the Hebrew, sometimes imputed to Origen.[6] The terms *tohu* and *bohu* indicate a state of wilderness and disorder. Normally these words are taken in a 'physical' sense. The Hebrews under discussion, and Origen after them, did nothing else than give those terms a 'psychical' meaning. According to them, the two words indicated a state of 'mental disorder'. The earth was 'bewildered', 'perplexed', hence "*stupida admiratione*". And in the allegorical context, in which earth stood for matter, matter was affected by that feeling. In other words, allegory was coupled with personification here.

Now this way of interpreting the text of Genesis 1:2a was not unknown in rabbinic circles. Mme Alexandre has drawn our attention to this fact in her article on Gregory of Nyssa's interpretation of this Genesis text (see note 4). She refers to the English translation of the *Midrash on Genesis*, by M. Friedman, which contains the following rendering of Genesis 1:2a: "The earth sat bewildered and astonished". Origen seems to refer to this rendering and all our problems seem to be solved: the translation mentioned by Calcidius was, in fact, an allegoric interpretation, which could, of course, not have a place in the *Hexapla*; the Hebrews were the rabbis, who are often referred to by Origen, when he treats on the significance of hebrew terms.

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[6] See for instance F. Wutz, *Onomastica Sacra* (TU 41-42), Leipzig 1914, Teil I, p. 36-37. For the opposite view see N. de Lange, *Origen and the Jews. Studies in Jewish-Christian relations in third-century Palestine*, Cambridge 1976, 7. See also G. Sgherri, *A proposito di Origene e la lingua ebraica*, in *Augustinianum* 14, 1974, 223-257.

However, the proper translation of the Genesis text under discussion in the *Midrash* and in Origen may be similar, the explanations based on the renderings are quite different. In the *Midrash* the earth is astonished about the fact that, while she was created together with the heaven, her destiny was so different from that of the heaven. While the heaven was adorned with eternal life, she (the earth) was condemned to mortality. This idea was illustrated by two similes. One of them runs as follows: "This may be compared to the case of a king who bought two slaves on the same bill of sale and at the same price. One he ordered to be supported at the public expense, while the other he ordered to toil for his bread. The latter sat bewildered and astonished: 'Both of us were bought at the same price' exclaimed he, 'yet he is supported from the treasury whilst I have to gain my bread by my toil!' Thus the earth sat bewildered and astonished, saying 'The celestial beings (sc. the angels) and the terrestrial ones (sc. man) were created at the same time: yet the celestial beings are fed by the radiance of the *Skechina*, whereas the terrestrial beings, if they do not toil, do not eat. Strange it is indeed'".[7]

Origen's explanation is as follows: "*stupidae vero ex admiratione significatio animae vim quandam similitudinemque declarat, siquidem opificis et auctoris sui maiestate capta stuperet*".[8] Here the earth, standing for matter, lies in admiration being perplex because of the majesty of the Creator. Obviously this explanation is greatly different from the one given by the hebrew teachers, the main difference being that, while the Hebrews only personified the earth, Origen put the personification[9] in an allegory.

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[7] *Midrash Rabbah. Genesis* I. Translated into English with notes, glossary and indices under the editorship of Rabbi Dr. H. Friedman and Maurice Simon M.A. London-Bournemoth ^{2}1951, 15.

[8] Ed. Waszink, 283,6-8; *auctoritatis* (instead of *auctoris*) is a mistake.

[9] The words "*animae vim quandam similitudinemque declarat*" draw the attention of the reader to the personification.

The difference between the two explanations manifests itself in the different feelings of the earth. In the rabbinic exegesis she is stupified about her being treated in such an inferior manner. In Origen's explanation she is stupified because of her admiration of the majesty of the Creator. The feeling of the earth in rabbinic exegesis could hardly be qualified as "*admiratio*".

Origen's exegesis of the Genesis text under discussion is much more cognate with what a Greek philosopher, according to Calcidius, stated about matter, namely that it "willingly yields to the majesty of the Maker". This formula, that seems to come from Numenius[10] shows the same personification of matter as in Origen. The only difference is in the nature of the feelings of matter: in the one case it is yielding and obeying, in the other it is "*stupida admiratione*".

Our conclusion, so far, might be that Origen's observation mentioned by Calcidius has its roots in the rabbinic personification of *earth* and in the Numenian personification of *matter*.

There is, however, a context which shows even a more striking agreement with Origen's exegesis. Here one finds the idea of matter and the "*stupida admiratio*" together. And although I am not able to prove that Origen has been influenced from this side, it seems worth while to draw the attention of the reader to this complex of ideas in these reflexions on the Calcidian text.

The complex of ideas meant here is that of the Gnosis, particularly the Valentinian Gnosis, as it is described by Irenaeus in the first part of his *Adversus haereses*;[11] he is followed by Tertullian in his *Adversus Valentinianos*.

The Valentinian Gnosis is famous because of its elaborated doctrine on the widespread inner development of the divine nature. This development is realised in emanations, known as Aeons, having abstract names expressing apparently the different aspects of the divine nature. Head of all is the Προπάτωρ, also called Βυθός, who forms a pair with Ἔννοια, also named Χάρις or Σιγή. From these proceed Νοῦς and Ἀλήθεια, who generate Λόγος and Ζωή, and these give existence to Ἄνθρωπος and Ἐκκλησία. The last two pairs, in their turn, produce ten respectively twelf other Aeons. Thus altogether there are thirty, that is fifteen pairs of Aeons. They form the *Pleroma*, the divine reality in its full development. *Adv. haer.* I,1,3 says: τοῦτο τὸ ἀόρατον καὶ πνευματικὸν κατ᾿ αὐτοὺς Πλήρωμα.

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[10] See my *Calcidius on Matter*, 64 and the *apparatus fontium* in Waszink's edition.

[11] In the first file of *VC* G. Quispel wrote a pioneer article on this text. More recently the problems concerning this text were discussed thoroughly by G.C. Stead, *The Valentinian Myth of Sophia* in *JTS* N.D. 20, 1969, 75-104.

The last couple, generated by *Anthropos* and *Ekklesia*, was *Theletos* and *Sophia*. While the other Aeons remained within their prescribed limits, — there was a possibility for aberration in all those coming after the first couple of Aeons —, the youngest, i.c. the female partner of the last pair, Sophia exceeded the limit. She was moved by a passion "beyond the embrace of her partner". This passion existed in «searching after the Father" (τὸ δὲ πάθος εἶναι ζήτησιν τοῦ Πατρός. *Adv. haer.* I,2,2). She desired what was an impossibility for her, namely the understanding of the greatness of the Father, something attainable only for the Only-begotten, *i.e.* the *Nous*; to all other Aeons the Father was unknowable. Because of this desire Sophia was in danger literally from being swallowed up and losing her own existence. Then, however, she encountered the power of Ὅρος, Measure, which consolidates all things. She was then convinced of the impossibility of knowing the Father and so "returned to herself" and laid aside "her previous Plan together with the *pathos* coupled with it, originating from that speechless amazement" (τὴν προτέραν ἐνθύμησιν σὺν τῷ ἐπιγινομένῳ πάθει ἐκ τοῦ ἐκπλήκτου ἐκείνου θαύματος). From this it appears that Sophia's *pathos* originates in a ἔπληκτον θαῦμα, which is, without doubt, the exact equivalent of "*stupida admiratio*".

But, one may object, in the text from Calcidius this mood is ascribed to the earth (= matter), in Irenaeus it belongs to Sophia. In Greek thought, it is true, these realities are completely different indeed. In the Valentinian Gnosis, however, there is a close relationship between the two, as will appear from what follows.

As was said above, Sophia *laid aside* her previous Plan originating in the speechless amazement. This has to be understood literally. Sophia herself returns to the pure and stable state in which she was before; she returns into the Pleroma. But her Plan is *laid aside* and so becomes a reality in itself, which is ἄμορφον and ἀνείδεον (*Adv. haer.* I,2,4). (One recognizes the epithets of matter).

Elsewhere Irenaeus says that Sophia escaped from boundlessness and formlessness, but the Plan, laid aside by her, got outside the Pleroma. The Plan, also called *Achamoth* (Greek transcription of the hebraic name for wisdom) was in the dark and was ἄμορφος and ἀνείδεος. Again one meets the two typical epitheta of matter: Τὴν ἐνθύμησιν τῆς ἄνω Σοφίας, ἣν καὶ ῾Αχαμὼθ καλοῦσιν, ἀφορισθεῖσαν τοῦ Πληρώματος σὺν τῷ πάθει, λέγουσιν ἐν σκιᾶς καὶ κενώματος τόποις ἐκβεβράσθαι κατὰ ἀνάγκην. ἔξω γὰρ φωτὸς ἐγένετο καὶ Πληρώματος, ἄμορφος καὶ ἀνείδεος (*Adv. haer.* I,4,1). See also *Adv. haer.* I,3,1, where the situation of Sophia is described as ὡς ἐν πολλῇ ὕλῃ.

In *Adv. haer.* I,1,3 Irenaeus states that the *pathos* of Sophia and her return into the Pleroma has also been expressed in a *mythos*. This runs as follows: when Sophia attempted the impossible, she gave birth to a formless being (ἄμορφον οὐσίαν) and seeing it she was filled with fear, sadness and *perplexity* (φόβος, λυπή, ἔκπληξις). As well as perplexity (= speechless amazement) there are two other moods. In *Adv. haer.* I,4,1 Achamoth has the same three moods and in I,5,4 Irenaeus asserts explicitly that matter is a composition of those three: ἐκεῖ οὖν τὴν ὑλικὴν οὐσίαν ἐκ τριῶν παθῶν συστῆναι, φόβον τε καὶ λυπῆς καὶ ἀπορίας. (Elaborating this statement he replaces ἀπορία by ἔκπληξις). Thus matter could be defined as the hypostasized moods of Sophia, or otherwise stated: matter is Sophia in so far she has strayed from the right path.

In his treatise "Against the Valentinians" Tertullian expresses the same idea in the following way: "*Nullus tamen Sophiae exitus vacuit; omnes aerumnae eius operantur, siquidem et illa tunc conflictatio in materiae originem pervenit. ignorantia pavor maeror substantiae fiunt*".[12] The "*exitus*" of Sophia is her leaving the Pleroma; to Sophia no "*exitus*" was "open", that means: she could not "disappear". This is explained by the following words: all her troubles are active *i.e.* they result in something, and that "something" is matter. The moods of Sophia become a substance.

About Achamoth, also called Mother, which appeared to be the 'Plan' of Sophia together with her *pathos* — so it is, in fact, the equivalent of matter — Irenaeus states "This Mother is also called Ogdoon, *Sophia*, *Earth*, Jerusalem ..." (*Ad. haer.* I,5,3). The evil product of Sophia is itself called Sophia and similarly Earth. Tertullian, *Adv. Valent.* c. 21,1 observes: "*Interim tenendum Sophiam cognominari et Terram et Matrem*". Thus instead of stating that Sophia was struck by an ἔκπληκτον θαῦμα (= *stupida admiratio*), one could also state that the Earth was thus struck. This is exactly what the translation under discussion of Genesis 1:2a has.[13]

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[12] *Adv. Valent.* 10,2-3. Ed. Aldo Marastoni, Padova 1971. In the CSEL edition, reprinted in the Corpus Christianorum, Kroyman remodeled this text after the example of the Irenaeus text. But Tertullian was not the man to transcribe the author he was following. He prefers to give a more pointed expression to the ideas of his example.

How to explain this striking agreement? One may, of course, think of a fortuitous agreement of two texts which have no relationship at all. But it is also possible that the Hebrews mentioned by Origen had some connection with those gnostic speculations. The identity of the Hebrews referred to by Origen is different on different occasions. One should discern between the cases in which he adduces the Hebrews as witnesses for the signification of Hebrew *names* and those in which he refers to the exegesis of Bible texts by Jewish scholars. In the first case Origen's witnesses apparently are learned Jews or the writings of learned Jews. In the case of an exegesis the situation is more complicate. Sometimes he has Jewish rabbis in view, sometimes he refers to Christian Jews. A revealing text is *Selecta in Ezechiël*, ch. 9 (PG 13, 800D-801A). There Origen discusses Ezekiel 9,4, which speaks, according to the versions of Aquila and Theodotion, of putting the mark Θαῦ on the foreheads of those who groan and lament. (The Septuagint speaks of putting a mark only). Origen states, that having asked the Hebrews whether they could give some hereditary learning about that *Thau*, he has got three answers. The first had said that the *Thau*, being the last letter of the (Hebrew) alphabet, indicated 'perfection'. The second had stated that the *Thau*, being the first letter of the name Thora, symbolized those who had lived in accordance with the Law. The third — and he was one who also believed in Christ — had said that in old times the letter *Thau* looked like the cross.[14] Thus this text of Ezekiel predicted the habit of the Christians to sign themselves with the token of the cross on their forehead, which they all do at the beginning of all kinds of activities, particularly at the beginning of prayers and holy reading.[15]

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[13] The qualification of Sophia's mood as ἔκπληκτον θαῦμα is found only once in Irenaeus. Elsewhere one finds ἔκπληξις, as was mentioned above. Here the element θαῦμα is absent. In *Adv. haer.* Irenaeus uses the verbs ἐκστῆναι (καὶ ἀπορῆσαι). Sophia's leaving the Pleroma is a kind of ἔκστασις (cf. Tertullian's "*exitus*"). Now there is an interesting observation of Rufinus in his translation of Origenes' *In Numeros*, homilia 27: "*Non possumus in Latina lingua uno sermone exprimere verbum Graecum, quod illi* ἔκστασιν *vocant, id est, cum pro alicuius magnae rei admiratione obstupescit animus*" (PG 12,969 B-C). Perhaps ἔκπληκτον θαῦμα is a Greek paraphrase of ἔκστασις.

This text shows clearly that Origen's witnesses could be learned Jews as well as Jewish Christians. One might surmise that in the present case his informants were *gnostic* Jews or Jewish Christians who explained the rabbinic rendering of Genesis 1:2a in a gnostic way.

Such a surmise does not include the assumption that Origen was an adherent of the gnostic way of thinking. It does mean that this gnostic idea was attractive to him because of his well-known inclination to all kinds of allegory. He was always looking for a deeper sense of the Holy Scripture.

But however the relationship of these similarly sounding texts may be, it was a pleasure to the present author to offer these reflexions to the gnostic scholar, to whom this collection of studies has been dedicated.

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[14] One of the archaic forms of the semitic *taw* (the predecessor of the Greek *Tau*) had, indeed, almost the form of a cross, the only difference being that the cross-beam was not always exactly horizontal. See L.H. Jeffery, *The Local Scripts of Archaic Greece. A study of the origin of Greek alphabet and its development from the eight to the fifth centuries B.C.* Oxford 1961, 34 and A. Heubeck, *Schrift* (Archeologia Homerica, 3 Heft IX), Göttingen 1972, 72. Origen's way of indicating this letter (Θαῦ, Θωρά) is not correct, since the *taw* gets aspiration only after a vowel. But also elsewhere one finds similar confusions. (I thank professor P.A.H. de Boer, Oegstgeest, for this information.) In later times the (Greek) *Tau* became the indication of the cross. See, for instance, Thomas of Celano's *Tractatus de Miraculis S. Francisci Assisiensis*, Quaracchi, 1928, par. 3.

[15] Cf. G. Bardy, *Les traditions juives dans l'œuvre d'Origène*, in *RB* 34, 1925, 241.

JEWISH GNOSTICISM?

The Prologue of John, Mandaean Parallels, and the Trimorphic Protennoia

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It is a high privilege for me to share in a volume honoring Professor Gilles Quispel, who has contributed so much and so creatively to the study of Gnosticism. While one may not always agree with some of his hypotheses, one is always stimulated by the boldness of his vision and awed by the breadth of his knowledge. One of the sterling qualities of Professor Quispel's scholarship is his willingness to consider new evidence and to revise his views accordingly. Gilles Quispel was one of the first to recognize the important Jewish elements in Gnosticism — a subject which I shall discuss after examining possible interrelations between the Prologue of John, the Mandaean parallels, and the Nag Hammadi texts.

I. THE PROLOGUE OF JOHN

A. *The Gospel of John*

The literature on the Gospel of John is enormous.[1] Thyen lists 37 pages of closely printed titles of studies on John published between 1966 and 1974![2] Recent surveys reveal the varieties of views held on the sources of the Gospel.[3] In particular, the discovery and publication of the Nag Hammadi treatises have produced a spate of studies on the relationship between the New Testament and Gnosticism, and especially between the Gospel of John and Gnosticism.[4]

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[1] E. Malatesta, *St. John's Gospel 1920-1965*, Rome 1967.

[2] H. Thyen, *Aus der Literatur zum Johannesevangelium*, in *TRu* 39 (1974), 8-44.

[3] D. M. Smith, *The Sources of the Gospel of John*, in *NTS* 10 (1963-64), 336-41; R. Kysar, *The Fourth Evangelist and His Gospel* (Minneapolis: Augsburg, 1975); *idem*, *Vectors in Fourth Gospel Criticism*, in *Int* 31, 1977, 355-66; C. H. H. Scobie, *New Directions in the Study of the Fourth Gospel*, in *SR* 6, 1976-77, 185-93; D. A. Carson, *Current Source Criticism of the Fourth Gospel*, in *JBL* 97, 1978, 411-29.

There has also been no lack of attempts to analyze the Prologue of John.[5] As P.S. Minear observes:

> One of these special concerns is with the perennial puzzle, the prologue of the Gospel. The question of the source analysis of the prologue still constitutes a storm-center of debate, as does the unity of the passage.[6]

The great variety of analyses of the Prologue reflects the variety of presuppositions which have governed the examination of the text. Ridderbos observes:

> It is evident that in this way important opposing points of view appear on the scene in the exegesis of the Prologue. There is, as it were, an attempt to press the pleats of the cloth in one direction, while the original material was creased in an opposite, or at least another, direction.[7]

Of course, even those who accept the Prologue as an integral part of the Gospel must recognize the fact that the concept of the Logos plays no further explicit role in the rest of the work. Pollard therefore cautions, "That fact, by itself, should be sufficient to put us on guard against seeing in the Prologue a developed doctrine of the Logos which reflects the varied forms of Logos-speculation in his environment."[8]

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[4] G. Quispel, *Het Johannesevangelie en de Gnosis*, in *NTT* 11, 19-56-57, 173-203; *idem*, *L'Évangile de Jean et la Gnose*, in *L'Évangile de Jean* (Bruges 1958), 197-208; K. Rudolph, *Gnosis und Gnostizismus, ein Forschungsbericht*, in *TR* 34, 1969, 121-75, 181-231; 36, 1971, 89-124; 37, 1972, 289-360; 38, 1973, 1-25; D.M. Scholer, *Nag Hammadi Bibliography 1948-1968*, Leiden 1971, 84-90 and subsequent supplements in *NT*; S.S. Smalley, *Diversity and Development in John*, in *NTS* 17, 1971, 276-92; K.-W. Tröger, ed., *Gnosis und Neues Testament*, Berlin 1973; E. Yamauchi, *Pre-Christian Gnosticism* [hereafter abbreviated *PCG*], London/Grand Rapids 1973, 30-34; R. Schnackenburg, *Entwicklung und Stand der johanneischen Forschung seit 1955*, in M. de Jonge, ed., *L'Évangile de Jean*, Gembloux/Louvain 1977, 31 ff.; J.M. Lieu, *Gnosticism and the Gospel of John*, in *ExTim* 90, 1979, 233-37.

[5] J.A.T. Robinson, *The Relation of the Prologue to the Gospel of St. John*, in *NTS* 9, 1962-63, 120-29; W. Eltester, *Der Logos und sein Prophet*, in *Apophoreta* (E. Haenchen Festschrift), Berlin 1964, 109-34.

[6] P.S. Minear, *The Audience of the Fourth Evangelist*, in *Int* 31, 1977, 364.

[7] H. Ridderbos, *The Structure and Scope of the Prologue to the Gospel of John*, in *NT* 8, 1966, 187.

[8] T.E. Pollard, *Johannine Christology and the Early Church*, Cambridge 1970, 12f.

II. Parallels and Backgrounds

A. *Bultmann's Hypothesis*

Rudolf Bultmann's analysis of the Prologue formed the keystone of his interpretation of the Gospel of John.[9] As is well known Bultmann held that the Prologue was originally a pre-Christian cultic hymn, an Aramaic poetic discourse whose ultimate source was an Oriental Gnosticism. The hymn had originally celebrated the pre-existent Logos incarnate in John, who was venerated by a baptist sect. When the evangelist was converted from this baptist sect, he transformed the hymn as a polemic against John and applied it instead to Jesus. According to Bultmann, the Prologue formed the introduction to his postulated Offenbarungsreden (Revelatory Discourse Source).[10]

Many of these original suggestions of Bultmann have come under question. Though some have supported his view that the Prologue was originally composed in Aramaic verse,[11] other scholars are not convinced. C. K. Barrett, in particular, remains dubious:

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[9] For studies which preceded Bultmann's epochal commentary see: 1) *Der religionsgeschichtliche Hintergrund des Prologs zum Johannes-Evangelium,* 2) *Die Bedeutung der neuerschlossenen mandäischen und manichäischen Quellen für das Verständnis des Johannesevangeliums,* 3) *Untersuchungen zum Johannesevangelium,* and 4) *Johanneische Schriften und Gnosis,* conveniently reprinted in *Exegetica,* ed. E. Dinkler, Tübingen 1967, 10-35, 55-104, 124-97, 230-54.

[10] See R. Bultmann, *The Gospel of John* Philadelphia 1971, 29-30, *passim.* Going beyond Bultmann, E. Käsemann, *The Testament of Jesus* London 1968, 26, held that the Evangelist was a proponent of naive docetism. For critical responses see Kysar, *The Fourth Evangelist,* 186ff.; W. Schmithals, *Die gnostischen Elemente im Neuen Testament als hermeneutisches Problem,* in Tröger, *Gnosis und Neues Testament,* 378. For another view of the relation between John and docetism, see A. J. Mattill, *Johannine Communities behind the Fourth Gospel,* in *TS* 38, 1977, 306. L. Schotroff in a series of recent works has advocated the view that John is a thoroughly Gnostic work. For critiques, see E. Ruckstuhl, *Das Johannesevangelium und die Gnosis,* in *Neues Testament und Geschichte* [O. Cullmann Festschrift], ed. H. Baltensweiler and B. Reicke, Zurich/Tübingen 1972, 143-56; J. Giblet, *Développements dans la théologie johannique,* in de Jonge, *L'Évangile de Jean,* 66-69.

[11] M. Burrows, *The Johannine Prologue as Aramaic Verse,* in *JBL* 45 1926, 57-69; C. F. Burney, *The Aramaic Origin of the Fourth Gospel,* Oxford 1922; cf. M. Black, *An Aramaic Approach to the Gospels and Acts* 3rd ed., Oxford 1967; M. McNamara, *Logos of the Fourth Gospel and Memra of the Palestinian Targum (Ex 12:42),* in *ExTim* 79, 1967-68, 115-17.

> The striking result of our investigation is that no one of the alleged Semitisms of the prologue is truly convincing. There is no syntactical support for the view that the evangelist drew upon Aramaic sources in the prologue. ... The repeated and various efforts at reconstruction, however, increasingly raise suspicions about the ability of scholars to reconstruct a prologue or *Urprolog* that will seem convincing as a piece of Aramaic poetry.[12]

In 1956 Bultmann published posthumously the work of his pupil, H. Becker. Becker sought to reconstruct a typical archetype of the "Gnostic Revealer Discourse" from parallels found in Mandaean texts, the Odes of Solomon, etc.[13] Another student of Bultmann, E. Schweizer, also used Mandaean texts to recreate a Vorlage for the Johannine Good Shepherd discourse.[14]

The arguments of these Bultmannian scholars have made few converts. Speaking of Becker's work, Brown concludes:

> That parallels for isolated portions of John may be found in individual passages in the Mandean and Hermetic literature ... is true. But this does not mean that there is a good example of a collection of discourses such as Bultmann proposes.[15]

Commenting on the parallels adduced by Schweizer, Meeks observes: "Schweizer's arguments for dependence will hardly bear the weight he places on them. ... The arguments for priority would be valid only if dependence were proved."[16] MacRae notes, "Generally speaking, few scholars would follow Bultmann in postulating a revelation-discourse source, specially after the meticulous analysis of D.M. Smith, Jr."[17] Inasmuch as the alleged Offenbarungsreden has traits which are also found distributed through the rest of the evangelist's materials, the isolation of such a separate source has now been cast in doubt.

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[12] C.K. Barrett, *The Gospel of John and Judaism*, Philadelphia 1975, 28, 31; *idem*, *The Gospel according to St. John*, 2nd ed. Philadelphia 1978, 150.

[13] H. Becker, *Die Reden des Johannesevangeliums und der Stil der gnostischen Offenbarungsrede*, Göttingen 1956.

[14] E. Schweizer, *Ego Eimi: Die religionsgeschichtliche Herkunft und theologische Bedeutung der joh. Bildreden*, Göttingen 1939.

[15] R.E. Brown, *The Gospel according to John I-XII*, Garden City 1966, XXXII.

[16] W. Meeks, *The Prophet-King: Moses Traditions and the Johannine Christology*, Leiden 1967, 310.

[17] G.W. MacRae, *The Fourth Gospel and Religionsgeschichte*, in *CBQ* 32, 1970, 15. Cf. Schnackenburg in den Jonge (note 4), 39: "Die literarkritische Zerlegung der johanneischen Reden und die Rekonstruktion einer Quelle gnostischer Offenbaruns-reden können nicht überzeugen."

Bultmann was attracted to the Mandaean texts as the source from which to reconstruct the hypothetical baptist community of John because of the reverence of the Mandaeans for John. Indeed it is a remarkable feature of the Mandaeans that they venerate John while at the same time they regard Jesus as a false prophet.[18] It is an irony worth noting that Kurt Rudolph, on the one hand, appeals to Bultmann's analysis of John to underline the importance of the Mandaean texts for New Testament studies,[19] but just a few pages later, on the other hand, undercuts Bultmann's original theory by pointing out that the Mandaean traditions about John are quite late and secondary:

> Mit Bezug auf die Bewegung Johannes des Täufers halte ich dieses Unterfangen für völlig haltlos. Sämtliche Berichte über Johannes sind sekundär, auch da ist er nicht Erlöser und nicht Messias; ausserdem lehnen die Mandäer das Fasten ab. Der Unterschied zur johanneischen Taufe wurde schon erwähnt. *Johannes der Taufer und seine Jüngerschaft haben nach dem Befund der uns zugänglichen Quellen keine Beziehung zu den Mandäern gehabt.* In wieweit Traditionen über die antichristliche Stellung des Johannes zu den Mandäern gelangt sind, bleibt im Dunkeln.[20] (The italics are in the original.)

Lady E. S. Drower also noted the secondary nature of the Mandaean traditions about John as follows:

> As remarked earlier in this book, John is never the mouthpiece of Naṣoraean doctrine as it appears in the secret scrolls, and John's figure may have been inserted at a later date, for the name *Yahia* is Arabic not Aramaic.
>
> Although there is a legendary 'life' of John the Baptist in the *Haran Gawaita*, and he appears in both the *Ginza* and Drašia ḏ-Yahia, he is never represented as an incarnation of Adam as Son of Man, or as the founder of the religion.[21]

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[18] See Yamauchi, *PCG*, 123-25.

[19] K. Rudolph, *Die Mandäer*, Göttingen 1960, I, 77-78; *idem*, *Quellenprobleme zum Ursprung und Alter der Mandäer*, in *Christianity, Judaism and Other Greco-Roman Cults* [Morton Smith Festschrift], ed. J. Neusner, Leiden 1975, IV, 114-15.

[20] Rudolph, *Die Mandäer*, I, 80.

[21] E.S. Drower, *The Secret Adam*, Oxford 1960, 101 and n. 1. Cf. E. Segelberg, *Old and New Testament Figures in Mandaean Version*, in *Syncretism*, ed. S.S. Hartman, Stockholm 1969, 236-37; Meeks, 12, 263-65.

Bultmann's original formulation that the Prologue was a pre-Christian "baptist hymn" has not convinced even his own students — H. Conzelmann, E. Käsemann,[22] and E. E. Haenchen[23] who have come to accept the view that the Prologue was a Christian hymn. Another student, W. Schmithals, has recently issued a repudiation of his master's theory in the sharpest terms:

> Der Logos-Begriff des Hymnus ist hellenistischen Ursprungs dürfte dem christlichen Verfasser gleichfalls durch jüdische Vermittlung (vgl. Philo) zugekommen sein.
>
> Für den Grundgedanken der zweite Strophe, die Menschenwerdung des Logos, gibt es keine ausserchristliche Vorlage; der Gedanke als solcher ist christliche Ursprungs.
>
> Direkte gnostische Einflüsse verrät der hymnus nicht. ...
>
> Die Vorstellung, der Hymnus sei vorchristlich gewesen, ist abenteuerlich. Bultmanns Vermutung, es handele sich um ein ursprungliches Täuferlied, hat mit Recht keinen Anklang gefunden.[24]

B. *The Mandaean Texts*

For Bultmann the Mandaean writings provided the clearest parallels for his thesis. The fact that these writings are preserved in very late manuscripts did not trouble Bultmann, who assumed the pre-Christian origin of the Mandaean sect. This same conviction has been shared by the leading Mandaean scholars, E. S. Drower, K. Rudolph, and R. Macuch, who cite the Johannine parallels as evidence for the early age of Mandaeanism.[25]

Macuch has asserted, "The Gospel of John is so saturated with Mandaean elements that these can be unperceived only by one who is blind."[26] As Walter Bauer in his commentary on John pointed out long ago there are indeed striking parallels between the Prologue and Mandaean texts, e.g.:

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[22] E. Käsemann, *Aufbau und Anliegen des johanneischen Prologs*, in *Libertas Christiana* [F. Delekat Festschrift], München 1957, 86.

[23] E. Haenchen, *Probleme des johanneischen 'Prologs'*, in *ZTK* 60, 1963, 306-307, 333. Cf. also J. Hamerton-Kelly, *Pre-Existence, Wisdom and the Son of Man*, New York 1973, 200.

[24] W. Schmithals, *Der Prolog des Johannesevangeliums*, in *ZNW* 70 1979, 34-35. Cf. Brown, 21; Barrett, *John and Judaism*, 35.

[25] On the most recent literature on the Mandaeans see R. Macuch, *Mandäische Bibliographie seit 1965*, in *Zur Sprache und Literatur der Mandäer*, ed. R. Macuch, Berlin 1976, 245-50.

[26] R. Macuch, *Gnostische Ethik und die Anfänge der Mandäer*, in *Christentum am Roten Meer*, ed. F. Altheim and R. Stiehl, Berlin 1973, II, 267.

> Die Welten kennen deine (sc. Manda d'Haije) Namen nicht, verstehen dein Licht nicht. ... Der Mann von erprobter Gerechtigkeit (Manda d'H.) spross empor und leuchtete in der Welt. Kraft des gewaltigen Lebens sprach er und offenbarte verborgene Mysterien. Ueber seine Freunde legte er Glanz, doch alle Welten verfolgten ihn.[27]

Other striking parallels from the *Canonical Prayer Book* include such passages as these:

> I am the Word of the First Life. Pre-existent am I to all 'uthras, for the Life created me and blessed me, and gave me strength, benison and goodness.[28]
>
> Hail to the First Life before Whom none existed, the Sublime from worlds of light, the Ineffable which is above all works; to the Ancient Radiance and the Great Primal Light, the Life which emanated from Life and the Truth that was of old, from the beginning.[29]

But what do these parallels mean? They can be significant in providing us insight into John's Vorlage only if Mandaeanism was a pre-Christian movement. Elsewhere I have tried to demonstrate that the objective evidences cannot establish the development of Mandaeanism prior to the second century A.D.[30]

The changing assessment of Professor Gilles Quispel toward the reconstruction offered by Macuch and Rudolph is most significant. In his earlier studies Quispel had looked with favor upon the studies of these scholars:

> Aber andererseits haben die Untersuchungen von Kurt Rudolph und R. Macuch wahrscheinlich gemacht, dass die Mandäer, eine noch heute bestehende gnostische Sekte in Irak, jüdisch-palästinensischer Herkunft sind und schon in vorchristlicher Zeit bestanden haben.[31]

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[27] W. Bauer, *Das Johannesevangelium*, 3rd ed., Tübingen 1933, 13; see also 8, 12, 16.

[28] E. S. Drower, tr., *The Canonical Prayerbook of the Mandaeans*, Leiden 1959, 261.

[29] Ibid., 33.

[30] E. Yamauchi, *Gnostic Ethics and Mandaean Origins* Cambridge, Mass. 1970. My arguments have been vigorously contested by R. Macuch (see note 26) and by K. Rudolph, in *TLZ* 97, 1972, 733-38. Other scholars have been more receptive. See the reviews by G. W. MacRae in *TS* 32, 1971, 729-30; by R. M. Grant in *JBL* 91, 1972, 281; and by J. B. Segal in *BSOAS* 36, 1973, 135.

[31] G. Quispel, *Gnosis und Religionswissenschaft*, reprinted in *Gnostic Studies*, Istanbul 1975, II, 265.

Elsewhere Quispel wrote:

> Kurt Rudolph argued in his useful monograph on the Mandaeans that this sect was of Western Palestinian origin, and there is much to say in favor of his thesis. ... Even if Mandaeism turns out to be neither so old nor of Palestinian origin, obligatory reading of Mandaean writings could serve students of the NT as good preparation for the right understanding of the Fourth Gospel.[32]

Rudolph, following the views of R. Reitzenstein and G. Widengren, had maintained that Mani (A.D. 216-275) had been raised among the Mandaeans.[33] Then in 1970 came the sensational publication of the Cologne Codex which confirmed an-Nadim's notice that Mani had been raised — not among the Mandaeans — but among the Jewish-Christian Elchasaites.[34]

This discovery has now shattered Quispel's confidence in the reconstructions offered by Macuch and Rudolph: "All this is very edifying and impressive and could be believed, was also believed by me, until the Cologne Mani Codex was discovered."[35] He also writes:

> The discovery of the Cologne Mani Codex has destroyed this beautiful story. ... With the benefit of hindsight, the theories of Rudolph and Macuch turn out to be rather ill founded. ... If there is no evidence of pre-Christian Mandeanism, there is no trace of it in the first and second century of our era either.[36]

In defending his own views, Rudolph concedes the significance of the Cologne Codex for Manichaeism but denies that it undermines his views of Gnosticism in general and of Mandaeanism in particular.[37]

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[32] G. Quispel, *Gnosis and the New Sayings of Jesus*, in *ErJb* 38, 1969, reprinted in *Gnostic Studies*, II, 207-208.

[33] See Yamauchi, *PCG*, 79-80; G. Widengren, *Mani and Manichaeism*, New York 1965, 26.

Rudolph, *Die Mandäer*, I, 239; *idem*, *Gnosis und Manichäismus nach den Koptischen Quellen*, in *Koptologische Studien in der Deutschen Demokratischen Republik*, ed. Institut für Byzantinistik, Halle 1965-66, 156.

[34] A. Henrichs and L. Koenen, *Eine alte griechische Mani Schrift*, in *ZPE* 5, 1970, 97-216; see also A. Henrichs, *Mani and the Babylonian Baptists*, in *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 77, 1973, 23-59.

[35] G. Quispel, *Jewish Gnosis and Mandaean Gnosticism*, in *Les textes de Nag Hammadi*, ed. J.-E. Ménard, Leiden 1975, 112; *idem*, *Gnostic Studies*, II, 228-30.

[36] G. Quispel, review of W. Foerster, *Gnosis*, in *BiOr* 32, 1975, 372; *idem*, *Gnostic Studies*, I, 230.

[37] K. Rudolph, *Bemerkungen zu einer Rezension von G. Quispel*, in *VC* 32, 1978, 143; *idem*, *Quellenprobleme*, 117; *idem*, *Die Bedeutung des Kölner Mani-Codex für die Mani-*

In their attempts to identify the Mandaeans as the baptists among whom Mani was raised, both Widengren and Rudolph had sought to discover "ascetic" traits in the Mandaean texts.[38] Quispel points out that these were efforts to force the evidence into pre-conceived lines:

> Other scholars, who erroneously identified these baptists (Elkesaites) with the non-ascetic Mandaeans, made tremendous scholarly efforts to prove that the Mandaeans had indeed been ascetics at one time, although it is eminently clear that these words did not refer to any historical facts, but were simply an expression of tendentious Manichaean propaganda.[39]

In her recent dissertation Jorunn Jacobsen makes a similar observation:

> Maintaining that there is an ascetic, old stage of the Mandaean religion, for instance, puts Rudolph in trouble, for he is bound to encounter religious facts, whether textual or moral/practical ones, that make such a distinction between old and new, dualist and monist, well-nigh impossible.[40]

On the main subject of her study, Jacobsen writes:

> There is no evidence of an outspoken devalution of the female in Mandaean traditions, however. Rudolph constructs such a depreciation where it fits his objective. As conveyed above, the scholar is unable to understand Ruha as Hawwa's image, because he fails to recognize Ruha's ambiguous nature.[41]

In a recent critique of methods used in the study of Gnosticism, H. A. Green has commented:

> This should pose serious problems for Kurt Rudolph who advocates incorporating philosophical and historical hermeneutics into "*Religionswissenschaft*". It is paradoxical for him to advocate an hermeneutic whose primary concern is 'interpretation' and on the other hand, conduct phenomenological studies which affirm a suspension of judgment and practise both phenomenological and eidetic reduction.[42]

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chäismusforschung, in *Mélanges d'histoire des religions offerts à Henri-Charles Puech*, Paris 1974, 471-86.

[38] See Yamauchi, *Gnostic Ethics and Mandaean Origins*, 35-36, 45-47.

[39] Quispel, *Gnostic Studies*, II, 224.

[40] Jorunn Jacobsen, *Spirit Ruha in Mandaean Religion*, unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Chicago, 1978, 116.

[41] *Ibid.*, 117. For Rudolph's response to my own strictures, see his *Quellenprobleme*, 118, n. 23.

[42] H.A. Green, *Gnosis and Gnosticism*, in *Numen* 24 1977, 106, n. 48.

In summary, in spite of Rudolph's massive erudition and valuable insights, his presuppositions lead him into forcing the Mandaean evidence into a Procrustean bed and vitiate any attempt to establish Mandaean traditions as the Vorlage of John's Prologue.

C. *Philo, Qumran and the Odes of Solomon*

W. Bousset and R. Bultmann believed that they could find evidence of pre-Christian Jewish Gnosticism in Philo. Most scholars would disagree,[43] but there is no underestimating the importance of Philo for pre-Gnostic tendencies,[44] and for the background of John, in particular the doctrine of the Logos.[45]

Numerous studies have also highlighted the importance of the Qumran scrolls for the study of John.[46] As W.F. Albright has noted:

> The prologue to St. John's Gospel shows striking differences from, and striking similarities to, Qumran doctrine. The sentence: "Without it was nothing made that was made", occurs almost word for word in the *Manual of Discipline* [1QS XI.11], though the subject there is the knowledge of God, i.e. right living, right thinking, and knowledge of Scripture.[47]

Leaney comments, "The language is accidentally like John I,3, but there is no *logos* doctrine here, the statements being straightforward assertions of God's creative power."[48]

Among the most important parallels cited by Bultmann were those from the Syriac *Odes of Solomon*, which he regarded as Gnostic. The

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[43] See Yamauchi, *PCG*, 147-48.

[44] B. Pearson, *Friedländer Revisited*, in *Studia Philonica* 2, 1973, 23-39; *idem*, *Philo and the Gnostics*, Berkeley 1977.

[45] A.W. Argyle, *Philo and the Fourth Gospel*, in *ExTim* 63, 1951, 385-86; R. McL. Wilson, *Philo and the Fourth Gospel*, in *ExpTim* 65, 1953, 47-49; C.H. Dodd, *The Interpretation of the Fourth Gospel*, Cambridge 1953, 54-73; D.A. Hagner, *The Vision of God in Philo and John*, in *Journal of the Evangelical Theological Society* 14, 1971, 81-94.

[46] F.M. Braun, *L'arrière-fond judaïque du quatrième évangile et la Communauté de l'Alliance*, in *RB* 62, 1955, 5-44; K. Stendahl, ed., *The Scrolls and the New Testament*, New York 1957; M. Black, ed., *The Scrolls and Christianity*, London 1969; J.H. Charlesworth, *A Criticial Comparison of the Dualism in 1QS III,13-IV,26 and the 'Dualism' Contained in the Fourth Gospel*, in *NTS* 16, 1969, 389-418; W.S. LaSor, *The Dead Sea Scrolls and the New Testament*, Grand Rapids 1972, ch. 15; J.H. Charlesworth, ed., *John and Qumran*, London 1972.

[47] W.F. Albright, *New Horizons in Biblical Research*, London 1966, 45.

[48] A.R.C. Leaney, *The Rule of Qumran and Its Meaning*, London 1966, 256.

Odes date from early in the second century A.D. — not much later than the composition of the Gospel of John.[49] In opposition to Rudolph, who has also assumed the Gnostic character of the Odes,[50] J. H. Charlesworth, the translator of a new edition of the Odes, has argued vigorously against the Gnostic character of the work.[51]

Charlesworth with R. A. Culpepper in a recent study identified 26 close parallels with the Gospel of John, including the following with the Prologue (similar phrases are italicized):

PROLOGUE OF JOHN	THE ODES OF SOLOMON
(1:1) "In the beginning was *the Word*...	(32:2) "And *the Word* of truth who is self-originate.
(1:1-3) "*In the beginning was the Word*, and the *Word* was with God. The same was *in the beginning* with God. *All things were made through him*; and *without him was not anything made that hath been made.*	(16:18f.) "And *there is nothing outside of the Lord*, / Because *He was before anything came to be.* // And *the worlds are by His Word*, / And by the thought of His heart.
(1:5) "And the *light* shined in the *darkness*: and the *darkness apprehended it not.* [= has not *overcome* it.]	(18:6) "Let not *light be conquered by darkness*, / Nor let truth flee from falsehood.//
(1:10-12,14,16) "He was in the world, and the world was *made through him*, and the world *knew him* not. *He came unto his own*, and *they that were his own received him* not. But as many as *received him* ... And the *Word became flesh*, and dwelt among us *For of his fulness we all received and grace for grace.*	(7:4,7,10,12) "*He became like me* that I might *receive Him*. / In form He was considered like me, ... the *Word* of Knowledge. / ... *He was gracious to me* in *His abundant grace*, / ... He has allowed Him *to appear to them that are His own*; / In order that they might recognize *Him that made them*, / And not suppose that they came of themselves.//

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[49] See Yamauchi, *PCG*, 92.

[50] K. Rudolph, *War der Verfasser der Oden Salomos ein 'Qumran-Christ'?* in *RQ* 4, 1964, 523-55.

[51] J. H. Charlesworth, *The Odes of Solomon — Not Gnostic*, in *CBQ* 31, 1969, 357-69; *idem*, *Qumran, John and the Odes of Solomon*, in Charlesworth, *John and Qumran*, 107-36; *idem*, *The Odes of Solomon*, Oxford 1973. Other scholars who agree that the Odes should not be considered Gnostic include: H. Chadwick, "*Some Reflections on the Character and Theology of the Odes of Solomon*," *Kyriakon* (J. Quasten Festschrift), ed P. Granfield and J. Jungmann Münster, 1970, 270; I. Gruenwald, *Knowledge and Vision*, in *Israel Oriental Studies* 3, 1973, 65.

In spite of these striking similarities, Charlesworth and Culpepper do not believe that there was any direct borrowing either by the Odes from John, or by John from the Odes. They conclude that both reflect a common milieu.[52]

D. *The Nag Hammadi Texts*

The latest body of texts which has been enlisted to elucidate John is the "Nag Hammadi Library," fully translated into English in 1977 thanks to J.M. Robinson and his team of translators.[53] Heightened interest in these texts is bound to be sustained by the translation of W. Bauer's provocative monograph[54] and by the publication of popular presentations by John Dart[55] and by Elaine Pagels.[56]

In 1956 J. Jervell had written: "Was auch immer die Nag-Hammadi-Texte ans Licht bringen werden, so bleibt es doch weiterhin allgemein anerkannt, dass eine pagane, vorchristliche Gnosis kein Gespenst ist."[57] The most significant attempt to show that Bultmann's hypothesis is not a specter but has substance is the claim made by Robinson that some of the non-Christian or barely Christianized texts from Nag-Hammadi may provide evidence for pre-Christian Gnosticism. In particular, Robinson has hailed *The Apocalypse of Adam* (NHC V,5) and *The Paraphrase of Shem* (NHC VII,1) as examples of such documents. I have attempted to refute such interpretations.[58]

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[52] J.H. Charlesworth and R.A. Culpepper, *The Odes of Solomon and the Gospel of John*, in *CBQ* 35, 1973, 303, 306ff. One should not, however, underestimate the differences. Charlesworth and Culpepper, 310, note: "Nowhere, however, does the Odist explicitly state that the Word became flesh."

[53] J.M. Robinson, ed., *The Nag Hammadi Library in English* (hereafter *NHL*), New York 1977.

[54] W. Bauer, *Orthodoxy and Heresy in Earliest Christianity*, tr. R. Kraft and G. Krodel, Philadelphia 1971. For critiques of Bauer's thesis that heresy preceded orthodoxy, see F.W. Norris, *Ignatius, Polycarp, and 1 Clement: Walter Bauer Reconsidered*, in *VC* 30, 1976, 23-44; cf. J.F. McCue, *Orthodoxy and Heresy: Walter Bauer and the Valentinians*, in *VC* 33, 1979, 118-30.

[55] J. Dart, *The Laughing Savior*, New York 1976.

[56] E. Pagels, *The Gnostic Gospels*, New York 1979.

[57] J. Jervell, *Er Kam in sein Eigentum (zu Joh 1.11)*, in *ST* 1956, 26.

[58] Yamauchi, *PCG*, 101-16; *idem*, *Some Alleged Evidences for Pre-Christian Gnosticism*, in *New Dimensions in New Testament Studies*, ed. R. Longenecker and M. Tenney, Grand Rapids 1975, 46-70; *idem*, *Pre-Christian Gnosticism in the Nag Hammadi Texts?* in *CH* 48, 1979, 129-41.

In my earlier expositions I had interpreted Frederik Wisse as holding that *The Paraphrase of Shem* could be viewed as evidence for Pre-Christian Gnosticism. Wisse, who translated the document for *The Nag Hammadi Library in English* writes: "The tractate proclaims a redeemer whose features agree with those features of New Testament Christology which may very well be pre-Christian in origin."[59] Elsewhere he wrote that the *ParaShem* contains only "slim and controversial parallels with Christianity."[60] Alan Segal also seems to have understood Wisse's position in the same manner: "Fred Wisse seems to find that the notion of a pre-Christian savior myth is confirmed in this material, even though the document is not pre-Christian."[61]

However, in a recent personal note, Professor Wisse informs me that I have misread him: "I still think it is basically non-Christian though most probably not pre-Christian."[62] I am happy to acknowledge this correction in print. Increasing doubts are also being expressed by scholars about the view that *The Apocalypse of Adam* can be regarded as a pre-Christian document.[63]

For an elucidation of the Prologue one would wish to examine the occurrences of the word Logos in the Nag Hammadi texts. In checking the Index of Proper Names in the NHL, one must note that some of the translators transliterated the Greek loanword as *Logos*, while others rendered it as the *Word.*

Of the 60 occurrences of Logos listed, 47 occur in *The Tripartite Tractate* (NHC I,5). Though it has some Valentinian affinities, this treatise is unique in substituting for the myth of Sophia the myth of the Logos. The Logos, whose intent was good (76,3), begot himself as a perfect unity but also begot "in shadows, models and likenesses." This therefore led to "an extremely painful division and a turning away because of his self-doubt and division, forgetfulness and ignorance of himself and of that which is (77,21-26)." Eventually the defective Logos was illumined (90,14).

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[59] F. Wisse in Robinson, *NHL*, p. 308.

[60] F. Wisse, *The Redeemer Figure in the Paraphrase of Shem*, in *NT* 12, 1970, 137.

[61] A.F. Segal, *Two Powers in Heaven: Early Rabbinic Reports about Christianity and Gnosticism*, Leiden 1978, 254, n. 24.

[62] In a personal letter, Jan. 25, 1980, Professor Wisse adds, "I agree with you on the Apocalypse of Adam."

[63] In addition to the references cited in the articles listed in note 58, see A.F.J. Klijn, *Seth in Jewish, Christian and Gnostic Literature*, Leiden 1977, 90. In a paper presented to the patristics conference at Oxford in 1979, Glen Shellrude discussed the difficulties of maintaining that the *Apocalypse of Adam* is a pre-Christian Gnostic work.

In *The Gospel of the Egyptians* (NHC III,2) we read: "Then the great Logos, the divine Autogenes, and the incorruptible man Adamas mingled with each other. A Logos of man came into being. However, the man came into being through a word (49,16-19)." Böhlig and Wisse comment that in this document the Logos plays a much greater role than Christ especially in the light of comparable passages in *The Apocryphon of John.*[64]

Before the publication of the Nag Hammadi treatises, C.H. Dodd on the basis of patristic references had drawn the following conclusion:

> But the Logos seldom appears in any specially significant role. In the systems of Basilides and Valentinus Logos is one of a number of aeons, but is neither creator nor revealer, and the Valentinians explain that Jesus the Saviour is called Logos πατρωνυμικῶς because He is sprung from the aeons, among whom is Logos, and that in His incarnation He became an οὐράνιος λόγος through the descent of Holy Spirit. All this is best explained if we suppose that the general tradition to which the Gnostic systems point back did not work with the Logos idea, and that it is introduced into these systems because of the place it already had in Christian thought.[65]

Only a comprehensive study of all the occurrences of Logos/Word in the Nag Hammadi texts can demonstrate how many of these passages manifest a derivative or independent use of the term. Certainly some of the occurrences as in the *Authoritative Teaching* (NHC VI,3), "she (the soul) looks at them in the invisible word (22,22)" owe "nothing to Christian speculation on the Johannine title," as MacRae has observed.[66]

E. *The Trimorphic Protennoia*

It is above all *The Trimorphic Protennoia* (NHC XIII,1), in which the Logos/Word appears in six passages, that has attracted interest.

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[64] A. Böhlig and F. Wisse, *The Gospel of the Egyptians*, Leiden 1975, 32-33.

[65] Dodd, 109.

[66] G.W. MacRae, *A Nag Hammadi Tractate on the Soul*, in *Ex orbe religionum* (G. Widengren Festschrift), ed. C.J. Bleeker *et al.*, Leiden 1972, I, 476-77.

At the Society of Biblical Literature convention in New Orleans in 1978 J.M. Robinson called attention to the view of the Berliner Arbeitskreis für koptisch-gnostische Schriften regarding this document and especially to the work of Gesine Schenke.[67] The East Berlin group, which also includes thc West Berlin scholar Carsten Colpe, has hailed *The Trimorphic Protennoia* (TP) for its "stupendous" parallels to the Prologue of John.

According to Robinson's presentation:

> It is conceded that there are Christian ingredients in the TP, but they are classified by these German scholars as the result of the secondary Christianizing of an originally Jewish Gnostic tractate. Thus the Trimorphic Protennoia would not itself be the long-sought "source" of the Johannine prologue, but would through its own pre-Christian Jewish background provide the best available access to the background of the Johannine prologue.[68]

In the case of the "Sachparallele" the Berlin group suggests that "das Licht mehr von der Protennoia auf den Johannes-Prolog fällt als umgekehrt."[69] They hail the work as "eine glänzende Bestätigung ... als Vorlage des Johannes-Prologs erschlossene Logos-Lied."[70] As to how they determine this, these scholars argue:

> In dieser Perspektive hat man den Eindruck, als ob die betreffenden Aussagen der Protennoia in ihrem natürlichen Kontext stehen, während ihre Parallelen im Johannes-Prolog, so wie er uns eben im vierten Evangelium vorliegt, künstlich einem ihnen eigentlich fremden Zweck dienstbar gemacht erscheinen.[71]

It is clear that these scholars are working with a "Wirkungsfeld der Johannes-Interpretation R. Bultmanns."[72] Other scholars who do not share such presuppositions will have different perceptions of these parallels.

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[67] G. Schenke, *Die dreigestaltige Protennoia (NHC XIII)*, Theol. Dissertation, A. Rostock 1977, which I have not seen.

[68] J.M. Robinson, *The Prologue of the Gospel of John and the Trimorphic Protennoia*, in *Society of Biblical Literature, 1978, Abstracts*, ed. P. Achtemeier, Missoula 1978, 29.

[69] Berliner Arbeitskreis für koptisch-gnostische Schriften, *Die dreigestaltige Protennoia*, in *TLZ* 99, 1974, 733.

[70] Ibid.

[71] Ibid., 734.

[72] Ibid., 733. On Bultmann's presuppositions, see R. Kysar, *R. Bultmann's Interpretation of the Concept of Creation in Jo 1,3-4*, in *CBQ* 32, 1970, 77-85.

[73] Y. Janssens, "*Le Codex XIII de Nag Hammadi*", in *Muséon*, 87, 1974, 341-413. I have not seen the improved translation which Mlle. Janssens published in 1978.

We now have three translations of the text: 1) an English translation by John D. Turner in NHL, pp. 461-70, 2) a French translation by Y. Janssens,[73] and 3) the German translation by the Berliner Arbeitskreis.[74] The Berlin scholars single out 47,14-32 and 49,8-20 [49,11-23 in the English version] as the most striking parallels.[75] Janssens has drawn up a detailed list of parallels, including the following passages:

PROLOGUE OF JOHN	TRIMORPHIC PROTENNOIA
(1:1) "In the beginning was the Word"	(46,5 & 14; 47,15) "Je suis le Logos"
(1:3) "all things were made through him"	(35,3) "le Tout se tient debout par moi"; (36,7f.) "C'est moi qui ai produit le Tout"[76]
(1:4) "In him was life"	(35,12) "Je suis la Vie"
(1:4,5,9,10) "In him was life, and the life was the light of men. The light shines in the darkness, and the darkness has not overcome it. ... The true light that enlightens every man was coming into the world. He was in the world, and the world was made through him, yet the world knew him not."	(38,13; 47,29-30) "Je suis la Lumière". (37,4ff.) "le Logos ... se manifesta à ceux qui sont dans les ténèbres" (46,30ff.) "une Parole ... a été envoyée pour illuminer ceux qui sont dans les ténèbres" (47,31) "Je suis venue dans le monde" (47,19f.) "Ils n'ont pas connu celui qui me donne puissance" (47,24) "personne d'entre eux ne m'a connue" (50,13) "ils ne m'ont pas connue"
(1:11) "He came to his own home and his own people received him not"	(40,31 & 36) "ceux qui sont à moi" (41,17) "les miens"
(1:14) "And the Word became flesh and dwelt (ἐσκήνωσεν) among us".	(47,14f.) "Je me suis manifesté à eux dans leurs tentes (CKHNH)".

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[74] *TLZ* 99, 1974, 731-46. For numerous parallels between the *Trimorphic Protennoia* and Mandaic texts see K. Rudolph, *Coptica-Mandaica: Zu einigen Übereinstimmungen zwischen koptisch-gnostischen und mandäischen Texten*, in *Essays on the Nag Hammadi Texts in Honour of Pahor Labib*, ed. M. Krause, Leiden 1975, 194ff.

[75] Berliner Arbeitskreis für koptisch-gnostische Schriften, *Die Bedeutung der Texte von Nag Hammadi für die moderne Gnosisforschung*," in Tröger, *Gnosis und Neues Testament*, 75-76.

[76] The German translation of this line, *TLZ* 99, 1974, 735, has: "Ich bin es, der aufgegangen ist dem All," which is fairly close to Mlle. Janssens' translation. On the other hand, the English translation in *NHL*, 462, is not parallel to John 1:3: "I am the one who gradually dawns on the All." This results from a different rendering of the Coptic verb.

Janssens terms the last parallel "le plus frappant."[77] J. Helderman has focused on the word *CKĒNĒ* "tents" to demonstrate that this is clear evidence of the Protennoia's dependence upon the Prologue and not vice versa. Pointing out that the word is used only here in the Nag Hammadi texts, he concludes that the author made a conscious choice of this particular Greek loanword rather than the more common *OIKOC* or a corresponding Coptic word.[78]

In the light of all the other parallels to the Prologue, the conclusion is difficult to avoid that the word *CKĒNĒ* reflects the *eskēnōsen* "tabernacled" of John 1:14. As many scholars have noted the latter Greek word seems to echo the Hebrew *sh^{e}kīnah* "glory" (cf. Exodus 25:8).[79] As the use of the word *CKĒNĒ* in the TP indicates but a manifestation to the elect rather than a true incarnation, Helderman concludes that this is an indication that the TP has taken John 1:14 and transformed it in a purely docetic direction.[80]

Whereas apart from the final reference — "I put on Jesus. I bore him from the cursed wood (50,12-14)" — the Berlin scholars detect only a "hauchdünne Firnis"[81] in the document, Helderman,[82] Janssens,[83] and R. McL. Wilson are able to detect numerous New Testament allusions not only to John but to the other Gospels and Pauline texts. Wilson concludes:

> In the light of all this it may be suggested that the Christian element in the text as it now stands is rather stronger than the Berlin group have recognised. This would in turn tend to weaken any theory of influence on the Fourth Gospel.[84]

I would also underline that the key passage in question (47,14-28) concerning the manifestation as the Logos/Word and also the related passage (49,11-23) which the Berlin group singles out relate to but one of *three* manifestations of the Protennoia, who first appears as the Thought (35,1) and then as the Voice (42,4). The Voice exists as the Father, the Mother, and the Son (37,22). Such triple manifestations are a common feature of developed Gnosticism.[85]

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[77] Y. Janssens, *Une source gnostique du Prologue?* in de Jonge, *L'Évangile de Jean*, 356.

[78] J. Helderman, *'In ihren Zelten ...' Bemerkungen bei Codex XIII Nag Hammadi p. 47: 14-18, im Hinblick auf Joh i 14*, in *Miscellanea Neotestamentica*, ed. T. Baarda, A. F. J. Klijn, and W. C. van Unnik, Leiden 1978, I, 189, 195ff., 206f.

[79] Brown, 33; Dodd, 271; J. C. Maegher, *John 1,14 and the New Temple*, in *JBL* 88, 1969, 57ff.

[80] Helderman, 206-207.

[81] Berliner Arbeitskreis in Tröger, *Gnosis und Neues Testament*, 75.

[82] Helderman, 207-11.

[83] Janssens, *Une source gnostique*, 356-58.

[84] R. McL. Wilson, The *Trimorphic Protennoia*, in *Gnosis and Gnosticism*, ed. M. Krause, Leiden 1977, 54.

In order to maintain the priority of the traditions in the Protennoia with Robinson and the Berlin scholars, one would have to make several assumptions:

1) The PT is a barely Christianized work.
2) It preserves a Logos myth of a "Jewish Gnosticism."
3) This Jewish Gnostic myth antedates Christianity.
4) The evangelist took but one strand of the myth and historicized it in an anti-docetic fashion by setting forth the incarnation of the Logos in Jesus (John 1:14).

To subscribe to such a web of suppositions requires a great measure of creative imagination. It is far simpler to suppose that a later Gnostic writer transformed New Testament passages, in particular the Prologue of John, in a docetic direction such as we see reflected — not in some hypothetical document — but in the actual Gnostic exegesis of John 1:1-14.[86]

F. *Jewish Wisdom Tradition*

Instead of such late and remote materials as the *Trimorphic Protennoia*, whose presumptive kernel has to be exposed and then retrojected back in time, we have early Jewish texts close at hand which can surely provide a more satisfactory background for the Prologue.[87]

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[85] Janssens, *Codex XIII de Nag Hammadi*, 343-46.

[86] See Pollard (note 8); M. Wiles, *The Spiritual Gospel: The Interpretation of the Fourth Gospel in the Early Church*, Cambridge 1960, 96-111; E.H. Pagels, *The Johannine Gospel in Gnostic Exegesis*, Nashville 1973, 35, 43, *passim*.

On the unsatisfactory methodology often employing late parallels which are extrapolated backward, Schnackenburg cites his colleague, Karlheinz Müller: "Ohne einen exakten Nachweis der *geschichtlichen Vermittlung* fremdartiger Einwirkung auf die neutestamentliche Tradition ist es nicht möglich, über die Behauptung von blossen Analogien hinaus begründet von Abhängigkeit oder Übertragung und Übernahme zu sprechen." Schnackenburg in de Jonge, *L'Évangile de Jean*, 37. Cf. R. Kysar, *The Background of the Prologue of the Fourth Gospel: A Critique of Historical Methods*, in *CJT* 16, 1970, 250-55.

To be sure Bauer, Bultmann and others have denied that the Prologue can be adequately explained by the Old Testament. Dodd, though noting many OT parallels, agreed that these could not fully explain the passage.[88]

As Dodd pointed out some of the closest parallels to the Prologue come from the pre-Christian Jewish Wisdom traditions:

> It is difficult to resist the conclusion that, while the Logos of the Prologue has many of the traits of the Word of God in the Old Testament, it is on the other side a concept closely similar to that of Wisdom, that is to say, the hypostasized thought of God projected in creation, and remaining as an immanent power within the world and in man.[89]

Though Bultmann recognized such parallels, he discounted them because he insisted that the "Wisdom myth" was but a variation of the antecedent pre-Christian Gnostic Revealer myth.[90] Today most scholars would agree with Dodd against Bultmann's assessment.[91] After examining the Old Testament background of John's Gospel, Reim concludes:

> Man wird soviel sagen können, dass der Prolog in einem christlichen Kreise entstanden ist, in dem ein sehr starker Einfluss der Weisheitstraditionen vorhanden war und in dem diese Tradition von Christus her gedeutet und weiterentwickelt wurden, nachdem man ihm begegnet war.[92]

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[87] Cf. Brown, LVI: "In summation, one cannot claim that the dependence of John on a postulated early Oriental Gnosticism has been disproved, but the hypothesis remains very tenuous and in many ways unnecessary. We hope to show below that Old Testament speculation about personified Wisdom and the vocabulary and thought patterns of sectarian Judaism, like the Qumran community go a long way toward filling in the background of Johannine theological vocabulary and expression. Since these proposed sources of influences are known to have existed, and the existence of Bultmann's proto-Mandean Gnostic source remains dubious, we have every reason to give them preference."

[88] Dodd, 268-72.

[89] Ibid., 275.

[90] Bultmann, *The Gospel of John*, 22-23.

[91] Hammerton-Kelly, 206; Ridderbos, 188; E. Fascher, *Christologie und Gnosis im vierten Evangelium*, in *TLZ* 93, 1968, 721-30.

[92] G. Reim, *Studien zum alttestamentlicher Hintergrund des Johannesevangeliums*, New York 1974, 202-203.

> Es zeigt sich einfach, dass sich das Schema einer gnostischen Grundlage für die Quelle des johanneischen Logosliedes nicht durchhalten lässt.[93]

In regard to the Gospel of John, Kysar concludes his survey of the various analyses of the Fourth Evangelist as follows:

> It is my conviction that current scholarship portends the demise of the gnostic hypothesis as a viable background of the gospel. Further, this advance may allow us to understand better the contributions of Judaism to the emergence of Christian gnosticism.[94]

III. JEWISH GNOSTICISM

As Gilles Quispel noted at a very early stage there are many striking Jewish elements to be found in the Nag Hammadi texts.[95] While these are undeniable, the further conclusion which is being drawn by some scholars such as J.M. Robinson and B. Pearson that such evidence points to a pre-Christian Gnosticism does not necessarily follow.[96]

A. *The Old Testament*

The perverse use of materials from the OT, had, of course, been known from the church fathers.[97] But the Nag Hammadi materials have both confirmed and expanded our knowledge of the OT materials used by the Gnostics.

The mere citation of OT texts, however, does not thereby demonstrate a Jewish origin. Wilson warns:

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[93] Ibid., 277.

[94] Kysar, *The Fourth Evangelist*, 271. At the Journées Bibliques de Louvain on the Gospel of John, held at Louvain in 1975, "The possibility of a gnostic background did not receive much attention during the colloquium," according to M. de Jonge, *L'Évangile de Jean*, 14.

[95] G. Quispel, *Qumran, John and Jewish Christianity*, in Charlesworth, *John and Qumran*, 151.

[96] Gruenwald, *Knowledge and Vision*, 88, concludes: "It seems, therefore, quite safe to say that the existence of an articulate pre- and/or proto-kind of Jewish gnosticism is a matter of mere speculation." At the SBL meeting at New York in Nov., 1979, F. Wisse read a paper, *Do the Jewish Elements in Gnostic Writings Prove the Existence of a Jewish Gnosticism?* which cautioned against facile conclusions.

[97] Cf. R.M. Grant, *Gnosis Revisited*, *CH* 23, 1954, 136-45.

> ... the occasional occurrence in the list of references to the LXX version must give warning against the facile assumption that Old Testament quotations are proof of Jewish origin, for the LXX was also a Christian book, and in time indeed a Christian rather than a Jewish book. No proof of a pre-Christian Jewish Gnosticism — or Gnosis — is to be found on this basis alone.[98]

Also to the point is the observation of Walter Beltz that every passage of the OT found in the Nag Hammadi texts is also cited or alluded to in the New Testament.[99]

It is striking that for the most part the Gnostics' knowledge or at least use of the OT is limited. As Wilson observes, "It may be of some significance that they show no particular interest in the historical books."[100] Then, too, with the outstanding exception of *The Exegesis on the Soul* (NHC II,6),[101] almost all of the OT materials in the Nag Hammadi texts are either perversions or allusions and not direct citations.[102]

B. *Jewish Haggadic Traditions*

On the other hand, it should be noted that the use of the Genesis materials in *The Hypostasis of the Archons* (NHC II,4), for example, betrays a knowledge of Aramaic and of Jewish haggadic traditions found in the later Midrashim.[103] We read of the well-known Jewish haggadic figure of Norea,[104] who is also known from Mandaic texts as Nuraita.[105]

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[98] R. McL. Wilson, *The Gnostics and the Old Testament*, in *Proceedings of the International Colloquium on Gnosticism*, Stockholm 1977), p. 168.

[99] W. Beltz, *Gnosis und Altes Testament-Überlegungen zur Frage nach dem jüdischen Ursprung der Gnosis*, in *ZRGG* 28, 1976, 356-57; O. Betz, *Das Problem der Gnosis seit der Entdeckung der Texte von Nag Hammadi*, in *Verkundigung und Forschung, Evangelische Theologie Beiheft* 21, 1976, 60. Cf. M. Krause, *Aussagen über das Alte Testament in z.t. bisher unveröffentlichten Gnostischen Texten aus Nag Hammadi*, in Bleeker, *Ex orbe religionum*, I, 449-56; P. Nagel, *Die Septuaginta-Zitate in der koptisch-gnostischen 'Exegese über die Seele' (Nag Hammadi Codex II)*, in *Archiv für Papyrusforschung* 22/23, 1974, 249-69.

[100] Wilson, *The Gnostics and the Old Testament*, 167. Cf. O. Wintermute, *A Study of Gnostic Exegesis of the Old Testament*, in *The Use of the Old Testament in the New and Other Essays* (W.F. Stinespring Festschrift), ed. J.M. Efird, Durham 1972, 241-70.

[101] R. McL. Wilson, *Old Testament Exegesis in the Gnostic Exegesis on the Soul*, in Krause, *Essays ... in Honor of Pahor Labib*, 217-24; Berliner Arbeitskreis für koptisch-gnostische Schriften, *Die Exegese über die Seele*, in *TLZ* 101, 1976, 93-104.

[102] R. Kasser, *Citations des grand prophètes bibliques dans les textes gnostiques coptes*, in Krause, *Essays ... in Honor of Pahor Labib*, 57. On the alleged Old Testament materials in the Mandaic texts, see Yamauchi, *Gnostic Ethics*, 53-54.

B. Pearson has made a study of the Jewish traditions found in *Melchizedek* (NHC IX,1), from which he concludes: "Overall, it appears to me that the figure of Melchizedek in NHC IX,1 is derived directly from *Jewish* traditions, without the mediation of Christianity."[106] Melchizedek was the glorious yet enigmatic figure to whom Jesus is compared in Hebrews 7.[107] The discovery of a Qumran document featuring Melchizedek has helped us to understand better pre-Christian traditions of Melchizedek,[108] though the Hebrews tradition seems closer to Philo than to Qumran.[109]

Though it is thus indubitable that some Melchizedek traditions are pre-Christian, it is still dubious that Pearson's analysis can sustain a pre-Christian Jewish Gnosticism inasmuch as the *Melchizedek* is quite clearly a Christian Gnostic text, which is most remarkable for its anti-docetic polemic. As W. Beltz contends, though the treatise is quite fragmentary, it does permit the conclusion "that here also the *tertium comparationis* of the Gnostic author is the analogy Melchisedek-Jesus."[110]

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[103] Cf. R. Bullard, *The Hypostasis of the Archons*, Berlin 1970, 58; C. Colpe, *Heidnische, jüdische und christliche Überlieferung in den Schriften aus Nag Hammadi* IV, in *JAC* 18, 1975, 152-53.

[104] B. Layton, *The Hypostasis of the Archons, or The Reality of the Rulers*, in *HTR* 67, 1974, 368-69, 388-89.

[105] E.S. Drower and R. Macuch, *A Mandaic Dictionary*, Oxford 1963, 291, and 294 under *nhuraita, nuraita.*

[106] B.A. Pearson, *The Figure of Melchizedek in the First Tractate ... Cod. IX*, in *Proceedings of the XIIth International Association for the History of Religions*, ed. C.J. Bleeker *et al.*, Leiden 1975, 207.

[107] I. Hunt, *Recent Melkizedek Study*, in *The Bible in Current Catholic Thought*, ed. J.L. McKenzie, New York 1962, 21-33; B. Demarest, *A History of Interpretation of Hebrews 7, 1-10*, Tübingen 1976; F.L. Horton, *The Melchizedek Tradition*, Cambridge 1976.

[108] Y. Yadin, *The Dead Sea Scrolls and the Epistle to the Hebrews*, in *Scripta Hierosolymitana* 4, 1965, 36-55; M. de Jonge and A.S. van der Woude, *11Q Melchizedek and the New Testament*, in *NTS* 12, 1965/1966, 301-26.

[109] J.W. Thompson, *The Conceptual Background and Purpose of the Midrash in Hebrews VII*, in *NT* 19, 1977, 209-23.

[110] Beltz, *Gnosis und Altes Testament*, 356.

C. *Merkavah Mysticism*

J. M. Robinson has claimed, "The Nag Hammadi Codices open up the prehistory of Gershom Scholem's book, *Jewish Gnosticism, Merkabah Mysticism and Talmudic Tradition*."[111] Though some of Scholem's materials may go back to the pupils of Johanan ben Zakkai, who flourished at the end of the 1st cent. C.E., most of his references come from the 2nd cent. and much later, as Gruenwald notes:

> Some of the literary remains of the *merkava* Mysticism may well go back to the second century C.E., yet the material as it lies before us today reveals clear traces of the work of later editors, who not only added new material to the old but also interfered with the old texts before them.[112]

There is moreover a serious objection to the designation of the Jewish sages involved in Merkabah mysticism as Gnostics. Scholars such as H. Jonas, D. Flusser, and H. J. W. Drijvers have objected that the Jewish mysticism cited by Scholem is hardly Gnostic in the usual sense of the word.[113] As Gruenwald also points out:

> One may add to this that the anti-cosmic tones in so many of the texts of gnosticism are totally absent in the *Hekhalot* literature ... In short, there are no dualistic traces in Jewish *merkava* mysticism.[114]

Similar objections may be leveled against Jean Daniélou's use of the phrase Jewish Gnosticism for the pre-Christian period as he is referring to somewhat unorthodox but not dualistic manifestations of Judaism.[115]

D. *Jewish Wisdom Traditions*

C. Talbert has suggested that there are Jewish antecedents which better explain the Christian "redeemer myth" than any alleged pre-Christian Gnostic myth. He notes that Judaism knew of the descent of pre-existent Wisdom (Sirach 24; 1 Enoch 42:1-2).[116]

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[111] J. M. Robinson, *The Nag Hammadi Codices*, Claremont 1974, 7.

[112] Gruenwald, *Knowledge and Vision*, 90.

[113] Yamauchi, *PCG*, 150-51.

[114] Gruenwald, *Knowledge and Vision*, 91.

[115] Yamauchi, *PCG*, 144-46.

[116] C. H. Talbert, *The Myth of a Descending-Ascending Redeemer in Mediterranean Antiquity*, in *NTS* 22, 1976, 419.

The thesis of a Jewish origin for the Fall of Sophia has been most persuasively advanced by G. W. MacRae. After noting Jewish traditions which connected Wisdom with creation, MacRae suggests that the basis of the Fall of Sophia may go back to the Jewish traditions of the fall of celestial beings (Genesis 6) and above all the fall of Eve (Genesis 3).[117]

O. Betz objects to such a derivation because the Wisdom of hellenistic Judaism was a positive concept, whereas the Sophia of Gnosticism was at least in part a negative being.[118] MacRae, who acknowledges the difficulty, is none the less convinced that the myth of the fall was connected to a revolt *within* Judaism.[119] But he does not claim to have resolved the problem of how Jewish materials came to be used in anti-Jewish fashion: "But once more it must be stressed that this explanation is meant to account only for the materials out of which the myth was made, not for the basic anticosmic attitude that inspired the making of it."[120]

E. *Jewish Apocalypticism*

What of Gnostic affinities with Jewish apocalyptic movements?[121] In 1959 R.M. Grant offered the intriguing thesis of the failure of the apocalyptic hopes at the destruction of the temple in C.E. 70 as the catalyst which may have led to the anti-cosmic dualism of the Gnostics.[122]

Grant's thesis was sharply criticized as there is strong evidence of continued apocalyptic hopes leading to disturbances under Trajan and finally to the Bar Kochba War under Hadrian (C.E. 132-135).[123] The Jews had once before experienced the destruction of their temple by Nebuchadnezzar and were able to see God's hand in judgment in the destruction by Titus.[124] Rabbi Akiva was even able to rejoice at the ruin of the temple as a harbinger of the messianic age.[125]

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[117] G.W. MacRae, *The Jewish Background of the Gnostic Sophia Myth*, in *NT* 12, 1970, 98, 100.

[118] O. Betz, *Was am Anfang geschah: Das jüdische Erbe in den neugefundenen koptischen-gnostischen Schriften*, in *Abraham unser Vater*, ed. O. Betz, Leiden 1963, 40.

[119] MacRae, *The Jewish Background*, 97.

[120] Ibid., 101. A. Wire in Pearson, *Philo and the Gnostics*, suggests: "The origin of Gnostic exegesis among Gentile Godfearers and proselytes may be suggested by the lines in *Apoc. Adam* 65,15ff. in which Gnostics look back mythologically to a past time when 'we received instruction concerning dead things as men ...' Josephus does speak of proselytes who, 'lacking the necessary endurance, have again seceded' (Ap. II,123)."

[121] K. Schubert, *Jüdischer Hellenismus und jüdische Gnosis*, in *Wort und Wahrheit* 18, 1963, 455-57.

[122] R.M. Grant, *Gnosticism and Early Christianity*, New York 1959.

At the Society of Biblical Literature conference in Chicago in November, 1973, Professor Grant abandoned his own thesis. None the less his theory may still deserve consideration with some necessary modification. B. Pearson comments, "His view that the fall of Jerusalem was the decisive historical event out of which Gnosticism arose is surely wrong, but otherwise his theory has its merits".[126] Following Grant's lead, Pearson has argued: "There is a strong case to be made for the view that ancient Gnosticism developed, in large part, from a disappointed messianism, or rather as a transmuted messianism."[127]

Pearson believes that Gnosticism arose out of Judaism in the pre-Christian period or at any rate by the early 1st cent. C.E. But where do we have such disappointed messianism at this early date? True, we have a number of messianic pretenders such as Judas, Theudas, and the Egyptian, but none of any consequence.

The answer to the historical question of when the Jews experienced such a major disappointed messianism is surely obvious — the Bar Kochba Revolt! After the failure of Bar Kochba, as A. H. Silver points out, there was a marked change in messianic expectations. Rabbis no longer taught an imminent expectation of the messiah.[128]

F. *Apostate Rabbis*?

After the Bar Kochba Revolt we have the celebrated case of the apostate rabbi, Elisha ben Abuyah, nicknamed Aḥer ("The Other"). Though there are various traditions, the most probable reason for his apostasy was his disillusionment in the doctrone of divine providence and punishment as a result of the persecutions following the failure of the Bar Kochba Revolt.

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[123] Cf. Yamauchi, *PCG*, 157-58. On the disturbances under Trajan, see A. Fuks, *Aspects of the Jewish Revolt in AD 115-117*, in *JRS* 51, 1961, 98-104.

[124] R. Goldenberg, *The Broken Axis: Rabbinic Judaism and the Fall of Jerusalem*, in *JAAR Supplement* 45, 1977, F 869-82.

[125] R. P. Benoit, *Rabbi Aquiba ben Joseph sage et héros du Judaïsme*, in RB 54, 1947, 84.

[126] Pearson, *Friedländer Revisited*, 39, n. 50.

[127] Ibid., 35.

[128] A. H. Silver, *A History of Messianic Speculation in Israel*, Boston 1959, 15.

Dualistic sentiments are associated with Elisha. L. Ginzberg felt that Elisha was simply a Sadducee. But Pearson avers, "it can hardly be doubted any longer that Elisha ben Abuya (Aher) was a Gnostic heretic."[129]

In a paper which I read at the International Conference at Yale University on March, 1978, I had proposed the position that it was perhaps through apostate rabbis like Elisha that Jewish elements were introduced into Gnosticism[130] — a suggestion which has also been advanced by G. Scholem.[131]

In the light of the analyses of A. Segal[132] and of I. Gruenwald, such a proposal needs to be qualified. These scholars deny that Elisha can be regarded as a Gnostic heretic. In fact, Gruenwald asserts: "there is not even one single case among those reported in the Talmuds which in any significant way comes close to a Gnostic view or heresy."[133] Gruenwald objects, "Regarding Elisha ben Avuyah the person, I believe that Scholem after all infers too much from too little," but concedes, "However, his view that Jews actively contributed to the formation of Gnosticism seems to be correct."[134]

Though we may therefore have no identifiable apostate to associate with Jewish contributions to Gnosticism, we may still reckon with the possibility that some unnamed rabbis may have gone further in the direction of dualism than Elisha. We have some interesting analogies of Jewish disillusionment from later history.

After the Bar Kochba debacle such a pitch of messianic fervor was not again reached until the 17th century when the notorious Sabbatai Sevi aroused the hopes of Jews in many countries. When he apostasized and became a Muslim in 1666, there was shock and disbelief. The followers of the Sabbatian movement have significantly been accused of "gnostic" and antinomian traits. According to G. Scholem:

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[129] Pearson, *Friedländer Revisited*, 33.

[130] E. Yamauchi, *The Descent of Ishtar, the Fall of Sophia, and the Jewish Origins of Gnosticism*, in *Tyndale Bulletin* 29, 1978, 143-75.

[131] G. Scholem, *Jaldabaoth Reconsidered*, in *Mélanges ... à Henri-Charles Puech*, 405-21.

[132] Segal, *Two Powers in Heaven* (note 61).

[133] I. Gruenwald, *The Problem of the Anti-Gnostic Polemic in Rabbinic Literature*, (Seminar Paper, SBL, Nov. 19, 1978), 8; see also his contribution to this volume.

[134] Ibid., 11. See the author's *Apocalyptic and Merkavah Mysticism*, Leiden 1979.

> The gnostic character of most Sabbatian systems is surprising indeed. ... Nevertheless, the significance of extraneous, Christian influences should not be exaggerated. Certain developments are immanent in the very nature and structure of religious phenomena. Sabbatian theology would probably have developed the way it did even without Christian gnosticism...[135]

In modern times the tragedy of the Nazi Holocaust has caused at least one major Jewish thinker to reject the God of the Old Testament. R. Rubenstein has come to the radical conclusion that the Holocaust proves that God is not omnipotent. As one who arrived at similar conclusions he cites the rabbi, Elisha ben Abuyah:

> He also elected an absurd and meaningless cosmos rather than interpret the suffering of the innocent as divinely inflicted retribution of sin. In the face of overwhelming Jewish suffering during the Hadrianic War, he exclaimed "*Leth din v'leth dyan*" — "There is neither judgement nor Judge."[136]

CONCLUSIONS

Logically we would expect Gnosticism as an integrated system of beliefs to develop first a cosmology, second its anthropology, third its soteriology, and fourth its ethics, all arranged around a dualistic axis. Historically, however, the evidences point to quite a different sequence.

Scholars have been misled in conceiving of Gnosticism in organic analogies, that is, in regarding primitive Gnosticism as a creature with all of its parts present — if in rudimentary form. Hence it has often been assumed that if anthropological docetism is attested by the end of the 1st cent. C.E., dualistic cosmology must also be presumed to have been present.

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[135] G. Scholem, *Sabbatai Ẓevi*, Princeton 1973, 797. Cf. W. D. Davies, *From Schweitzer to Scholem: Reflections on Sabbatai Svi*, in *JBL* 95, 1976, 553: "They took Sabbatai Svi as a paradigm and an example to be imitated. To do so, they had to call evil good. They had to justify apostasy itself as messianic and redemptive."

[136] R. Rubinstein, *After Auschwitz*, Indianapolis 1966, p. 68. Cf. D. W. Silvermann, *The Holocaust: A Living Force*, in *USQR* 32, 1977, 139.

No single source can satisfactorily explain all the facets of a syncretistic religion like Gnosticism which has no historic founder.[137] We must therefore adopt a polyphyletic rather than a monophyletic model of origins. To oversimplify the situation let me underscore three major confluences which flowed together to form the mature Gnosticism of the 2nd century.

First of all, *Hellenism*, which was certainly pre-Christian, formed the intellectual climate of the age which viewed the human body with prejudice. Hellenistic philosophy and astrology provided Gnosticism with its *anthropology*.[138] This anthropology viewed man's spirit/soul as a divine spark imprisoned in the body's tomb — a view prefigured in Plato and the Orphics.[139] Such an anthropology can be found quite independent of a dualistic cosmology, for example, in the Hermetica, some of which were found in the Nag Hammadi collection.[140]

It was this hellenistic view of the body and soul/spirit which led intellectuals, who were not always Gnostics, to reject the doctrines of the incarnation, the crucifixion, and the bodily resurrection of Jesus in favor of a docetic Christology.[141]

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[137] This is the weakness of G. van Groningen, *First Century Gnosticism*, Leiden 1967.

[138] F. Cumont, *Astrology and Religion among the Greeks and Romans*, New York 1960, reprint of the 1921 ed.; *Ancient Astrology, Theory and Practice (The Mathesis of Firmicus Maternus)*, tr. J. R. Bram, Park Ridge, N.J. 1975.

F. Cumont, *After Life in Roman Paganism*, New York 1959, reprint of the 1922 ed.; R. M. Grant, *The Resurrection of the Body*, in *JR* 28, 1948, 124-30, 188-208.

[139] Cf. P. Courcelle, *L'âme au tombeau*, in *Mélanges ... à Henri-Charles Puech*, 331-36; A. Böhlig and F. Wisse, *Zum Hellenismus in den Schriften von Nag Hammadi*, Wiesbaden 1975.

[140] A. D. Nock, *Gnosticism*, in *HTR* 57, 1964, 276, remarked: "Outside the Christian orbit we have seen in the Hermetica a fusion of Platonism and Judaism which produced a scheme of individual redemption without a personal redeemer..." On the Hermetica see *NHL*, 278-83, 297-307; E. Yamauchi, *Hermetic Literature*, in *IDBSup*, 408; idem, *PCG*, 69-72.

K.-W. Tröger, *Mysterienglaube und Gnosis in Corpus Hermeticum*, Berlin 1971, and *idem*, *Die hermetische Gnosis*, in Tröger, *Gnosis und Neues Testament*, 97-120, believes that the Hermetica can be called Gnostic. The Hermetica, however, lack the radical dualism of Gnosticism. See G. van Moorsel, *The Mysteries of Hermes Trismegistus*, Utrecht 1955.

[141] Cf. M. Hengel, *Crucifixion*, London 1977, 15-16; E. Yamauchi, *The Crucifixion and Docetic Christology*, in *Concordia Theological Quarterly* (forthcoming).

In reaction to Adolf Harnack's attempt to explain Gnosticism as the "acute hellenization" of Christianity, scholars are currently in danger of undervaluing the obvious hellenistic elements in Gnosticism. There are ample evidences of philosophic influences in the Nag Hammadi texts, including a fragment of Plato's *Republic*, and traces of Stoicism, Pythagoreanism, Middle Platonism, and Neo-Platonism especially in *The Three Steles of Seth*, *Zostrianos*, *Marsanes* and *Allogenes* — Gnostic treatises whose channels have not admitted the confluences of Christianity though they are quite clearly later than the rise of Christianity. That is, they are non-Christian but *not* pre-Christian Gnostic compositions.

In the second place, in contrast to Bultmann and those who follow him, it has become quite clear to many scholars that it was *Christianity* which provided Gnosticism with its *soteriology*, namely the redeemer figure, and not the other way around.[142] All the allegedly "pre-Christian" Gnostic tractates from the Nag Hammadli Library adduced by Robinson and others to prove otherwise seem, to this writer at least, to originate in the 2nd cent. C.E. A comparable development took place in the 2nd cent. with the impact of Christianity upon pagan religions in the attribution of a resurrection to Adonis and Attis according to the analyses of P. Lambrechts.[143]

The thorough study of Jewish texts in this regard by A. Segal has yielded the following important conclusions:

> One of the conclusions about gnostic origins is already evident: *a full-blown gnostic salvation myth is unlikely to have existed in the first century.* A number of reasons support this judgement. *First*, in the earliest rabbinic records the heretics do not seem to believe in two opposing gods, implying that the heretics were not dualistic in the usual sense. *Second*, nothing specifically or uniquely Christian or gnostic can be discovered in the heresy at first. *Third*, a number of groups were involved so there need not have been a unified mythology behind the heresy. *Fourth*, rather than a savior descending and rising there is much evidence that the angelic

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[142] See Yamauchi, *PCG*, 163-69; M. Hengel, *The Son of God*, Philadelphia 1976, 33; Talbert, *The Myth of a Descending-Ascending Redeemer*, 419, n. 2, observes: "Since J. M. Robinson's negative review of Colpe's book ... scholarly opinion has seemed to confirm Colpe's and Schenke's conclusions."

[143] P. Lambrechts, *Les fêtes 'phrygiennes' de Cybèle et d'Attis*, in *Bulletin de l'institut historique Belge de Rome* 27, 1952, 141-70; *idem*, *La 'résurrection d'Adonis'*, in *Mélanges Isidore Levy*, Brussels 1955, 214-40.

> figure was to guide mystics and saints to the throne or to punish and forgive sins.[144] (The italics are ours.)

Finally, as MacRae, Pearson, and others have shown from the Nag Hammadi texts, we may concur that *Judaism* provided Gnosticism with its *cosmological myth*. But in my view this development did not take place in the pre-Christian era or even in the 1st century,[145] but rather in the early 2nd century in the wake of profound disillusionment after the failure of the Bar Kochba Revolt.

A possible objection to such a scenario may come from the account in Irenaeus (*Adv. Haer.* 24.3ff.) about Basilides, who flourished in Alexandria during Hadrian's reign (C.E. 117-38). This passage suggests that Basilides opposed the God of the Jews, who was the chief of the angels, to the unbegotten Father.[146] But as R.M. Grant points out, "Modern scholars generally agree, however, that Irenaeus has perhaps described a later development, as he does in dealing with Valentinianism; the authentic Basilidian system is that described by Hippolytus."[147] The latter passage describes instead "the non-existent God."

R. McL. Wilson makes a corroborative observation:

> Another such point is indicated in Jonas' programmatic statement about "a Gnosticism without a fallen god", already quoted, for it has been noted that the earliest Christian gnostics do not *expressly* name the God of the Old Testament as creator of the world, nor does the name Ialdabaoth yet appear. It would of course be easy to assume that the God of the Old Testament was one of the creator angels, or even their leader, but the texts do not say so. Rather it may be that we have here a stage prior to the radical gnostic repudiation of the world and its Creator — which

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[144] Segal, 155.

[145] G. Quispel, *The Origins of the Gnostic Demiurge*, in Granfield and Jungmann, *Kyriakon*, I, 275, suggests that the vulgar Gnosis as contained in the *Apocryphon of John* may date from about 100 C.E., but later (276) concludes: "We conclude then that the characteristic feature, which distinguishes Gnosticism from Gnosis in a general sense, originated in Palestine among rebellious and heterodox Jews. If we keep this in mind, we see that absolute dualism, as attested by Marcion and Mani, is a secondary and later development."

[146] Cited in R.M. Grant, ed., *Gnosticism*, New York 1961, 33.

[147] Grant, *Gnosticism and Early Christianity*, 142-43; *idem*, *Gnostic Origins and the Basilidians of Irenaeus*, in *VC* 13, 1959, 121-25.

> on this basis could be located with some confidence at a particular period in the second century.[148]

F. Fallon has recently completed a study of the Jewish background of the Gnostic myth of the enthronement of Sabaoth and has come to conclusions which can be correlated with the analysis offered above. After examining the accounts in *The Nature of the Archons* (NHC II,4) and in *On the Origin of the World* (NHC II,5), Fallon concludes:

> As a contribution to the scholarly discussion of the origins of Gnosticism, our analysis of the Sabaoth accounts in NatArch and OnOrgWld has shown indeed that they are examples of the contribution of Judaism to Gnosticism, Specifically, apocalyptic and sapiential Judaism are the segments of Judaism, which have mainly contributed to these accounts. We have seen that these accounts derive not just from the OT but from later Judaism and that they have neither influenced nor been influenced by the NT.[149]

But when were such Jewish elements incorporated into Gnosticism? In the pre-Christian era? In the first century C.E.? In Fallon's study, "a proposed date of the latter half of the second century has been offered for the composition of the Sabaoth account and NatArch."[150] and "a date in the early third century has been offered as the time of composition for OnOrgWld."[151]

In summary we may conclude: 1) Jewish elements in Gnosticism? Definitely Yes. 2) Jewish Gnosticism? Possibly Yes. 3) A pre-Christian or first-century C.E. Gnosticism? Certainly not proven.

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[148] R. McL. Wilson, *From Gnosis to Gnosticism*, in *Mélanges ... Henri-Charles Puech*, 428-29.

[149] F. Fallon, *The Enthronement of Sabaoth*, Leiden 1978, 133.

[150] Ibid., 134.

[151] Ibid., 135.

"THE TEACHINGS OF SILVANUS" (NHC VII,4) AND JEWISH CHRISTIANITY

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One of the most remarkable contributions of the one to whom this book is dedicated is his unceasing plea in support of the thesis that Judaism and Jewish Christianity had a profound influence on the development of ancient Christian thought.[1] In the case of the Nag Hammadi Coptic library, he has repeatedly demonstrated that the *Gospel of Thomas* is incomprehensible unless it is considered from the point of view of Jewish Christianity. He has also argued[2] that it would be wise to take into consideration the Jewish Christian background of *The Teachings of Silvanus*, a document of Alexandrian Hellenistic Christianity, although this writing itself is of Catholic and orthodox character. The following pages are offered as an answer to this suggestion and a token of gratitude by one who, during many years of cooperation, has learned not a little from Quispel's knowledge of ancient Christianity and Gnosticism.

The Teachings of Silvanus, dating from the third quarter of the fourth century, can be traced back to a Greek original of about the second century, a period in which the influence of Jewish Christianity was still alive.[3] Although "Silvanus" was a popular preacher and Clement of Alexandria was a thinker well versed in Hellenistic thought, their ideas can be compared, and both of them appear to be under the influence of Stoicism as regards their ethics and Platonism as regards their concept of God and ontology.[4]

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[1] E.g. G. Quispel, *Gnosticism and the New Testament*, in *VC* 19, 1965, 65-85; *The Discussion of Judaic Christianity*, in *VC* 22, 1968, 81-93.

[2] *VC* 33, 1979, 85.

[3] J. Daniélou, *Théologie du Judéo-Christianisme*, New York, Rome 1958, further quoted as "Daniélou", 19.

[4] J. Zandee, "*The Teachings of Silvanus*" *and Clement of Alexandria, A New Document of Alexandrian Theology*, Leiden 1977.

The main characteristics of *The Teachings of Silvanus*[5] do not, therefore primarily reflect Judaism. The only apostle mentioned in *Sil* is Paul (*Sil* 108,30), and the name Silvanus is probably a pseudepigraphical borrowing from the companion of Paul, whereas in Jewish Christian writings James and Peter appear as the most authoritative apostles. Moreover, Jewish-Christian writings sometimes bear anti-Pauline traces.[6] However, we must not forget that it was the Jewish branch of Christianity which brought the Gospel to Egypt. This was a consequence of the Jerusalem agreement between James and Peter on the one hand and Paul and Barnabas on the other (*Acts* 15,1-21; *Gal.* 2,7-10). It is generally accepted that the branches of Christianity in Syria and Egypt derived from Jerusalem.[7] Egyptian citizens, whether aboriginal or Greek, received the message of Christ as it was passed to them by Jewish Christianity. Apart from that, clear relations between Hellenistic Judaism and Hellenistic Christianity in Egypt have been demonstrated.[8] It is, therefore indisputable that Egyptian Christianity has drawn on Jewish Christian sources. Without contending that *Sil* is a typical representative of Jewish Christianity one could believe that it is possible to find in it some concepts or terms which betray a Jewish-Christian origin. This and nothing more is the purpose of the following contribution.

Of course, when we deal with the question of Jewish Christianity we are at once involved in the problems of defining precisely what it is and determining what its extant sources are.[9] One of the most likely documents of Jewish Christianity would appear to be *The Gospel of the Hebrews* mentioned by Clement and Origen.[10] Those who have studied this material have come to the conclusion that the "information about these Jewish Christians is scanty".[11] Further we must admit that some documents which are generally quoted as offering the best information about Jewish Christianity smack of Jewish heterodoxy, sectarianism or Gnostic influence, not to mention the fact that second century Judaism was also imbued with Hellenistic ideas. Therefore we run the risk of not penetrating to the heart of Jewish Christianity if we quote from these sources. Nearly every expert in the field of Jewish Christianity asserts, for example, that the *Pseudo-Clementines* are one of the most reliable specimens of Jewish Christianity. However, they represent the point of view of the Ebionites who were an important but specific party within the Jewish world. Some scholars even speak of heretical interpolations in the *Recognitions*.[12] A lively discussion has been taking place in recent years over the question of whether the *Acts of Thomas* are Gnostic or not.[13] All that we can say is that these problematic sources have a strongly syncretistic character, that a number of them give the impression of having been reworked by different hands[14] and that therefore it is hardly possible to offer a clearcut definition of what Jewish Christianity really is.[15]

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[5] Further quoted as *Sil.*

[6] The Ebionites repudiated Paul, A.F.J. Klijn, G.J. Reinink, *Patristic Evidence for Jewish-Christian Sects* (Suppl. to *NT* XXXVI, Leiden 1973, 68; further abbreviated as "Klijn-Reinink".

[7] G. Quispel, in *VC* 19, 1965, 65; M. Hornschuh, *Studien zur Epistula Apostolorum* (*PTS* 5), Berlin 1965, 114; further abbreviated as "Hornschuh".

[8] S.R.C. Lilla, *Clement of Alexandria, A Study in Christian Platonism and Gnosticism*, Oxford 1971; J. Zandee, *Les Enseignements de Silvanus et Philon d'Alexandrie*, in *Mélanges d'Histoire des Religions Offerts à H.-Ch. Puech*, Paris 1974, 337-345.

[9] Daniélou, 5; 17ff.

[10] E. Hennecke, W. Schneemelcher, *Neutestamentliche Apokryphen*, 3. Aufl., Tübingen

Because of all this it is not easy to list the main characteristics of Jewish Christianity. The Ebionites displayed a subordinationist tendency in their Christology. Thus Christ was a prophet but not the Son of God.[16] Although the *Pseudo-Clementines*[17] mention the title "Son of God"

1959, I. Band, *Evangelien*, 75f. (further abbreviated as *Neutest Apokr I*: P. Vielhauer, *Jüdenchristliche Evangelien*. Klijn-Reinink, 71.

[11] Klijn-Reinink, 73.

[12] E. Hennecke, W. Schneemelcher, *Neutestamentliche Apokryphen II*, Tübingen 1964,374, J. Irmscher (further abbreviated as *Neutest Apokr II*). According to G. Quispel they are "fantastic", *VC* 19, 1965, 65.

[13] G. Bornkamm, *Neutest Apokr II*, 297, Gnostic. A.F.J. Klijn, *The Acts of Thomas* (Suppl. to *NT* V), Leiden 1962, passim, non-Gnostic. B. Gärtner, *The Theology of the Gospel of Thomas*, London 1961, passim, Gnostic. G. Quispel, *VC* 19, 1965, 69, non-Gnostic, Encratite.

[14] *Testaments of the XII Patriarchs*, Jewish writing in a Christian redaction.

[15] A good exposition of the problems in M. Simon, *Problèmes du Judéo-Christianisme, Aspects du Judéo-Christianisme, Colloque de Strassbourg 23-25 Avril 1964*, Paris 1965, 2ff.

[16] Daniélou, 68.

[17] Translations: *Neutest Apokr II*, J. Irmscher 373ff. A Roberts, J. Donaldson, *Ante-Nicene Christian Library*, XVII: *The Clementine Homilies. The Apostolical Con-*

(*Hom.* I,7,7), they usually call Jesus "the true Prophet" (*Hom.* I,19,1). In the *Epistula Apostolorum* the Logos is not eternal, but brought forth. In the same writing, however, he is ἀγέννητος and identical with God.[18] In Jewish Christianity Jesus is mainly a teacher who reveals the truth concerning God.[19] In *Sil*, on the contrary, the orthodox doctrine is maintained that Christ died as a ransom for the sins of men (*Sil* 104, 12.13). In Jewish Christianity obedience to the Law of God was fundamental — even more important than belief in Christ as a Saviour. But we cannot say that this is characteristic of *Sil.* In the *Pseudo-Clementines* we find the odd doctrine of the two kingdoms which has an unbiblical anti-dualistic tendency. God ordained two kings, the Son of God and Satan, the latter being the ruler of this present evil world, with a chance of final conversion, however, the former being the king of the future world, the Kingdom of God. They are respectively the left and the right hand of God, so that the evil king is also ultimately an instrument in God's hand. *Sil* speaks of the Devil as the Adversary, the enemy who is to be defeated. All this is to demonstrate that *Sil* is of a much more "orthodox" character than many so called "Jewish Christian" writings, which sometimes reflect the morbid extremism, expressed in the rejection of matrimony and property, of the Essenes by whom they were evidently influenced.

What, then, might remain as a possible relic of Jewish Christianity in *Sil*? There is, of course, the fact that Jewish Christians automatically had a preference for expressing their belief in the terms and the imagery of the Old Testament. Already in the New Testament Jesus Christ has names similar to those of Jahveh, such as "Lord". So it may be that such OT epithets of Jahveh are prevalent as titles of Jesus Christ among Jewish Christians. Again, in late Judaism, the personified figure of Wisdom, ultimately deriving from the Book of Proverbs, occurs as a divine hypostasis. Although the title is only rarely found in the NT, it could readily be used by Jewish Christians as a designation of

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stitutions, Edinburgh 1870; III: *Tatian, Theophilus, and the Clementine Recognitions*, Edinburgh 1867. These English translations have been used for this article. Text: B. Rehm, *Die Pseudoklementinen, I. Homilien* (GCS), Berlin 1953; B. Rehm, F. Paschke, *Die Pseudoklementinen II, Rekognitionen* (GCS), Berlin 1965.

[18] Hornschuh, 31,32.

[19] A.F.J. Klijn, *Edessa*, Baarn, 1962, 53.

Christ. Thus we could investigate the occurrence in *Sil* of such passages, names, titles or conceptions which are found seldom if at all in the NT or in non-Jewish Christianity. If such do occur, one could argue that *Sil* has preserved some reminiscences of second century Jewish Christianity in Egypt. As we have to reconstruct this "Jewish Christianity" from poor sources, every supplement to our deficient knowledge would be welcome. With this in view, we will consider some passages from *Sil* which could be traced back to circles of Christians who liked to express themselves in terms taken from the Old Testament.

> 84,16-26. Abolish every childish time of life, acquire for yourself strength of mind and soul, and intensify the struggle against every folly of the passions of love and base wickedness, and love of praise, and fondness of contention, and tiresome jealousy and wrath, and anger and the desire of avarice.[20]

This is, in all likelihood, simply an example of the Stoically influenced morality customary in Hellenistic Christianity of the Alexandrian type. Daniélou[21] admits that the presence of a virtue such as ἀπάθεια in early Christianity is due to the influence of contemporary philosophy. But aversion to the passions could also be derived from the ascetic tendencies of the Essenes. In the *Pseudo-Clementines* Simon, in discussion with Peter, enumerates vices similar to those in *Sil*. "Does not man seem to you to be capable of every kind of passion, as for instance, of lust (ἐπιθυμία, cf. *Sil* 84,25; 90,4.5; 105,23), anger (ὀργή, cf. *Sil* 84,25), grief (λύπη, cf. *Sil* 92,1; 98,12), and the like?" (*Hom* XIX 21,1). Peter contends that lust also has its good aspects, since it promotes procreation. As in *Sil*, the vices in the *Pseudo-Clementines* are traced back to ignorance (*Hom* XIX 22,8; cf. *Sil* 88,21). He who shows no obedience to God's commandments "has given a place in himself ... to passions" (*Rec* V 36,5). Sinners "have not righteous fire against lusts" (*Hom.* XI,3,2). "Unreasonable lust in you is hostile to God (ἄλογος also in *Sil* 105,5), for by conceit of wisdom it strengthens ignorance" (*Hom.* XI,11,5). The good man is "subjecting to himself the desires of the flesh" (*Rec.* V,8,1). The *Pseudo-Clementines* concur with *Sil* in the conception that passions are irrational and have their origin in ignorance. A major theme in the *Testaments of the XII Patriarchs* is the rejection of vices. Each patriarch repents of his own special vice on his deathbed, and among these vices are many similar to those mentioned in *Sil*, e.g. *Test Dan*[22] 1,3 "lying and anger"; *Test Reuben* 3,4 "spirit of fighting"; 3,6 "jealousy", etc. It may be that there existed special catalogues of vices in late Judaism. Such lists were certainly popular in Christianity.[23] However, that lust and passion are spoken of as irrational inclinations betrays the influence of Hellenistic morality.

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[20] Translation: M. L. Peel, J. Zandee, in *The Nag Hammadi Library Translated into English*, general editor J. M. Robinson, Leiden 1977, 346-361.

[21] Daniélou, 413.

> 85,17-28. The Wicked One, who is a tyrant, is lord over these (the robbers-passions, desires, irrational inclinations), while directing this, he is beneath the great mire. The whole city which is your soul will perish. Remove all these, O wretched soul. Bring in your guide and your teacher. The mind (νοῦς) is the guide, but reason (λόγος) is the teacher. They will bring you out of perishability and dangers.
>
> 103,19-26. For also those who walk in the broad way will go down at their end to perdition (perishability) of the mire. For the Underworld is open wide for the soul, and the place of perdition is broad. Accept Christ, the narrow way.
>
> 113,23-26. You know that every man who is not pleasing to God is a son of perdition. He will go down to the Abyss of the Underworld.
>
> 117,33-118,2. Do not wish to acquire honors which are insecure, nor the boastfulness which brings you to perdition.

In the *Odes of Solomon* the final destiny of him who does the will of Christ will be imperishability. The alternative is not sin-forgiveness, but perishability-imperishability or immortality.[24] "I put on incorruptibility (= immortality, imperishability) through his (Christ's) name and took off corruption by his grace" (*Od. Sol.* XV,8; cf. VIII,23; XXXIV,4.5).[25] Although the *Odes of Solomon* are generally considered to be a Jewish Christian writing, one might wonder if this idea of imperishability were typically Jewish or not rather influenced by Hellenic thought.

In our passage from *Sil* the norm for good conduct is rational:

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[22] Translations of OT apocryphal and pseudepigraphical writings quoted from R.H. Charles, *The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament in English*, I: *Apocrypha*, Oxford 1973; II: *Pseudepigrapha*, Oxford 1976.

[23] A.F.J. Klijn, *The Acts of Thomas*, 219.

[24] A.F.J. Klijn, *Edessa*, 48,49.

[25] J.H. Charlesworth, *The Odes of Solomon*, Oxford 1973.

one ought to behave according to mind and reason. This is a favourite theme in *Sil* and it should be ascribed primarily to Stoicism. "Entrust yourself to this pair of friends, reason and mind, and no one will be victorious over you" (*Sil* 86,13-16; cf. *Sil* 86,20-22; 88,4.5; 108,16-19, "The rational man is he who fears God"). "For a soul which has been found in death will be without reason" (ἄλογος; *Sil* 105,4.5). However, the combination of "rational" behaviour with the moral ideals of Jewish Wisdom is an easy one. The same rationalistic morality occurs in the *Pseudo-Clementines*: "As the Prophet (Jesus Christ) has told us, ...: for man alone is rational,[26] and it is fitting that reason should rule over the irrational" (*ratio irrationabilibus*; *Rec.* V,2,1). "Since, then, by acting like irrational animals, you have lost the soul of man from your soul, becoming like swine, you are the prey of demons. If you therefore receive the law of God, you become man" (*Hom.* X, 6,2). "Be not an animal, with men pursuing you; but rather, be a man, with you pursuing the evil wild beasts" (symbols of lusts and desires, *Sil* 86,1-4). "Cast out the animal nature which is within you" (*Sil* 87,28.29; cf. 89,3; 93,19-21; 94,2.3; 105,7). "Entrust yourself to reason and remove yourself from animalism. For the animal which has no reason is made manifest" (*Sil* 107,17-21). The antithesis of rational man and irrational animal is characteristic of Stoicism. One might also, however, compare in the OT *Ps* 73,22. Compare further the following instances in the *Pseudo-Clementines*: "Unreasonable lust (cf. *Sil* 85,25, etc.) in you is hostile to God, for by conceit of wisdom it strengthens ignorance" (cf. *Sil* 88,21; 89,14.32; 90,3.24, etc.; *Hom.* XI,11,5). Notice in this case the relation to wisdom as a Jewish idea. "For man is at enmity with God, and is in an unreasonable (*inrationabilis*) and impious state of mind and wicked disposition towards him, especially when he thinks that he knows something and is in ignorance" (*Rec* V,28,5). The characterization of sin as "ignorance" reminds one of Hellenism and even Gnosticism, but it could also be combined with the conception of the "fool" in Jewish wisdom literature. Since all these references to Jewish Christianity are derived from the *Pseudo-Clementines*, one is inclined to the conclusion that these documents of Jewish Christianity were most strongly influenced by Stoic rationalism.

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[26] *Sil* often opposes rational man to irrational animals.

> 86,24 - 87,4. And if you do these things, O my son, you will be victorious over all your enemies, and they will not be able to wage war against you... They will speak to you, [cajoling] you and enticing (you), not because they are [afraid] of you, but because they are afraid of those who dwell within you, namely, the guardians of the divinity and the teaching.
>
> 88,12.13. Cast the deceitfulness (-πανοῦργος) of the Devil from you.
>
> 94,33 - 96,19. Certainly you know [that] the schemes of the Adversary are not few and (that) the tricks which he has are varied? Especially has the noetic man been robbed of the intelligence of the snake. For it is fitting for you to be in agreement with the intelligence of (these) two, with the intelligence of the snake and with the innocence of the dove (cf. *Mt* 10,16) -lest he come into you in the guise of a flatterer, as a true friend, saying, "I advise good things for you". But you did not recognize the deceitfulness of this one when you received him as a true friend. For he casts into your heart evil thoughts as good ones, and hypocrisy in the guise of firm intelligence, avidity in the guise of frugality, love of glory in the guise of that which is beautiful, boastfulness and pride in the guise of great austerity, and godlessness as [great] godliness. For he who says, "I have many gods", is godless. And he casts spurious knowledge into your heart in the guise of mysterious words. Who will be able to comprehend his thoughts and devices, which are varied, since he is a Great Mind for those who wish to accept him as king? My son, how will you be able to comprehend the schemes of this one or his soul-killing counsel? For his devices and the schemes of his wickedness are many. And think about his entrances, that is, how he will enter your soul and in what garment he will enter you.

"The Devil in disguise" is the theme of this passage from *Sil.* Evil influences are described in a non-mythological manner as irrational inclinations, such as lusts, desires and other passions, or in mythological form as enemies, who enter the soul from outside and who are designated as "the powers of the Adversary" (*Sil* 91,19.20; 105,34 - 106,1; 114,5.6).

In late Judaism angelology and demonology underwent increasing elaboration. Satan was the commander of the host of fallen angels. Powers and thrones populated the spheres of heaven. The treacherous and cunning serpent of *Gn* 3,1 was considered to be an apparition of Satan.

The deceitful behaviour of the demons also occurs in the *Pseudo-Clementines*. "But some of the maleficent demons deceive (ἐνεδρεύουσιν) in another way. For at first they do not even show their existence, in order that care may not be taken against him" (*Hom.* IX,13,1). As in *Sil* demons represent themselves as good friends. "The deceiving serpent" (*Hom.* X,10) "..., all the deceitful conceptions against the monarchy are sown in your mind by him to your hurt ... he ensnares you by a pretence of knowledge" (προφάσει γνώσεως ἐνεδρεύει, *Hom.* X,12,1). "How then shall we charm that wicked [serpent] that lurks in your [soul], and subtly insinuates suspicions hostile to God, under the guise of love to God?" (προφάσει τῆς πρὸς θεὸν φιλίας; *Hom.* XI,11,4). Sin approaches man in a flattering way, "It is because they are ignorant that they will be punished ... having lust for the continuance of life ... or by some other flattering (κολακευούσῃ) sin" (*Hom.* XX,4,2). Man can only oppose the wicked ones by the power of God, not by his own potency (cf. *Sil* 86,33-87,4), "... when the same faith and religion ... shall be in you that is in us, you will have equal and the same power (*potestas*) and virtue against demons ..., and this he is able to do not by his own virtue (*non propria virtute*), but by the fear of Caesar; so every faithful one commands the demons, although they seem to be much stronger than men, and not by means of his own virtue, but by means of the powers of God, who has put them in subjection" (*Rec.* IV,33,2-4). Ignorance takes on the disguise of knowledge, "... that we may search out the presumptions of ignorance, and cut them off by means of knowledge, especially in those who are preoccupied with some erroneous opinions, by means of which ignorance is the more firmly rooted in them, as under the appearance of a certain kind of knowledge" (*quasi sub specie alicuius scientiae; Rec.* V,4,2). In the *Pseudo-Clementines* we find the strange doctrine of the two kingdoms, both under the supervision of God, one governed by the evil king, the kingdom of this world, the other under the good king, the world to come. The evil king is the Devil who seduces man and rejoices afterwards at his destruction, "Also two kings have been appointed, of whom the one is selected to rule by law over the present and transitory world, and his composition is such that he rejoices in the destruction of the wicked" (*Hom.* XX,2,5). Satan is the old serpent (cf. *Apoc.* 12,9; 20,2) who leads men astray in a guileful way, "Above all, therefore, you ought to understand the deception of the old snake (*deceptionem serpentis antiqui*) and his cunning (*callidas*) suggestions, who deceives you as it were by prudence (*quasi per prudentiam*), and as by a sort of reason creeps through your senses. For he, for his wickedness, was condemned from the beginning to eat dust" (*Rec.*

V,17,1-3). In *Sil* "the deceitfulness (-πανοῦργος) of the Devil" or "Adversary" is mentioned twice (*Sil* 88,12; 95,18). In the LXX "deceitful" is the epithet of the serpent in *Gn* 3,1, as with Paul in 1 *Cor.* 11,3. In the NT it is never directly used as an epithet of the Devil. This is also probably the case with Jewish Christianity in connection with *Gn* 3,1. In *Od Sol* "the Deceiver" is a personification of evil, "And the Truth led me and caused me to come. For Error fled from him, and never met him... And I asked the Truth, 'Who are these?' And he said to me, 'This is the Deceiver and the Error'" (*Od. Sol.* XXXVIII, 1,6.10).

87,4. My son,

Time and again a new pericope in *Sil* is introduced by this allocution. This is borrowed from Jewish wisdom literature, such as e.g. *Prov* 1,10. The style of admonitions of these texts served as a prototype for *Sil.* As in wisdom literature the wise man and the fool are frequently opposed. In late Jewish wisdom too the same style is maintained. Sirach also uses the allocution "My son" (*Sirach* 11,20) at the beginning of a new sentence. Therefore we find here in *Sil* a literary form which is deeply rooted in Judaism.

> 89,20-90,2. Clothe yourself with wisdom like a robe, put knowledge upon you like a crown, and be seated upon a throne of perception. For these are yours, and you will receive them again on high another time. For a foolish man puts on folly like a robe, and like a garment of sorrow he puts on shame. And he crowns himself with ignorance and takes his seat upon a throne of [nescience]. For while he is [without reason], he leads only himself astray, for he is guided by ignorance.
>
> 87,11-15. You will plait a crown of education by your guiding principle. Put on holy teaching like a robe. Make yourself noble-minded through good conduct.
>
> 112,10-25. And the Light of Heaven wishes to renew all, that he may cast out that which is weak and every black form, that everyone may shine forth with great brilliance in heavenly garments in order to make manifest the command of the Father, and that he may crown those wishing to contend well — Christ being judge of the contest, he who crowned every one teaching every one to contend. This one who contended first received the crown, gained dominion, and appeared giving light to everyone.

The imagery of the royal garment and throne is used for the endowment with spiritual faculties. Sometimes there is also a suggestion of the eschatological motif of being seated on a throne in heaven with heavenly garments. In *Sil* a connection is also established with the crown of the champion in athletic competition (cf. *Col* 1,29; 2 *Tm* 4,7f.; 1 *Cor.* 9,25, etc.). The new spiritual garment occurs several times in *Sil.* "O my son, strip off the old garment of fornication and put on the garment which is clean and shining, that you may be beautiful in it. But when you have this garment, protect it well" (*Sil* 105,13-19). Wisdom "is a holy kingdom and a shining robe" (*Sil* 107,5.6). "The soul which has put on Christ (cf. *Rom.* 13,14; *Gal.* 3,27) is one which is pure" (*Sil* 109,7.8).

In Jewish and Jewish Christian writings we find a developed Adam-speculation. He was in Paradise clad in a garment of light. This he lost when he was driven out of Paradise. When Adam has regained Paradise he will strip off the material garment of the body and put on his shining heavenly dress again. We find this idea in the *Hymn of the Pearl* in the *Acts of Thomas*,[27] where the prince receives back his proper garment which he had lost when wandering abroad.[28] In the *Odes of Solomon* too man is saved and brought back to Paradise, where he receives his new garment from the Lord.[29] The *Hymn of the Pearl* is permeated with Gnostic speculations. The prince again receives knowledge of everything which he had forgotten, "And again I saw that throughout it motions of knowledge were being sent forth" (*Acts of Thom* IXc.113, line 88).[30] "And when I had put it on, I was lifted up unto the place of peace and homage" (*Acts of Thom* IXc.113, line 98). "And I rejected the folly cast upon the earth, and stripped it off and cast it from me, and the Lord renewed me with his garment, and possessed me by the light" (*Od. Sol.* XI,10). As in *Sil* the imagery of the garment refers to putting off ignorance and putting on knowledge as a robe. "And I put off darkness and put on light" (*Od. Sol.* XXI,3). In *Sil* also the symbolism of light could refer to enlightenment. *Sirach* concurs with *Sil* in the imagery of the garment of wisdom, "Thou shalt array thee with her (wisdom) (as with) robes of glory, and crown thee with her (as with) a crown of beauty" (*Sirach* 6,31). Here we find the combination of garment and crown as in *Sil.*

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[27] A.F.J. Klijn, *The Acts of Thomas*, 280.

[28] G. Quispel, in *VC* 19,1965, 71,72.

[29] A.F.J. Klijn, *Edessa* 51-53.

[30] *Acts of Thom, Act* IX, c. 113, line 88; Translations of NT apocryphal writings quoted from M.R. James, *The Apocryphal New Testament*, Oxford 1975; Greek Text of the *Acts of Thomas* in R.A. Lipsius and M. Bonnet, *Acta Apostolorum Apocrypha*; M. Bonnet, *Acta Philippi et Acta Thomae*, Hildesheim 1959.

The crown (or "wreath") both in *Sil* and in the *Odes of Solomon* is a symbol of spiritual glorification. The possession of the crown points to salvation. "The Lord is on my head like a crown, and I shall never be without him. Plaited for me (therefore a "wreath") is the crown of truth, and it caused thy branches to blossom in me" (*Od. Sol.* I,1). "And because the Lord is my salvation, I will not fear, and he is a crown upon my head, and I shall not be shaken" (*Od. Sol.* V,11.12). Thus the imagery of the crown frequently occurs in the *Odes of Solomon.*

In the *Pseudo-Clementines* we find the symbolism of man being the outer wrapping of the Holy Ghost, "If, therefore, you wish to be the vesture of the Divine Spirit, hasten first to put off your base presumption, which is an unclean spirit and a foul garment" (*Hom.* VIII,23,1). The imagery is not consistent because in the second part of the phrase man is clad in the robe of the unclean spirit.

In the *Ascensio Iesaiae* we find the combination of robe, crown, and throne with an eschatological meaning as in *Sil*, "The angel who conducted me ... said to me, 'Do not adore angel nor throne, which belong to the six heavens, on account of which I have been sent in order to conduct you, until I shall say it to you in the seventh heaven. For above all heavens and their angels your throne has been placed and your garments and your crown which you will see'" (*Asc. Ies.* VII,21.22). For the eschatological elevation of man above the angels one might compare *Sil* 91,29.30, "you will be honoured by the angels and archangels". The following instances clearly refer to the final heavenly glory: "But put on the grace of the Lord generously, and come into his Paradise, and make for yourself a garland from his tree (combination of garment and wreath). Then put it on your head and be joyful and recline upon his rest" (*Od. Sol.* XX,20). "Blessed are the spirits of the pure, and they have received the heavenly crown whole from the world which has been appointed them" (*Acts of Thom* IXc.94). A non-eschatological meaning is present when the crown refers to the acceptance of the truth, "An everlasting crown is Truth. Blessed are they who set it on their head. It is a precious stone.

For the wars were on account of a crown. Put on the crown in the true covenant of the Lord, and all those who have conquered will be inscribed in his book. For their book is the justification which is for you" (*Od. Sol.* IX,8-12). A term like "covenant" points to the Jewish character of this passage. As in *Sil* the symbolism of accepting crown, garment, and throne can refer as much to present as to eschatological salvation.

A special case of this is "putting on Christ" (*Sil* 109,7.8) which recalls *Rom.* 13,12 and *Gal.* 3,27. "He became like me, that I might receive him. In form he was considered like me, that I might put him on" (*Od. Sol.* VII,4). Divine properties can also be put on like a robe, "And love his holiness and put it on. Then you will be unblemished at all times with him" (*Od. Sol.* XIII,3). The verb ἐνδύεσθαι which is used in this connection in the NT also occurs in the LXX with the meaning of being endowed with spiritual and moral qualities (Kittel, *TWNT* II,320,6-16).

88,10. God..., the Exalted One.

The Coptic expression is the equivalent of the Greek ὕψιστος. It occurs nine times in the NT as a designation of God, seven of which are found in the writings of Luke (Kittel, *TWNT* VIII,618,4-6). It is the usual rendering of עליון in the LXX, and it is also frequently used in late Jewish writings (Kittel, *TWNT* VIII,615,32-617,20). As the use in the NT is rather rare, the occurrence in *Sil* might be a trace of Jewish Christianity.

The following instances from Jewish Christian writings can be quoted: "Wherefore he (God) is called Most High, because, being higher than all, he has the universe subject to him" (*Pseudo-Clementines*, *Hom.* XVI,17,2). "There is no jealousy with the Lord Most High" (*Od. Sol.* III,6). "Judas (= Thomas), the apostle of the Most High" (*Acts of Thom* XIII c.150).

Cf. also: "But the righteous ... in the Lord is their reward and the care for them with the Most High" (*Wisd. of Sol.* 5,15).

88,13-15. Accept the light for your eyes and cast the darkness from you.

89,12-16. What else is evil death except ignorance? What else is evil darkness except familiarity with forgetfulness?

88,30-32. Why do you pursue the darkness though the light is at your disposal?

102,23-25. He who is in darkness will not be able to see anything, unless he receives the light.

102,32-35. For many are seeking in darkness, and they grope about, wishing to understand since there is no light for them.

103,30-32. For who is your guide into the darkness? How many likenesses did Christ take on because of you?

116,10.11. For even things which are in darkness are before him (God) like (things in) the light.

117,14.15. Prepare yourself to escape from the world-rulers of darkness.

In *Sil* "darkness" is a designation of ignorance. Sometimes it refers to the evil character of the powers of the Adversary. Christ as revealer of the secrets of God brings ignorance to an end, as he is the light of heaven which gives illumination. "Christ illumines every mind" (*Sil* 98,26). "Acquiring the light of Christ, which is reason" (*Sil* 99, 4.5). In the NT and especially in the *Gospel of John* "darkness" is used metaphorically in close connection with ψεῦδος and ἁμαρτία (Kittel, *TWNT* VII,445, σκότος), and in opposition to "Light" (= Christ). The contrast light-darkness was very important in Judaism.[31] After having summed up several sins such as fornication (Here there may be traces of Essene ascetism and abstention from marriage), covetousness and the service of the belly, and given an admonition to refrain from them, Thomas continues, "Come forth of the darkness that the light may receive you" (*Acts of Thom* II c.28). The contrast light-darkness in this case has primarily a moral meaning. As in *Sil*, darkness is a designation of ignorance in the *Pseudo-Clementines*, and the Prophet (= Christ) is the one who can save from this darkness, "He, therefore, whose aid is needed for the house filled with the darkness of ignorance (*caligine ignorantiae*) and the smoke of the vices (cf. the catalogue of vices in *Sil* 84,20-26), is he, we say, who is called the true Prophet, who alone can enlighten (*illuminare*) the souls of men, so that with their eyes they may plainly see the way of salvation" (*Rec.* I,16,1). Typical of Jewish Christianity is the idea that Christ is primarily the Revealer who gives man new insight into the truth. His work is not expiatory but rather he is a helper (cf. βοηθός, *Sil* 97,1). "Wherefore we must, above all things, hasten to the knowledge of the truth, that, as with a light kindled at it, we may be able to dispel the darkness of errors; for ignorance, as we have said, is a great evil; but because it has no substance, it is easily dispelled by those who are in earnest. For ignorance is nothing else than not knowing what is good for us; once know this, and ignorance perishes" (*Rec.* V,5,1-3).

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[31] A. F. J. Klijn, *Acts of Thomas*, 220.

The characterization of sin as "ignorance" also occurs in the *Gospel of the Nazoreans*, where Jesus says in respect of the baptism of John "if that which I have said would be ignorance".[32] In the *Acts of Thomas* Mygdonia, who wishes to come to the faith in Christ, prays on behalf of her unbelieving husband to Christ with the words, "I call upon you, Lord Jesus, forsake me not! For with you have I made my refuge; for when I learned that you are he who seeks out those who are veiled in ignorance, and saves those who are held in error..." (*Acts of Thom* IX c.98). Ignorance, here, is practically the same as unbelief. In the *Hymn of the Pearl* the son of the king loses the knowledge of his royal nature and he says, "And I knew no more (ἠγνόησα) that I was a king's son, and I became a servant unto their king. And I forgat (cf. *Sil* 88,25.26 "forgetfulness") also the pearl for which my fathers had sent me" (*Acts of Thom* IX c.109, line 33). In this case also "ignorance" and "forgetfulness", as in *Sil*, are designations which characterize the situation of unbelief and want of the true life.

> 88,15-17. Live (πολιτεύειν) in Christ, and you will acquire a treasure in heaven.

Cf. *Mt.* 6,20. In late Judaism the pious man could by acts of charity accumlate treasures in heaven. Heaven is "a treasure of eternal life" to which the souls of the pious ascend after death. In Gnosticism the soul returns to the "treasury" (θησαυρός), the Pleroma, from which it emanated. The passage in *Sil* is close to the Jewish conception since behaviour (πολιτεύειν) is decisive for the acquisition of the treasure.

A passage from the *Pseudo-Clementines* recalls the Jewish idea of the "treasure of eternal life", "In order, therefore, that there might be a distinction between those who choose good and those who choose evil, God has concealed that which is profitable to men, i.e. the possession of the kingdom of heaven, and has laid it up and hidden it as a secret treasure (cf. *Sil* 107,2, "knock on hidden treasures"), so that no one can easily attain it by his own power or knowledge" (*Rec.* III,53,3).

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[32] P. Vielhauer, *Neutest Apokr I*, 95, Jerome, *Adv Pelag.* III,2.

Jesus says, "I am the hope of them that despair, the helper of them that have no saviour, the treasure of the poor, the health of the sick, and the resurrection of the dead" (*Ep. Ap.* 21(32)).[33] In the *Acts of Thomas* the "treasury" has an eschatological meaning, "The treasury (ταμιεῖον) of the holy king is opened wide, and those who worthily partake of the good things that are in it do rest, and resting do reign" (*Acts of Thom* XI c. 136). Good works are meritorious, so that deeds on earth accumulate treasures in heaven, "Work righteousness, therefore, my children, upon earth, that you may have (it) as a treasure in heaven" (*Test. Levi* 13,5). It is noteworthy that "treasure" in *Sil* 88,17 and in all the quotations from Jewish Christian sources is singular, whereas *Mt.* 6,20 has the plural.

> 88,17-21. Do not become a sausage (made) of many things which are useless, and do not become a guide on behalf of your blind ignorance.

Although *Sil* is aware of the ideas of reconciliation and the death of Christ for the sins of men, it also considers ignorance to be the essence of sin. This idea is not a monopoly of Gnosticism, but is also found among Hellenistic Christian thinkers such as Clement of Alexandria. One might further compare *Sil* 89,14.32; 90,3.24; 91,11; 94,22; 103,30; 116,9. In Jewish wisdom literature the fool was the prototype of sinful men, and so we can imagine that ignorance as a designation of sin fitted in well with Jewish Christianity. Moreover, it was a conception which was in line with contemporary ideas on moral deficiency. Ignorance as a designation of sin is encountered more often in Jewish Christian sources than in the NT. "Unreasonable lust in you is hostile to God, for by conceit of wisdom it strengthens ignorance" (ἄγνοιαν; *Pseudo-Clementines*, *Hom.* XI,11,5). As in *Sil* "ignorance" is closely connected with irrational behaviour. "God may assign ignorance as the cause of your sins" (τῶν ἁμαρτημάτων ... τὴν ἄγνοιαν αἰτίαν; *Hom.* XI,25,1). "For ignorance was destroyed upon it (the earth), because the knowledge of the Lord arrived upon it" (cf. *Isa* 11,9; *Od. Sol.* VII,21; the context refers to the incarnation). The opposite is "knowledge" (γνῶσις, *Sil* 91,13; ἐπιστήμη, *Sil* 89,21).

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[33] *Ep Ap* 21(32); *Neutest Apokr I* 126f.: H. Duensing, *Wechselgespräche Jesu mit seinen Jüngern;* C. Schmidt, *Gespräche Jesu mit seinen Jüngern nach der Auferstehung, Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur*, Leipzig 1919; H. Duensing, *Epistula Apostolorum*, *Kleine Texte für Vorlesungen und Übungen*, ed. H. Lietzmann, Berlin 1925, 152.

> 88,24. End the sleep which weighs heavy upon you.

In the context of *Sil* it is clear that "sleep" is a metaphor for "ignorance". Such a metaphor is frequently met with in Gnostic texts. But in the NT also "sleep" can have the meaning of spiritual unconsciousness, e.g. in the case of the six virgins who were not awake when the bridegroom arrived (*Mt.* 25,1-13). In the *Hymn of the Pearl* in the *Acts of Thomas*, the prince, having arrived in a foreign country, fell asleep, which means that he forgot his royal descent. There is a Gnostic flavour about the text and it may refer to a man who got outside the Pleroma and became unaware of his pneumatic essence. "And I forgot also the pearl for which my father had sent me, and by means of the heaviness of their food I fell into a deep sleep" (*Acts of Thom* IX c.109, lines 34.35).

> 88,25.26. Depart from forgetfulness which fills you with darkness.

"Forgetfulness" is another designation of ignorance often used in Gnostic texts. The combination forgetfulness-darkness also occurs in the *Wisdom of Solomon* in connection with sinful men, "... lawless men ... prisoners of darkness ... they were scattered one from another by a dark curtain of forgetfulness" (λήθη; *Wisd. of Sol.* 17,2.3). In Platonism man has to be brought back to the ἀνάμνησις of the ideas which he has forgotten.

> 88,29.30. But Christ came in order to give you this gift (light in the darkness of ignorance).
>
> 89,7-10. (Wisdom says:) Come to me, all of you, O foolish ones, that you may receive a gift, the understanding, which is good and excellent.

According to the *Pseudo-Clementines*, missionaries themselves choose their own method of work, but the faith which inspires them is a gift from heaven, "but to have an affection towards a teacher of truth, this is a gift of the heavenly Father" (*Rec.* IV,5,5).

> 89,5-8. Wisdom summons you in her goodness, saying, "Come to me, all of you, O foolish ones".
>
> 88,35-89,1. Wisdom summons [you], yet you desire folly.

These are expressions wholly in line with OT wisdom literature. Wisdom is personified as a divine hypostasis and addresses her admonitions in a parenetic style to people who are supposed to be fools, according to the usual sapiential antithesis of the pious man and the fool. Cf. *Prov.* 8,1: "Does Wisdom not call?" *Prov.* 1,20-23, (Wisdom says:) "Turn yourselves to my warning". *Prov.* 9,4.5: "She (Wisdom) says to the foolish man, 'Come, eat from my bread, drink from the wine, which I have mixed'". *Sirach* 24,19, (Wisdom says:) "Come unto me, ye that desire me, and be filled with my produce". In this case pre-existent Wisdom is addressing men.

89,13.14. What else is evil death except ignorance?

Death, in this case, has a metaphorical meaning. He who lives in ignorance in respect of God is dead, since he is cut off from the source of life. Among the Rabbis too the godless were considered to be "dead" ones.[34] In the *Pseudo-Clementines* there is a close relationship between death and ignorance: "Ignorance is of itself a sufficient deadly drug" (ἄγνοια ... θανάσιμον φάρμακον; *Hom.* X,12, 2). The Prophet (= Christ), "by holding forth the word, destroys ignorance by knowledge (γνώσει), cutting as it were, and separating the living from the dead" (ζῶντας ἀπὸ τῶν νεκρῶν; *Hom.* XI,19,2).

89,17-21. Do not become desirous of gold and silver which are profitless, but clothe yourself with wisdom like a robe.
84,19-26. Intensify the struggle against ... avarice.

A number of writers on Jewish Christianity consider ascetism to be one of its chief characteristics.[35] According to them, Syriac and Christian ascetism must have had a Jewish Christian origin. The *Epistula Apostolorum* is supposed to have been written by a converted Jew originating from Essene circles, and the Essenes rejected matrimony and private property. The poor are extolled and the rich repudiated.[36] In the Jewish Christian church of Syria the Encratites were recognized for longer than in the official church.[37] In *Acts of Thom* VI c. 52 matrimony is rejected as "insane union" and "unrestrained lust", which sounds rather Essene. The Ebionism of the *Pseudo-Clementines* is a particular Jewish tradition with which the name of the prophet Elxai was connected. They represent a marginal and esoteric Judaism of the Essene type.[38]

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[34] G. Kittel, *TWNT* IV, 897,2.3; cf. *Mt.* 8,22.
[35] G. Quispel, in *VC* 19, 1965, 67.
[36] M. Hornschuh, *PTS* 5,71.72.
[37] G. Quispel, *op. cit.*, 68.

The *Ep.Ap.* warns against wealth, "But be ye upright and preach rightly and teach, and be not abashed by any man and fear not any man, and especially the rich, for they do not my commandments, but boast themselves in their riches" (*Ep. Ap.* 46(57)). "But they that walk in truth and in the knowledge of the faith, and have love towards me ..., they shall be praised for that they walk in poverty and endure them that hate them and put them to shame" (*Ep. Ap.* 38(49)). It is, however, certainly not the case that *Sil* shares the extreme standpoint found among the Essenes. Our writing does not differ from the warnings against riches found in the Gospels of the NT. In this respect *Sil* concurs with Jewish wisdom literature, for example *Sirach* 31,5, "He who loves gold shall not go unpunished". When *Sil* propagates austerity (87,16), this is to be considered more a sign of Stoic influence than an expression of Essenism or Encratism.

> 90,31 - 91,1. Cast from [you] these evil, deceiving friends. [Accept] Christ, [this true friend], as a good teacher.
> 98,8-10. Entrust yourself to God alone as father and as friend.
> 110,14.15. Know who Christ is, and acquire him as a friend.

In the *Gospel of John* men are sometimes called "friend" of Jesus (11,11; 15,13-15). By way of a parable God is the friend of men.[39] Philo deals with friendship between God and men,[40] continuing some thoughts from OT wisdom. Friendship between God and men occurs rather frequently in the *Pseudo-Clementines*, "... that we may proceed to the friendship of the Creator. But his friendship (*amicitia*) is secured by living well, and by obeying his will" (*Rec.* I,26,3.4). "When God made man after his own image and likeness, he grafted into his work a certain breathing ... of his divinity, that so men, being made partakers of his Only-begotten, might through him be also friends of God and sons of adoption" (*Rec.* IV,9,1). "But when you begin to be pleased ... with he same things which please ... God ... then ye shall truly be called his friends" (*Rec.* V,28,5). "*Amici eius*" (*Rec.* V,28,26). "But that men may also attain to the friendship of God, is proved to us by the example of those to whose prayers he has been so favourable, that ..." (*Rec.* V,29,4). "God appointed ... a multitude of men to be born in this visible world, from amongst whom he might choose friends for his son" (*Rec.* IX,3,1). Since the use of the term "friends" for the relation of God and men in the NT is rather restricted, *Sil* might here be borrowing from a Jewish Christian tradition. It could be that the members of the chosen people were on terms of friendship with God. Compare further (Jesus is speaking to his disciples): "Truly I tell you, you shall be my brethren and my friends" (*Ep.Ap.* 19(30)). Wisdom "makes them friends of God and prophets" (*Wisd. of Sol.* 7,27).

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[38] Daniélou, 10.
[39] *Lk.* 11,5-8; G. Kittel, *TWNT* IX,161,15.16.
[40] G. Kittel, *TWNT* IX,156,4-11.

> 91,7-9. God, the holy Father, the true Life, the Spring of Life.

The epithet "spring" (πηγή) is nowhere in the NT directly related to God. The πηγὴ ζωῆς occurs in the OT (Kittel, *TWNT* VI,114,10). "With thee is the spring of life" (*Ps.* 35,10,LXX). "Fill for yourselves water from the living fountain of the Lord, because it has been opened for you, and come all you thirsty and take a drink, and rest beside the fountain of the Lord" (*Od. Sol.* XXX,1.2). We might have here in *Sil* a Jewish Christian tradition. It is worth noticing that Christ is also named "the Life" in *Sil* (106,25; 107,13; 113,15).

> 91,14-17. But return, my son, to your first father, God, and Wisdom your mother, from whom you came into being.

It is a Jewish and Jewish Christian tradition that God has a consort. Wisdom takes the place of the Logos as mediator of creation. There is a Jewish Christian tradition of the Holy Ghost as mother. The best known instance is from the Jewish Christian *Gospel of the Hebrews*, quoted by Origen, where "the Saviour himself says, 'My Mother the Holy Spirit took me ... and brought me to ... the Tabor'".[41] In the *Gospel of the Hebrews* the Holy Ghost speaks like personified Wisdom in Jewish wisdom literature,[42] so that the Holy Ghost as mother is not far removed from Wisdom as mother. Thus the "mother" is an element in God.

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[41] Origen, *in Joh* II,12; G. Quispel, in *VC* 19, 1965, 66; Kingdom of God as mother 70; *VC* 22, 1968, 86.91.92; P. Vielhauer, *Neutest Apokr I*, 107; the same tradition is mentioned Jerome, *in Micha* 7,6.

[42] P. Vielhauer, *Neutest Apokr I*, 106,107.

With regard to our passage from *Sil*, it is those passages where Wisdom is a mother which are of particular interest. "And they have glorified and praised, with the living spirit, the Father of truth and the mother of wisdom" (*Acts of Thom.* I c.7). "We glorify and praise you and your invisible Father and you holy Spirit [and] the mother of all creation" (*Acts of Thom.* IV c.39). The Spirit and Wisdom are the second and the third persons in the Trinity besides the Father. There was a Jewish tradition that Chokma was a mother.[43] In the *Wisdom of Solomon* there is a hymn on Wisdom, "I preferred her above sceptres and thrones ... But with her there came to me all good things together, and in her hands innumerable riches : And I rejoiced over them all because Wisdom leads them; though I did not know that she was the mother of them" (*Wisd. of Sol.* 7,1-12). Here Wisdom has the epithet "mother". "And she (Wisdom) will meet him (the man) as a mother, and as a youthful wife will she receive him" (*Sirach* 15,2). Wisdom is pre-existent and says, "He (God) created me from the beginning, before the world" (*Sirach* 24,9). "Wisdom instructs her sons" (*Sirach* 4,11), which implies that she is their mother. Wisdom lives together with God in heaven, "And with you is Wisdom, who knows your works" (*Wisd. of Sol.* 9,9). She lives together with God, συμβίωσιν θεοῦ ἔχουσα (*Wisd. of Sol.* 8,3).[44] According to Philo the high-priest is reborn from God as his Father and Wisdom as his mother (*Fug* 108-112; Kittel, *TWNT* VII,499,16; 501,30).

The Ebionites assumed that, besides the Father, there is a male figure in God, an angel, the Son of God, and a female figure, the Holy Ghost.[45] The Holy Ghost as the female part in God also occurs in the *Odes of Solomon* (XIX,2), "The Son is the cup, and the Father was he who was milked, and the Holy Spirit is she who milked him" (cf. *Od. Sol.* XXXVI,1). During the celebration of the eucharist the Holy Ghost was called upon as a mother, "Come, the hidden mother" (*Acts of Thom.* V, c. 50). In the *Pseudo-Clementines* Peter discusses with Simon *Gn.* 1,26, "Let us make man". Why is the plural used? "One is he who said to his Wisdom, 'Let us make man'. But his Wisdom was that with which he himself always rejoiced as with his own spirit" (*Rec.* XVI,12,1). Once again it is clear that the Spirit and Wisdom are interchangeable and that Wisdom functions as a mother and a consort besides the Father and the Son. One's conclusion would be that *Sil's* conception of God as Father and Wisdom as mother is deeply rooted in Jewish Christian tradition.

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[43] A. F. J. Klijn, *Acts of Thomas*, 312.

[44] See G. Quispel, *Jewish Gnosis and Mandaean Gnosticism*, in *NHS VII*, Leiden 1975, 84; Quispel also points to Bronte as God's consort in NHC VI,13,19-21, p. 93.

[45] Hipp, *ref.* X,13,1 - 17,2, Klijn-Reinink 115.

91,25.26. Keep the holy commandments of Jesus Christ.

In Jewish Christian thought the Law of the OT was not abolished at all by Jesus Christ. The discussion at the meeting mentioned in *Acts* 15 was concerned with the validity of the Law among non-Jewish Christians. The compromise arrived at there was to the effect that the OT commandments should only apply to a limited extent to the Christians of non-Jewish origin. It was especially the Palestinian Christians, who were converted Pharizees, who were legalistic.[46] Therefore one might legitimately wonder whether "the commandments of Jesus" do not point to some degree of legalism. Jesus himself did not intend to abolish the Law (*Mt.* 5,17-20). God's commands are not burdensome (1 *Jn* 5,3). This makes it probable that the mentioning of commands does not necessarily include "legalism". Moreover, the expression "commandments of Jesus" could refer to the special form in which Jesus gave a new interpretation of the Law.

What do the sources tell us about the attitude of the Jewish Christians towards the Law? "The Ebionites ... live conformably to Jewish customs saying that they are justified according to the Law, and saying that Jesus was justified by preaching the Law. Therefore it was that he was named both the Christ of God and Jesus, since not one of the (rest) kept the Law" (Hipp., *Prol* 34,1-2; cf. *Ref.* X,22,1). The Nazoreans "use not only the NT but also the Old, like the Jews ... they ... live according to the preaching of the Law as among the Jews" (Epiphanius, *Pan* 29,7,1). In the *Pseudo-Clementines* the performance of good works is esteemed to be important, "that your mind, receiving like good seed the true word ... may not choke it with evil cares, and render it unfruitful with respect to works that are able to save you" (*Hom.* XI,2,1). Thus good works are a basis for salvation. "For the Jew believes God and keeps the law, by which faith he also removes other sufferings, though like mountains (*Mt.* 17,19) and heavy. But he who does not keep the law is manifestly a deserter through not believing God" (*Hom.* XI,16,4). Belief in God, here, is almost equal to keeping the Law. The kingdom of God is for those who keep God's commandments; this is the message of Jesus (*Rec.* I,6,2). The kingdom is for those who have kept the commandments of Jesus: "Two advents, one in humilation ... the other in glory ..., when he shall come to give the kingdom to those who believe in him, and who observe all things which he commanded" (*Rec.* I,69,4). "Merit accrues to men from good works, but only if they be done as God commands" (*Rec.* VI,8,6).

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[46] Daniélou, 19; M. Simon, *Aspects du Judéo-Christianisme*, Paris 1965, 5-7.

All this, however, namely obedience to the OT Law, obedience as a condition for entering the kingdom of God and the meritorious character of man's good deeds, is not found in *Sil.*

Ep Ap is also legalistic, but not to such a strict degree as the Ebionite writings. Virtually the same wording as in our passage from *Sil* occurs in the following quotation: (Jesus says:) "only keep my commandments (ⲉⲣⲏϩ ⲁ ⲛⲁⲉⲛⲧⲟⲗⲏ; *Sil* ⲁⲣⲉϩ ⲉ ⲛⲉⲛⲧⲟⲗⲏ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲁⲃ ⲛⲓ̅ⲥ̅ ⲡⲉⲭ̅ⲥ̅) and do what I bid you" (*Ep. Ap.* 24(35)). "That there may be a choosing-out of the faithful who have kept the commandments of my Father that sent me" (*Ep.Ap.* 26(37)). Christianity is in the first place obedience to the Law, so is the opinion of one who wishes to become a Christian: "... that I may receive the seal (baptism), and become thy minister, and a keeper of the commandments of the God whom thou preachest" (*Acts of Thom* XIII, c. 150). "Observe, therefore, my children, the commandments of the Lord, and keep his Law" (*Test. Dan* 5,1).

Although Christian behaviour plays an important role in *Sil*, we cannot say that Christian belief virtually coincides with doing the OT commandments. *Sil's* moral teaching is rather determined by the contemporary Hellenistic situation, mainly Stoicism: Live according to reason and do not allow yourself to be influenced by the passions. The meritory and expiatory work of reconciliation upon the cross is a counterbalance to legalism.

> 91,27-30. "... you will be king over every place on earth and will be honoured by the angels and archangels.

"As it is also written in the Gospel according to the Hebrews: 'He who is astonished will be king and he who was king will rest'" (Clem. Alex. *Strom.* II,IX 45,5). *Gospel of Thomas*, Log. 2 (32,14-19): "Jesus said, 'Let him who seeks continue seeking until he finds. When he finds, he will become troubled. When he becomes troubled, he will be astonished, and he will be king over the all'". B. Gärtner[47] points to *Pistis Sophia*, c. 99, for the same expression, "And they and all those who receive from the mysteries are kings in all the places of the space of the Ineffable, also according to the rank of each of them." It is possible that *Sil* has preserved something of a Jewish Christian Gospel tradition.

> 92,4.5. You will become self-controlled (ἐγκρατής) in your soul and body.

Asceticism among the Jewish Christians can be traced back to the Essenes with their very strict observance. The Ebionites were influenced by Encratism which propagated abstention from wine and meat.[48] In *Sil*, however, there is no mention of specific abstention from matrimony, property, wine and meat. The only admonition is the Stoic principle: be guided by reason and do not allow irrational passions to rule you. In this connection self-control is recommended.

> 92,11-29. But before everything (else), know your birth. Know yourself, that is, from what substance (οὐσία) you are, or from what race (γένος), or from what species. Understand that you have come into being from three races: from the earth, from the formed (πλάσμα), and from the created. The body (σῶμα) has come into being from the earth with an earthly substance, but the formed, for the sake of the soul (ψυχή), has come into being from the thought of the Divine, for the sake of the soul. The created, however, is the mind (νοῦς), which has come into being in conformity with the image (εἰκών) of God. The divine mind (θεῖος νοῦς) has substance from the Divine, but the soul (ψυχή) is that which he (God) has formed (πλάσσειν) for their own hearts.

It is characteristic of Jewish Christianity to derive a great deal from the first chapters of the OT for the history of the fall and the salvation of man, including many Adam-speculations.[49] *Sil* develops ideas inspired by the creation terminology of the LXX, including such terms as πλάσσειν and ποιεῖν. *Sil* also reflects the usual tripartition of man into body (σῶμα), soul (ψυχή) and mind (νοῦς).

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[47] *The Theology of the Gospel of Thomas*, London 1961, 262.

[48] Daniélou, 426-429.

That creation originated from the "thought" of God is also expressed in *Od Sol* XVI 19, "And the worlds are by his word and by the thought of his heart." The *Pseudo-Clementines* make a distinction between creation after the image and after the likeness of God, the latter functioning in the same way as the "image" in *Sil*, since that is the prototype for the superior part of man, the mind: "You are the image of the invisible God ... For the image of God is man (εἰκὼν γὰρ θεοῦ ὁ ἄνθρωπος). He who wishes to be pious towards God does good to man, because the body (σῶμα) of man bears the image of God. But all do not yet bear his likeness (ὁμοιότητα), but the pure mind of the good soul does" (ἀλλὰ ἀγαθῆς ψυχῆς ὁ καθαρὸς νοῦς; *Hom.* XI,4,1). In the *Pseudo-Clementines* the body is given a higher evaluation than in *Sil*, which suggests that the former are more Jewish and the latter is more Hellenistic in character. Both writings agree in asserting that the νοῦς is the highest human faculty. *Sil* says that the mind (νοῦς) represents the participation of man in the divine substance. The *Pseudo-Clementines* also contend that man has something divine since God inbreathed his own spirit into Adam. "When God had made man after his own image and likeness, he grafted into his work a certain breathing (*spiramen*) and odour of his divinity (*odorem suae divinitatis*), so that men, being made partners of his Only-begotten, might through him be also friends (cf. *Sil* 98,8; 110,14.15) and sons of adoption" (*Rec.* IV,9,1).

> 93,4-15. Do not think about things pertaining to the flesh (σάρξ). Acquire strength, for the mind is strong. If you fall from this other, you have become male-female. And if you cast out of yourself the substance of the mind, which is thought, you have cut off the male part and turned yourself to the female part alone. You have become psychic since you have received the substance of the formed.
>
> 93,28-30. The divine soul shares partly in this One (God), furthermore it shares partly in the flesh.
>
> 98,25. ... the eyes of the flesh ...

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[49] A.F.J. Klijn, *Edessa*, 51.

In *Sil* the flesh and the body are assessed negatively, since these lowest component parts of man are taken from the earth. So also in the *Odes of Solomon* the flesh is not able to understand God, "Your flesh may not understand that which I (God) am about to say you, nor your garment (the body as the material envelope of the soul) that which I am about to show you" (*Od. Sol.* VIII,9). According to *Sil* the body is the irrational animalistic part of man, the soul is the female part and the mind is the male. Although the soul is human, it is on a lower level than the mind. This theme gave rise to speculations about Eve as the female part, taken from Adam and making man incomplete. In Gnosticism too there are theories about the male as the highest pneumatic faculty in man. We might compare an exposition on the topic of philanthropy by Peter in the *Pseudo-Clementines.* Its lower element is female, as it is passion; its higher part is male, since it is a spiritual virtue. "Compassionate (ἐλεήμονα), indeed, I can call her (a certain person), but I dare not call her philanthropic, just as I cannot call a mother philoteknic, for she is prevailed on to have an affection for them (her children) by her pangs, and by the rearing of them ... Philanthropy is masculo-feminine (ἀρρενόθηλυς); and the feminine part of it is called compassion, and the male part is named love (ἀγάπη) to your neighbour... It behoves, therefore, him who practises philanthropy to be an imitator of God, doing good to the righteous and the unrighteous as God..." (*Hom.* XII,26,2.6). "On this account, also, one man was made, and from him went forth also the female. And being a unity generically, it is yet a duality" (*Hom.* XVI,12,1). We can imagine how Gnostic speculations on unity and plurality, on division as a deficiency and return to the original unity, could originate from such interpretations of the *Genesis* creation story. Essenes and Encratites could also explain Eve as the lower female part of man by which people should not be seduced to sexual intercourse. Thus, according to the *Pseudo-Clementines*, the human composition exists in two unequal parts: "And his body consists of three parts, deriving its origin from the female (θηλείας), for it has lust, anger, and grief, and what is consequent on these. But the spirit (πνεῦμα) not being uniform, but consisting of three parts, derives its origin from the male (ἄρρενος), and it is capable of reasoning (λογισμοῦ), knowledge (γνώσεως), and fear, and what is consequent on these" (*Hom.* XX,2,3). The *Pseudo-*

Clementines offer here a bipartite scheme: female (body, irrationality, passions) and male (spirit, intellectual faculties), where *Sil* displays a tripartite one, but the main conceptions are very similar. The passage from the *Pseudo-Clementines* continues, "And each of these triads has one root, so that man is compound of two mixtures (φυραμάτων), the female and the male. Wherefore also two ways have been laid before him — those of obedience and disobedience to law" (*Hom.* XX, 2,4). Compare for the negative assessment of the "mixture", "[If] you mix yourself, you will acquire the three parts as you fall from virtue into inferiority" (*Sil* 92,34-93,3). Another passage which clearly expresses the negative evaluation of the female states, "The male (= Adam) is wholly truth, the female (Eve) wholly falsehood. But he who is born of the male and the female, in some things speaks truth, in some falsehood. For the female ... leads the greater part into fornication" (μοιχεία; *Hom.* III,27,1.2). No doubt this reflects an Encratite point of view according to which normal marriage was also fornication. On this theme we could also compare some passages from the *Gospel of Thomas.*[50] Thus the answer to the question: "When shall we enter the kingdom?" is "When you make the male and the female one and the same, so that the male not be male nor the female female" (Log. 22; 37,28-31). "Simon Peter said to them, 'Let Mary leave us, for women are not worthy of life'. Jesus said, 'I myself shall lead her in order to make her male, so that she too may become a living spirit resembling males. For every woman who will make herself male will enter the Kingdom of Heaven'" (Log 114; 51,18-26). As for the bipartition of human personality, one might compare "Verily I say unto you, the resurrection of the flesh shall come to pass with the soul therein and the spirit" (πνεῦμα; *Ep. Ap.* 24(35)).

> 94,19-23. O soul, persistent one, be sober (νήφειν) and shake off your drunkenness, which is the work of ignorance.

Although, like "sleep" and "blindness", "drunkenness" has here the metaphorical meaning of "ignorance", the admonition to be "sober" recalls the Encratism of some Jewish Christian sects. So we read in the *Pseudo-Clementines*, "The religion of God calls you to sobriety and chastity, orders you to refrain from effeminacy" (*Rec.* V,32,1). In the *Odes of Solomon* also "drunkenness" has a metaphorical meaning, "They (the evil powers, the Deceiver and Error) invite many to the wedding feast, and allow them the wine of their intoxication. So they cause them to vomit up their wisdom and their knowledge. Then they abandon them; and so they stumble about like mad and corrupted men. Since there is no understanding in them, neither do they seek it" (*Od. Sol.* XXXVIII,12-15).

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[50] See also A. F. J. Klijn, *Das Thomasevangelium und das altsyrische Christentum*, in *VC* 15, 1961, 150.

> 94,27-29. You have come into being inside the bridal-chamber, and you have been illuminated in mind.

The wording of the passage recalls the Gnostic conception of the Pleroma as the bridal-chamber from which the pneumatics derive their origin and to which they return. The OT and late Judaism use the imagery of Bridegroom and Bride for the relation between Jahveh and his people.[51] The NT contains the νυμφίος-parables, referring to Jesus-Messiah and his followers.[52] The passage from *Sil* refers to the same relation and alludes to the Christians whose minds are illumined by the revelation of Christ.[53] The relation Jahveh-Israel of the OT is transmitted into the relation Christ-Christians in the NT.

In the *Pseudo-Clementines* the imagery of the bridal-chamber is eschatological, "... till the time of the marriage, which is the manifestation of the world to come, he (God) has appointed a certain power, to choose out and watch over the good ones ... and to preserve them for his Son, set apart in a certain place..., who are there being prepared ... as a bride adorned for the coming bridegroom" (*Rec.* IX,3,2). In the *Odes of Solomon* the present relation between Christ and his beloved one is alluded to, "I love the Beloved and I myself love him ... I have been married (to him), because the lover has found the Beloved. Because I love him that is the Son, I shall become a son" (*Od. Sol.* III,5.7). "And I throw over them the yoke of my love.

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[51] G. Kittel, *TWNT* IV, 1094,27 - 1095,35.

[52] G. Kittel, *TWNT* IV, 1095,37f.

[53] Perhaps even a sacrament of the "bridal-chamber" could have been meant, cf. *Gospel of Philip*, NHC II,65,12; 67,5.30; 69,27.37; 70,18, etc.

Like the arm of the bridegroom over the bride, so is my yoke over those who know me, and as the bridal feast is spread out by the bridal pair's home, so is my love by those who believe in me" (*Od. Sol.* XLII, 7-9). The OT relation Jahveh-Sion is transferred to Jesus in the *Epistula Apostolorum*, "Behold, out of Syria will I (Jesus) begin to call together a new Jerusalem, and Sion will I subdue unto me, and it shall be taken, and the place which is childless shall be called the son and daughter of my Father, and my bride" (*Ep. Ap.* 33(44)). Another passage refers to the parable of the virgins and the bridegroom (*Mt.* 25,1-13), "And ye shall be like the wise virgins which watched and slept not, but went forth to the lord into the bride chamber..., for these are they of whom the prophet has spoken: Sons of God are they" (*Ep. Ap.* 43(54); *Hos.* 1,10?). In the *Acts of Thomas* the idea of the celestial bridal-chamber is connected with Encratism: Those who did not marry in this world or at least kept their virginity will be united with the celestial bridegroom, "But if ye ... keep your souls chaste before God ... ye shall be without care, ... looking to receive that incorruptible and true marriage, and ye shall be therein groomsmen entering into that bride-chamber which is full of immortality and light" (*Acts of Thom* I, c. 12; A.F.J. Klijn, *The Acts of Thomas*, 193f.). Mygdonia prefers the spiritual marriage with Christ (Encratite ideal) to the relation with her (pagan) husband, "Thou sawest that marriage; that was passing and here, and single, but that marriage continueth for ever," etc. (*Acts of Thom* X, c. 124).

96,1.2. For he who says, "I have many gods", is godless.

The combatting of polytheism is more current in the OT than in the NT. In his debates with Simon in the *Pseudo-Clementines*, Peter also touches on the question of polytheism, "Again, the terrible serpent suggests this supposition to you, to think and to say that very thing which most of you do say; viz., We know that there is one Lord of all, but there are also gods" (*Hom.* X,14,1). Simon offers a false exegesis of *Gn* 1,26 and says, "But I maintain that the scriptures believed in amongst the Jews say that there are many gods, and that God is not angry at this, because he has himself spoken of many gods in his scriptures" (*Hom.* XVI,5,3; cf. XVI,6,7). Peter replies: "One is he who said to his Wisdom 'Let us make man'" (*Hom.* XVI,12,1). Peter further explains that the plural in *Gn* 1,26 refers to God and his Wisdom, and concludes, "We know that there is only one who has made the heavens and the earth, the God of the Jews, and of all who choose to worship him" (*Hom.* XVI,14,4).

96,30. This (Christ) is your king and father.

Christ receives predicates that belong to God in the OT. In the NT Christ is nowhere called "father", although sometimes he comes very near to God (*Jn* 10,30; 14,9). In the OT "Father" is one of the most frequent names of God (Kittel, *TWNT* V,969f.). In *Sil* Christ is also called "God" (*Sil* 111,5). In the case of Jewish Christianity we have to distinguish different branches. Thus in the *Pseudo-Clementines* there is a clear subordination of Christ to God since in them Christ is mainly "the Prophet". Peter says, "Our Lord did not proclaim himself to be God, but he pronounced blessed him who called him the Son of that God" (*Hom.* XVI,15,2). The one who is "begotten cannot be compared with that which is unbegotten" (*Hom.* XVI,16,1), "nor can it be asserted that he is of the same substance" (*Hom.* XVI,16,3). Among the Ebionites there was an adoptionist Christology: Christ was not the Son of God by his birth through the Holy Spirit but on account of the fact that the dove of the Spirit descended upon him at the occasion of his baptism in the river Jordan.[54] "Therefore they assert that Jesus has been brought forth from the seed of man, and has been elected, and that in this way, by election, by him has been named 'Son of God', while Christ from above descended on him in the figure of a dove" (Epiphanius, *Pan.* 30,16,3). The Jerusalem community of Jewish Christians was more orthodox.[55] According to Epiphanius there is even a group among the Ebionites who accept a position for Christ which is on a level with that of God: "But others among them say that he (Christ) is from above and was created before all things, that he is a spirit and stands above the angels and is lord of all and that he is called Christ and has been chosen for all eternity" (Epiphanius, *Pan.* 30,3,4).[56]

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[54] P. Vielhauer, *Neutest Apokr I*, 100-102, Daniélou, 17, according to the Ebionites Christ is a prophet, not Son of God.

[55] M. Simon, *Aspects du Judéo-Christianisme*, Paris 1965, 5.

[56] Klijn-Reinink, 179.

We may assume that the orthodox congregation of Jerusalem considered Christ to be a revelation of the God of the OT. As Jews they kept to a strict monotheism, so that Christ could not be a second god but had to be God himself. In that case every predicate of God occurring in the OT could also be used of Christ. Thus we find in Jewish Christian writings frequent evidence that Christ was named "father" like the God of the OT. However strange it may seem to be, if the Son of God is the image of the Father, he can be designated by the name "Father". In the *Epistula Apostolorum* the disciples say to Jesus while speaking with him after his resurrection: "Lord, thou art our father" (*Ep.Ap.* 41(52), Ethiopic version). Thomas preaches, "For this is the Lord and God of all, even Jesus Christ whom I preach, and he is the father of truth (πατὴρ ἀληθείας), in whom I have taught you to believe" (*Acts of Thom* II, c. 26). From this passage it is clear that Christ is designated "father" because he is "God". "This is the Father of the height and the Lord of nature and the Judge: he came of the greatest, the only-begotten son of the deep; and he was called the son of Mary the virgin, and was termed the son of Joseph the carpenter" (*Acts of Thom* XII, c. 143). It was not considered inconsistent for Jesus to be called "father" and "son" in the same passage. "Jesus said, 'When you see one who was not born of woman, prostrate yourselves on your faces and worship him. That one is your Father'" (*Gospel of Thom*, Log. 15; 35,27-31). These instances are sufficient to prove that among Jewish Christians Jesus as the revelation of the Father was himself named "Father".

90,33-91,1. [Accept] Christ, [this true friend], as a good teacher.
96,32-97,1. (96,19.20, Accept Christ...) This divine teacher is with [you] always.
110,17.18. (110,14, Know who is Christ...) He is also God and Teacher.

One thinks first of all of the NT title διδάσκαλος for Christ. Further it is obvious that in *Sil*, which is composed in the manner of a document of Jewish *Chokma*, Christ is conceived as a teacher of wisdom. In this Hellenistic writing Christ, as the Logos, shares the epithet "teacher" with the λόγος i.e. human reason (*Sil* 85,26).

It is not surprising that in the *Pseudo-Clementines*, where Christ is first and foremost a prophet (*Hom.* XVII,6,3), he also is conceived of as a teacher. A prophet is not a mediator or a saviour, but an inspired person who instructs people concerning the will of God. "And having ascertained him to be the Prophet, we must undoubtedly follow the other words of his teaching" (τοῖς λοιποῖς τῆς διδασκαλίας αὐτοῦ λόγοις; *Hom.* II,11,1). On account of his superior knowledge Christ is qualified to reveal the truth. "Now the Prophet of the truth is he who always knows all things past as they were, things present as they are, things future as they shall be, sinless, merciful, alone entrusted with the declaration of the truth" (*Hom* II 6,1). Christ receives the title of "teacher", "For the teacher himself, being nailed to [the cross], prayed to the Father that the sins of those who slew him might be forgiven" (*Hom.* XI,20,4; ibid., 28,4). "The teacher himself said this" (*Hom.* XX,9,2). "He (Christ) is a "teacher of truth" (*Rec.* I,16,7).

In the *Epistula Apostolorum* the saving work of Christ is conceived primarily in terms of transmission of doctrine.[57] Jesus says, "I am your teacher (Ethiopic version), even he, O Peter, whom thou didst deny thrice" (*Ep. Ap.* 11(22)).

From all this one should not conclude that Christ in *Sil* is mainly a teacher. He is equally a saviour of whom it is said that he vanquished the powers of the Adversary, "that he might die for you as a ransom for your sin" (*Sil* 104,12.13).

> 97,1-3. He (Christ) is a helper (βοηθός), and he meets you because of the good which is in you.
>
> 114,14-16. Your judge (in the context, Christ) helps (you) completely since he wants you to be victorious.

Both passages would appear to have a somewhat "synergistic" flavour, since man for his part first demonstrated a way of life guided by his faculties of mind and reason, and appeared to be willing to fight the battle against the passions and the powers of the Adversary. In the NT the epithet "helper" used of God and Christ is rather rare, while it frequently occurs in the LXX as an epithet of Jahveh (Kittel, *TWNT* I 627; *Ps* 9,35; 29,11), and also in later Judaism, e.g. in Josephus and Philo.

The aspect of Christ as helper occurs several times in the *Odes of Solomon.*[58] "For there is a helper for me, the Lord" (*Od. Sol.* VII,3).

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[57] M. Hornschuh, *PTS* 5,32.

[58] A.F.J. Klijn, *Edessa*, 59; *The Acts of Thomas*, 235; *VC* 15, 1961, 153.

"For the right hand of the Lord is with you and he will be your helper" (*Od. Sol.* VIII,6). "Because he cast off my bonds from me, and my helper lifted me up according to his compassion and his salvation" (*Od. Sol.* XXI,2). "Thou art the right hand of salvation and my helper" (*Od. Sol.* XXV,2). Further the *Acts of Thomas* characterize Christ as a helper. He supports his servants in the contest (cf. *Sil* 114,14-16): "O Jesus Christ..., defender and helper (ἐπαμύτωρ καὶ βοηθὸς) in the fight of thine own servants, turning away and scaring the enemy from us, that fightest in many battles for us and makest us conquerors in all" (*Acts of Thom* IV,c.39). "O God, Jesus Christ, Son of the living God, redeemer and helper, refuge and rest of all that labour in thy work" (*Acts of Thom* VI, c. 60). In this passage it is remarkable that Christ is addressed as "God", a usage which also occurs in *Sil* 110,17.18. One might also compare: "Now the man who is the helper (βοηθὸν ἄνδρα) I call the true Prophet, and he alone is able to enlighten the souls of men, so that with our own eyes we may be able to see the way of eternal salvation" (*Pseudo-Clementines, Hom.* I,19,1). In this case the helper does not exclude but rather stimulates man's own activity. "I am the hope of them that despair, the helper of them that have no saviour" (*Ep. Ap.* 21(32)).

The use of the epithet "helper" for Christ is a clear example of the transfer of an OT designation of God to Jesus Christ. Sometimes he is, in that connection, also addressed as "God". It might be that the name "helper" for Christ was not very popular in ancient Christianity on account of its synergistic overtones. For the Jewish Christian, however, it was a very acceptable name because it expressed the identity of Christ with the God of the OT. The occurrence of the epithet "helper" for Christ is evidence that the author of *Sil* could have been in touch with Jewish Christian tradition.

> 97,10-17. And a foolish man does not guard against speaking (a) mystery. A wise man, (however,) does not blurt out every word, but he will be discriminating toward those who hear. Do not mention everything in the presence of those whom you do not know.

Sil is aware of the antithesis between the wise man and the fool frequent in wisdom literature in general and particularly in Jewish *Chokma*. Here the foolish man is depicted as one whose speech is unthoughtful. The same point of view occurs in *Sirach*. "A man (full) of tongue (γλωσσώδης) is dangerous in the city and he who is hasty in speech is detested" (*Sirach* 9,18). "Then he who is silent is wise... One keeps silence and is accounted wise and another is despised for his much talking ... He who is abundant in word is abhorred" (*Sirach* 20,1.5.8).

> 97,18.19. Have a great number of friends, but not counsellors. First, examine your counsellor, for do not honor anyone who flatters.

The admonition to be careful in choosing friends also occurs in *Sirach*. "Let those that are at peace with thee be many, but thy confidant one in a thousand." "If thou makest a friend test him, and be not in haste to trust him ... And there is a friend that turneth to an enemy... Separate thyself from thine enemies, and be on thy guard against thy friends" (*Sirach* 6,6.7.9.13). "Every counsellor pointeth (with) the hand, but there is he that counselleth a way to suit himself. Beware of the counsellor and inform thyself beforehand what is his interest" (*Sirach* 37,7.8).

> 97,30-98,5. Do not trust anyone as a friend, for this whole world has come into being deceitfully, and every [man] is troubled [in vain]. All things [of] the world are not profitable, but they happen in vain. There is no one not even a brother (who is trustworthy), since each one is seeking his own advantage.

There are problems about the meaning of this passage. *Sil* cannot mean to say that the creator has made a mistake, since he says elsewhere (*Sil* 116,5-9), "Let no one ever say that God is ignorant. For it is not right to place the creator of every creature in ignorance." Probably he only wishes to say, having become pessimistic because he has been disappointed in men, that the present world has become deceitful.

The Ebionites too had an anticosmic view which attracted them to Encratism. In a monistic fashion they asserted that God had appointed two kings, the Evil One as the ruler of this world, and the Saviour as the ruler of the world to come. Therefore this visible world was under the influence of the Devil only (Epiphanius, *Pan.* 30,16,2.3). In some way the Evil One was the instrument of God. Needless to say *Sil* is not of this opinion, since it considers the Devil to be the Adversary of Christ in the spiritual battle which is going on. *Sil's* view does not result in an absolute denial of the world, but only in warnings against evil and in summoning to the fight against evil. His world-pessimism in this passage is a reinforcement of his warnings against choosing one's friends too easily.

Sometimes we find in Jewish Christian literature the assertion of the general immorality of men. "For by nature all men were foolish and had no perception of God" (*Wisd. of Sol.* 13,1). The *Gospel of Thomas* is anticosmic, an attitude which in this case could reflect Encratite and perhaps even Gnostic influence. "You, then, be on your guard against the world" (*Gospel of Thom.*, Log. 21; 37,10.11). "If you do not fast as regards the world, you will not find the Kingdom" (*Gospel of Thom.*, Log 27; 38,17.18). "Whoever finds the world and becomes rich, let him renounce the world" (Log. 110; 51,4.5). "Whoever finds himself is superior to the world" (Log. 111; 51,10.11). However, we cannot say that we find this type of world-renunciation in *Sil.*

The same negative evaluation of the world in connection with the untrustworthiness of men occurs in *Sil* 98,10-20, "For everyone proceeds deceitfully, while the whole earth is full of suffering and pain — things in which there is no profit. If you wish to pass your life in quiet, do not keep company with anyone. And if you do keep company with them, be as if you do not. Be pleasing to God, and you will not need anyone". This almost seems to be a misanthropic attitude. In some respects one could compare these lines with the "solitary one" of the *Gospel of Thomas* (Log. 4,16,23,49,75).[59] The ambivalence displayed by *Sil* in regard to the world is also found in the *Odes of Solomon.* On the one hand there is pessimism: "When everything will perish that is visible, I shall not escape" (*Od. Sol.* V,14). On the other hand there is optimism : "He has founded and made creation, and there is nothing outside the Lord, because he existed before there was anything. And the world came into being through his word and through the thoughts of his heart" (*Od. Sol.* XVI,12.18.19).[60]

> 98,20-28. Live with Christ, and he will save you. For he is the true light and the sun of life. For just as the sun which is manifest and makes light for the eyes of the flesh, so Christ illuminates every mind and the heart.

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[59] A. F. J. Klijn, *Edessa*, 74, 75. In that work, however, it refers to the unmarried.

[60] A. F. J. Klijn, *Edessa*, 62.

> 99,9-15. So it is with the sun which is in heaven, all of whose rays extend to places on the earth. Similarly, Christ has a single being, and gives light to every place.
>
> 101,13-21. But it is impossible to look at Christ as at the sun. God sees everyone; no one looks at him. But Christ without being jealous receives and gives. He is the light of the Father, as he gives light without being jealous. In this manner he gives light to every place.

Christ as the shining sun occurs in the early hymn quoted by Paul (*Eph* 5,14), "Christ will shine upon you." Christ's epiphany is depicted as a sunrise, "He shall shine forth as the sun on earth, and shall remove all darkness from under heaven" (*Test. Levi* XVIII,3.4).[61] Christ's epiphany inaugurates a struggle between light and darkness. "As the sun is the joy to them who seek its daybreak, so is my joy in the Lord; because he is my sun, and his rays have lifted me up, and his light has dismissed all darkness from my faith... The thought of knowledge I have acquired" (*Od. Sol.* XV,1.2.5). Christ spreading light like the sun means illumination for the human mind.[62] Christ miraculously spreads light for prisoners in jail, but it is spiritual enlightenment which is being alluded to, "Jesus our illuminator, for lo, the children of darkness have made us sit in darkness; but thou, our Lord, enlighten us with the light of thy nature" (*Acts of Thom.* XIII, c. 153). Christ says of his final *parousia*, "I shall come like the sun when it is risen, and my brightness will be seven times the brightness thereof" (*Ep. Ap.* 16(27)). There might be some attempt here to vie with the solar cult of the Hellenistic world. According to the *Pseudo-Clementines* the true Prophet (= Christ) "is able to enlighten the souls of men" (*Hom.* I,19,1). "For this is peculiar to the Prophet, to declare the truth, even as it is peculiar to the sun to bring the day" (*Hom.* II,6,2).

In *Sil* the imagery of Christ as the sun refers to his omnipresence, but also, as in the quotations just mentioned, to his revelatory activity. Finally it should be noted that, in the OT, God is symbolically called "Sun" (*Ps.* 84,12; 89,37; *Mal.* 4,2).

> 99,5-7. For everything which is manifest is a copy of that which is hidden.

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[61] Daniélou, 240.

[62] A. F. J. Klijn, *Edessa*, 56.

This Platonic statement is comparable with the passage: "The pattern of that which is below is that which is above" (*Od. Sol.* XXXIV, 4).

> 99,31 - 100,4. For do not think in your heart that God exists [in a] place (τόπος). If you localize the [Lord of] all in a place (τόπος), then it is fitting for you to say that the place (τόπος) is more exalted than he who dwells in it. For that which contains is more exalted than that which is contained.

Here God's transcendence is being treated in Platonic fashion. In a similar way the *Pseudo-Clementines* demonstrate that God, the Unbegotten, is one, since he cannot be bordered by another outside him. "We call him God whose peculiar attributes cannot belong to the nature of any other; for, as he is called the Unbounded (ἀπέραντος) because he is boundless (ἄπειρος) on every side, it must of necessity be the case that it is no other one's peculiar attribute to be called unbounded, as another cannot in like manner be boundless..., for two things boundless on every side cannot exist, for the one is bounded by the other" (*Hom.* XVI,17,1). "And if he has a figure, how is he not limited (περιόριστός)? And if limited, he is in a place.[63] But if he is in a place, he is less than the space which encloses" (τοῦ περιέχοντος αὐτὸν τόπου; *Hom.* XVII,3,5.6).

> 100,23-29. You cannot know God through anyone except Christ who has the image of the Father, for this image reveals the true likeness in correspondence to that which is revealed.
>
> 111,15.16. O Christ, King who has revealed to men the Great Divinity.
>
> 113,4. He is the spotless mirror of the working of God, and he is the image of his goodness.

One might compare with this *Mt.* 11,27; *Col.* 1,15.

In the *Gospel of Thomas* Christ is predominantly the revealer of the divine world who grants the knowledge of the invisible Father.[64] "I shall give you what no eye has seen and what no ear has heard and what no hand has touched and what has never occurred in the human mind" (*Gospel of Thom.*, Log. 17; 36,5-9). The works of Jesus are not mentioned. We cannot say that this holds true of *Sil*, since Christ's contest against the powers of the Adversary and his expiatory death are mentioned.

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[63] Or: "in space", ἐν τοπῷ, the same expression as in *Sil.*

[64] A.F.J. Klijn, *VC* 15, 1961, 153, dealing with the theology of the *Gospel of Thomas*.

In other Jewish Christian writings also Christ is the revealer. This we find in the *Pseudo-Clementines*: "Hence ..., if you would know the things pertaining to God, you have to learn them from him alone. because he (Christ) alone knows the truth" (*Hom.* II,12,1). "For if it belongs to the Son, who arranged heaven and earth, to reveal his unrevealed Father to whomsoever he wishes... When it is said that the Son will reveal him to whom he wishes, it is meant that such an one is to learn of him not by instruction, but by revelation only" (*Hom.* XVIII,6,1.3). "For to whom is it reasonable that the Father should give a revelation, but to his only Son, because he knows him to be worthy of such revelation?" (*Hom.* XVIII,10,5). And in the *Odes of Solomon* we find: "He has allowed him to appear to them that are his own; in order that they may recognize him that made them. For towards knowledge he has set his way" (*Od. Sol.* VII,12). "For the Word of the Lord investigates that which is invisible, and reveals his thought" (*Od. Sol.* XVI,8). Although the idea that Christ annihilates ignorance and gives knowledge of God through revelation occurs in *Sil*, this is by no means the only or the most important way in which he acts as a Saviour.

> 101,9-12. Everything is in God, but God is not in anything. Now what is it to know God? God is all which is in the truth.
>
> 101,22-24. And all is Christ, he who has obtained all from the Existent One. For Christ is all, apart from (his) incorruptibility.
>
> 102,5-7. Christ is all. He who does not possess all is unable to know Christ.
>
> 102,9. The God of all.
>
> 106,28-30. Entrust yourself to this one who became all for your sake.
>
> 115,16-19. For all dwell in God, (that is) the things which have come into being through the Word, which is the Son as the image of the Father.

The Coptic ⲡⲧⲏⲣϥ̄ usually renders the Greek τά πάντα,[65] which often refers to the entire creation. When *Sil* says "God is all", this certainly cannot have a pantheistic meaning. The entire passage which precedes *Sil* 101,9-12 is to demonstrate that God is not in a place and cannot be contained. *Sil's* idea of God obviously refers to a transcendent being. If "the all" refers to the created world, *Sil* 106, 28-30 must relate to the incarnation. That Christ "became all" means that Christ accepted a human form and became a part of the created world. "How many likenesses did Christ take on because of you? Although he was God, he [was found] among men as a man" (*Sil* 103,31 - 104,1). That "Everything is in God" could mean that God has the whole world in his hand. The statement that "Christ is all", might also make us think of a passage like *Sil* 106,21 f., where a number of names of Christ are mentioned, "Tree of Life, Wisdom, Word, Life, Power, Door", etc. *Sil* 101,22-24 could refer to Christ becoming a part of the corruptible world, though he himself is not corruptible. The passage in *Sil* 115,16-19 also evidently refers to the created world which is under the power and the guidance of God.

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[65] W. E. Crum, *Coptic Dictionary*, 1939, 424a. A. H. B. Logan, *The Meaning of the Term, "the All", in Gnostic Thought*, in *Stud. Patr.* XIV, 203-208.

With *Sil* 101,9 we might compare *Odes of Solomon* XVI,18, "And there is nothing outside the Lord, because he was before anything came to be". *Sirach* XLIII is a long description of the glory of God in nature, "The beauty of the (heavenly) height is the pure firmament... the sun when he goes forth makes heat to shine" (vs. 1.2, etc.). This passage ends with the words, "And the conclusion of the matter is: He is all" (τὸ πᾶν ἐστιν αὐτός; *Sirach* XLIII,27),[66] which is explained by the editors thus: "Ben-Sira wishes to show that God is to be discovered in all his works; the very definite personality which he always imputes to God as the All-God proves that he was entirely free from all pantheistic tendencies." The same holds true of *Sil.* In *Sirach* XLIII a sharp distinction is made between God and his works. With *Sil* 106,28-30 we could compare an instance from the *Epistula Apostolorum* in which Christ during his descent from heaven to earth puts on the figure of an angel in order to pass the angels and powers in the heavens incognito. "And so wrought I the likenesses by my wisdom; for I became all things in all, that I might praise the dispensation of the Father and fulfill the glory of him that sent me and return to him" (*Ep. Ap.* 13(24)). Here also Christ took on forms which were fitted for his descent and differed from the state of heavenly glory which he possessed along with the Father. We might also recall the forms of Christ enumerated in the preceding passage: "Tree of Life, Wisdom", etc. Cf. *Sil* 117,9-13, "For he is the Ruler of Faith and the Sharp Sword, having become all for every one because he wishes to have mercy on every one". Here also two names of Christ precede the term "all".

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[66] Cf. the introduction in Charles, *Apocrypha OT I*, 303, by G.H. Box and W.O.E. Oesterley.

Further the statement that Christ is the all occurs in the *Gospel of Thomas*, which might suggest the influence of Jewish Christian tradition. "Jesus said, 'It is I who am the light which is above them all. It is I who am the all. From me did the all come forth, and to me did the all extend. Split a piece of wood, and I am there. Lift up the stone, and you will find me there" (*Gospel of Thom.*, Log. 77; 46,23-28). Although some of the phraseology sounds pantheistic, the idea is not, because Christ as the light transcends everything. The meaning is rather that everything depends on Christ as the creative Word and that the created world finds in him its final destiny.

> 101,17-21. But Christ without being jealous (φθονεῖν) receives and gives. He is the Light of the Father, as he gives light without being jealous. In this manner he gives light to every place.

This passage deals with the revelatory activity of Christ who makes it possible for men to know the Father. It is striking that the same expression "without jealousy" occurs very often in the *Odes of Solomon* with the meaning that God is generous about communicating his love to men in order that they may know him.[67] "And I shall be no stranger, because there is no jealousy with the Lord Most High and Merciful" (*Od. Sol.* III,6). "For there is a helper for me, the Lord. He has generously (lit. without jealousy) shown himself to me in his simplicity" (*Od. Sol.* VII,3). "And according to his generosity he gave to me ... I put on incorruption through his name" (*Od. Sol.* XV,7.8). All the passages refer to the abundant mercy of God who wishes to save men and gives his love without limit. In *Sil* also the subject is God's saving activity through Christ.

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[67] W.C. van Unnik, *De ἀφθονία van God in de oudchristelijke literatuur*, *Mededelingen van de Koninklijke Vlaamse Akademie van Wetenschappen*, Klasse der Letteren XXXIII, 1971,4, Brussel 1971; A.F.J. Klijn, *Edessa*, 56.

In the *Epistula Apostolorum* Christ answers his disciples that he will answer without restriction those of their questions which testify their little belief. "But what ye will, tell it me, and I myself will tell you without grudging" (ⲟⲩϣⲛ̄ ⲣ̄ⲫⲑⲟⲛⲉⲓ; *Ep. Ap.* 24(35)).

In the martyrdom of Thomas the apostle expresses his trust in Christ, whom he is about to meet as his merciful judge. "The day appointed has drawn near for me to go and receive my recompense from my Lord and God..., for he is not grudging nor envious (φθονερός), but rich in his gifts" (*Acts of Thom.*, Martyrdom c. 159). The attitude of Christ is the opposite of the Devil's envy towards Adam.[68]

101,26.27. For if you consider sin, it is not a reality (οὐσία).

This recalls Platonic thought according to which matter is a μὴ ὄν. Thus, according to the *Pseudo-Clementines*, evil has no substance. This is an answer to the question of how God could be responsible for the origin of evil in the world, and so it is a sort of theodicy. "But if anyone, proceeding more curiously, inquire: What then was the use of God's making these evil things, which should have so great a tendency to subvert minds of men? To one proposing such a question, we answer that we must first of all inquire whether there is any evil in substance... We say absolutely that there is no evil in substance (*in substantia nihil est malum*). But if this be so, then the Creator of substance is vainly blamed" (*Rec.* IV,23,1-4). Thus this demonstration was intended as a theodicy: God cannot be accused of being responsible for evil which in fact is nothing. In the same way it is asserted that ignorance is a non-entity, and therefore easy to overcome. "For ignorance, as we have said, is a great evil; but because it has no substance it is easily dispelled by those who are in earnest. For ignorance is nothing else than not knowing what is good for us; once know this, and ignorance perishes" (*Rec* V,5,1-3). Ignorance is not itself a reality. Knowledge is, and ignorance is only lack of knowledge, so it has itself no substance.

It would seem that this is an example not of Jewish thought, but of Platonic reasoning both in the *Pseudo-Clementines* and in *Sil.*

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[68] A.F.J. Klijn, *The Acts of Thomas* 238, 301.

> 102,1-4. So it is with Christ: if, on the one hand, he is comprehensible, on the other he is incomprehensible with respect to his actual being (ὑποσταςις).
>
> 113,13. For he is an incomprehensible Word.
>
> 116,12-23. So, there is no other one hidden except God alone. But he is revealed to everyone, and yet he is very hidden. He is revealed because God knows all... Now he is hidden because no one perceives the things of God. For it is incomprehensible and unsearchable to know the counsel of God. Furthermore it is difficult to comprehend him and to find Christ.

The difficulty dealt with by this passage is the incomprehensibility of Christ. *Sil*'s main conception is that God is hidden and incomprehensible (which is related to his transcendency), but that Christ, as the image of the Father, reveals him and makes him known. The context of *Sil* 102,1-4 suggests that Christ has two paradoxical aspects: he is hidden and he is revealed, "he is in deficiency, yet he is without deficiency" (*Sil* 101,34). To the extent that he is incarnate and has a human form he is comprehensible. But Christ still remains God and to that extent incomprehensible. The same ambivalence holds true of God. On the one hand he is incomprehensible, "It is difficult for men to comprehend God" (*Sil* 100,16.17). But it is possible to know him to a certain extent. "[With respect to power] he (God) is in every place, but with respect to divinity, he is in no place. So, then, it is possible to know God a little" (*Sil* 100,34-101,5). Insofar as God's "power" works in the visible world, it is possible to know something of God (cf. *Rom.* 1,20). Both God and Christ are incomprehensible according to their transcendent divine essence, and comprehensible as far as they reveal themselves in some way in the visible world.

In the *Pseudo-Clementines* Peter discusses with Simon the question, whether God could be confined to a definite form. Simon rejects this, because God, in that case, would be limited because he would be bound to space. Peter opposes this point of view, asserting that God extends himself to those who believe in him. Therefore God is not limited in respect of his own essence, but at the same time he is limited insofar as he assumes certain forms in those who are his. "This is the mystery of the hebdomad. For he himself (God) is the rest of the whole who grants himself as a rest to those who imitate his greatness within their little measure. For he is alone, sometimes comprehensible (καταληπτός), sometimes incomprehensible (ἀκατάληπτος), [sometimes limitable (περαντός)], sometimes illimitable (ἀπέραντος), having extensions which proceed from him into infinity. For thus he is comprehensible and incomprehensible, near and far (ἐγγὺς καὶ μακράν), being here and there, as being the only existent one" (*Hom.* XVII,10,1-3; cf. *Jer* 23,23.24; *Acts* 17,27). It may be that such thoughts about God's transcendence and immanence are to be traced back to OT passages in which it is said that God is in heaven as well as on earth (e.g. *Deut.* 4,39).

There is an instance in the *Gospel of Thomas* of Christ's incomprehensibility. After the words of Jesus: "Tell me whom I am like", Thomas answers, "Master, my mouth is wholly incapable of saying whom you are like" (Log. 13; 35,3.4). The phenomenon just mentioned might be traced back to the Jewish Christian tendency to equate Christ with God. Insofar as Christ is God (cf. *Sil* 110,18.19, "This one, being God, became man for your sake") he shares the property of incomprehensibility with God. God's loftiness and incomprehensibility (*Job* 36,26; 41,24; *Isa.* 40,18.25) are common ideas in the OT and fit in with the OT accent on God's transcendence.

> 102,13-16. Indeed, it is good to ask and to know who God is. Reason (λόγος) and mind (νοῦς) are male names.

With regard to the female element in God, see the notes on *Sil* 91, 14-17. *Sil*, as a document of Hellenistic Christian theology, is deeply influenced by contemporary philosophy. In the case of the Stoa, this influence is rationalistic. Mind and reason are human rational faculties and they are also moral principles. They should guide man and suppress the animalistic passions. "The mind is the guide, but reason is the teacher" (*Sil* 85,25.26). The divine essence is also composed of these rational principles.

In the *Pseudo-Clementines* there occurs a remarkable passage which deals with a well known problem, namely whether the world is ruled by a senseless automatic process or by the rational providence of God. "But some one will say that these things are done by nature (*a natura fieri*). Now, in this, the controversy is about a name. For while it is evident that it is a work of mind and reason (*mentis esse et rationis opus*), what you call nature, I call God the Creator. It is evident that neither the species of the bodies, arranged with so many distinctions, nor the faculties of minds, could or can be made by irrational and senseless work" (*Rec.* VIII,20,1). "For if they think nature is irrational (*naturam inrationabilem*), it is most foolish to suppose that a rational creature can proceed from an irrational creator. But if it is Reason — that is Logos (*si vero ratio est, id est logos*) — by which it appears that all things were made, they change the name without purpose, when they make statements concerning the reason of the Creator" (*Rec.* VIII,34,7.8). "That all things that we see, inasmuch as they consist in a certain proportion, and art, and form, and species, must be believed to have been made by intelligent power (*sapiente virtute*), but if it be mind and reason (*mens et ratio*) that has formed them, it follows that the world is governed by the providence of the same reason (*rationis ipse providentia*)... But it follows that if God and mind (*deus ac mens*) is the creator of all things, he must also be just" (*Rec.* VIII,39,3-5). From the rational character of the order of nature the conclusion is drawn that the Creator of nature himself should be Mind and Reason, which are precisely the names of God which occur in *Sil.* This is not a case of Jewish Christianity particularly, but it shows that both the *Pseudo-Clementines* and *Sil* were under the influence of contemporary — in this case mainly Stoic (although the term "mind" is more reminiscent of Platonism) — philosophy.

> 103,14.15. Do not cease walking in the way of Christ.
> 103,25.26. Accept Christ the narrow way. (For he is oppressed and bears affliction for your sin).
> 118,5-7. God's way is always profitable.

The expression "way" sometimes refers to the Christian's way of life, sometimes Christ himself is the way. He himself went the narrow way of the cross as a ransom for the sin of men. The theme of Christ himself as the way recalls *Jn* 14,6. In the LXX ὁδός chiefly renders the Hebrew term דֶּרֶךְ. In the LXX "the way" can refer to man's way of life in obedience to God.[69] In the OT the Torah is the way to God, a function which has been transferred to Jesus in the NT.[70] The idea of the "way" of salvation is deeply rooted in the OT.

This conception of the way is found in the *Odes of Solomon.* "My joy is the Lord and my course is towards him. This path of mine is beautiful" (*Od. Sol.* VII,2). "And I ran in the way in his peace, in the way of truth" (*Od. Sol.* XI,3). "Raging rivers are (like) the power of the Lord... But those who cross them in faith shall not be disturbed... because the sign on them is the Lord, and the sign is the way for those who cross in the name of the Lord... And the way has been appointed for those who cross over after him (Lord Messiah), and for those who adhere to the path of his faith" (*Od. Sol.* XXXIX,1.5.7.13). In this passages the Lord is virtually himself the way as in *Jn* 14,6 and *Sil* 103,25.26.

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[69] G. Kittel, *TWNT* V,50f.

The true Prophet (Jesus Christ) "alone is able to enlighten the souls of men, so that with our own eyes we may be able to see the way of eternal salvation" (*Pseudo-Clementines, Hom.* I,19,1). "Minister ye in the way that is direct and narrow and strait".[71] The idea of the two ways was already well known in Jewish tradition.[72]

103,30-32. For who is your guide into the darkness?

In the context this is a rhetorical question. The only answer is "Christ". In the OT the guide is God.[73] For Philo the ἡγεμών is Moses, the Logos or God himself.[74] In the *Odes of Solomon* Christ is a guide and a helper,[75] as also in the *Acts of Thomas*. "My Lord and my God, that travellest with thy servants, that guidest and correctest them that believe in thee".[76] "Be unto them (,O Jesus,) a guide (ὁδηγός) in the land of error" (*Acts of Thom.* XIII, c. 156).

The concept of Christ as the guide is to be traced back to the OT and to Jewish Christianity. The epithet of "the guide" is a good example of a designation of God transferred by Jewish Christians to Christ.

103,32-104,1. How many likenesses did Christ take on because of you.

This refers to the different appearances of Christ during the incar-

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[70] G. Kittel, *TWNT* V,85,37.

[71] ⲉⲧⲗⲁϫϩ̄; cf. *Sil* 103,26 ⲉⲧⲗⲟϫϩ̄; *Ep. Ap.* 24(35); Coptic Version XVIII,11.

[72] G. Kittel, *TWNT* V,53,48ff.

[73] LXX ὁδηγός; see G. Kittel, *TWNT* V,102.

[74] G. Kittel, *TWNT* V,64.

[75] *Od. Sol.* VII,3; VIII,6; XIV,4; XXI,2; XXV,2; A. F. J. Klijn, *The Acts of Thomas*, 48.

[76] ὁ ὁδηγῶν καὶ αὐθύνων τοὺς εἰς αὐτὸν πιστεύοντας; *Acts of Thom.* I, c. 10; cf. OT, in relation to God, *Ps.* 48,15; 139,10; 143,10; A.F.J. Klijn, *The Acts of Thomas*, 181, 182.

nation. The *Acts of Thomas* has a similar conception. "O Jesus of many forms (πολύμορφε), glory to thee that appearest in the guise of our poor manhood" (*Acts of Thom.* XIII, c. 153). "Thou wast named with names" (*Acts of Thom.* V, c. 48). "Thus putting on names may be considered as an adaptation to man".[77] As far as Christ can be "named" he is comprehensible, while the unnameable God remains incomprehensible.

> 104,1-14. Although he (Christ) was God, he [was found] among men as a man. He descended to the Underworld. He released the children of death. They were in travail, as the scripture of God has said. And he sealed up the (very) heart of it (the Underworld). And he broke its strong bows completely. And when all the powers had seen him, they fled so that he might bring you, wretched one, up from the Abyss, and might die for you as a ransom for your sin. He saved you from the strong hand of the Underworld.
>
> 110,19-111,4. This one, being God, became man for your sake. It is this one who broke the iron bars (μοχλός) and bronze bolts. It is this one who attacked and cast down every haughty tyrant. It is he who loosened himself the chains of which he had taken hold. He brought up the poor from the Abyss and the mourners from the Underworld. It is he who humbled the haughty powers; he who put to shame haughtiness through humility; he who cast down the strong and the boaster through weakness; he who in his contempt scorned that which is considered an honor so that humility for God's sake might be highly exalted; (and) he who has put on humanity.

The wording of these passages has been derived partly from the OT.[78] The context makes it clear that Christ descended from heaven to this earth, which is conceived of as the Underworld, the realm of the Devil and his powers. It is probable that the climax of the struggle took place on the cross. Those who were in travail were not those who were physically dead, but men who were dead in their ignorance with respect to God.[79]

The motif of the descent of Christ to the Underworld was very popular among Jewish Christians. What would be the destiny of the pious of the OT? Adam, Abraham, Isaak, Jacob and their family ought also to be saved.[80] In the *Testaments of the XII Patriarchs* a real descent to Sheōl is involved. There is a genuine conflict with the Power who has the deceased of former days under his control. Hades is deprived of its prey. "And he (the Lord) shall make war against Beliar... And the captivity shall he take from Beliar [the souls of the saints]" (*Test. Dan* V,10.11). In *Asc. Ies.* too the battle is fought in Sheōl (*Asc. Ies.* 8-10). A real descent into Hades is also encountered in the *Epistula Apostolorum*, "For to that end went I down unto the place of Lazarus, and preached unto the righteous and the prophets, that they might come out of the rest which is below and come up to that which is above" (*Ep. Ap.* 27(38)). The passage continues with a reference to baptism which the believers should receive in order to escape the powers of Hades. The *Acts of Thomas* also deal with a real descent into Hades, "Jesus Christ, Son of compassion and perfect Saviour, Christ, Son of the living God, the undaunted power that hast overthrown the enemy, and the voice that was heard of the rulers, and made all their powers to quake, the ambassador that wast sent from the height and camest down even unto hell, who didst open the doors and bring up thence them that for many ages were shut up in the treasury of darkness, and showdest then the way that leadeth up unto the height" (*Acts of Thom.* I, c. 10).[81]

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[77] A.F.J. Klijn, *The Acts of Thomas*, 243, in distinction from God, who "cannot be named", 242.

[78] *Isa.* 45,2; *Ps.* 9,14; 107,16 (LXX 106); Daniélou, 269. M.L. Peel, *The 'Descensus Ad Inferos' in 'The Teachings of Silvanus' (CG VII,4), Numen XXVI,* 23-49.

[79] Cf. *Sil* 89,13.14, "What else is evil death except ignorance?"

Besides the literal interpretation there was in Jewish Christianity also a symbolical (demythologized?) interpretation of the descent of Christ, namely, his descent from heaven to earth, contending against the powers in the air and on earth in order to set free those destined to be his. Some clear examples occur in the *Odes of Solomon*.[82] "He gave me the way of his steps, and I opened the doors which were closed".[83] "And I shattered the bars of iron (μοχλός). For my own shackles had grown hot and melted before me. And nothing appeared closed to me, because I was the opening[84] of everything. And I went to all my bondsmen in order to loose them, that I might not leave anyone bound or binding. And I gave my knowledge generously and my resurrection through my love" (*Od. Sol.* XVII,10-12).[85] The fact that Christ gives "knowledge" demonstrates that the scene is this earth conceived as "hell". Christ is speaking: "He who caused me to descend from on high, and to ascend from the regions below. And he who gathers what is in the Middle.[86] He who scattered my enemies..." (*Od. Sol.* XXII,1-3). "Then the inhabitants were afraid ... and the chasms were opened and closed ... and they perished ... for they travailed[87] ... and the end of their travail was life ... And the Lord destroyed the devices of all those who had not the truth with them. For they were lacking in wisdom, they who exalted themselves in their mind".[88] Compare *Od. Sol.* XXXI,12 and *Sil* 110,31.32, "he who put to shame haughtiness through humility." A special case is *Od. Sol.* XLII,11ff. "Sheōl saw me and was shattered and death ejected me and many with me. And I went down with it as far as its depth ... And I made a congregation of living among his dead. And those who had died ran towards me, and they cried out and said, 'Son of God, have pity on us ... and bring us out'". A. F. J. Klijn[89] also includes this passage among those which interpret Sheōl symbolically as this earth under the power of the Devil, but the views of Charlesworth[90] and of Daniélou,[91] that a real descent into the realm of the dead is involved, during which those who had died were rescued, is to be preferred.

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[80] See Daniélou, 257ff.

[81] See A.F.J. Klijn, *The Acts of Thomas*, 189 for parallels.

[82] A.F.J. Klijn, *Edessa*, 57.58.

[83] *Od. Sol.* XVII,6; the editor J.H. Charlesworth, p. 76, says "the present passage may refer to those who are bound by sin on earth"; cf. A.F.J. Klijn, *Edessa*, 57,58.

[84] Cf. *Sil* 106,26, on Christ "the Door".

Daniélou[92] asserts that the decisive battle against the powers of Hades took place upon the cross, and he presents this idea as an exegesis of *Col* 2,15. It may be that *Sil's* passage 104,10-13, "that he might bring you, wretched one, up from the Abyss, and might die for you as a ransom for your sin", also relates the liberation of the prisoners from the powers of Hades upon the cross.

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[85] J. H. Charlesworth, 77, points to the Jewish belief in the resurrection.

[86] J. H. Charlesworth, 90: the earth.

[87] Cf. *Sil.* 104,2-5 "in travail".

[88] Cf. *Sil* 110,23.24 "haughty" tyrant; 110,29-32 "haughty powers"; *Od. Sol.* XXIV,3-11.

[89] A. F. J. Klijn, *Edessa* 57.58.

[90] P. 76, note 11.

[91] P. 271.

[92] P. 258.

Sil's special interpretation of Christ's descent into Hades in order to release men from the infernal prison of this world as the incarnation is one of its most remarkable links with Jewish Christianity.

> 104,15-19. But you, on the other hand, with difficulty give your basic choice (προαίρεσις) to him with a hint that he may take you up with joy! Now the basic choice, which is humility of heart, is the gift of Christ.

Προαίρεσις is the faculty of free choice. On the other hand, in order to strip it of every trace of merit, it is said that free choice is identical with humility, and that this human endowment ultimately is a gift of Christ's grace. It is also a mark of man's freedom and responsibility. Freedom is highly appreciated by *Sil*, "Release yourself from every bond so that you may acquire freedom when you cast out the desire" (*Sil* 105,19-23). It is possible that in Jewish Christianity with its stress on obedience to the Law the "free will" received more attention than in Pauline Christianity with its accent on "grace". The word προαίρεσις does not occur in the NT, whereas it is of some importance in the Stoa, where it means a "basic choice" which precedes every particular decision.

In the *Pseudo-Clementines* the question is discussed whether God could not have created man in such a way that he would have been unable to sin. The counterargument is that man would not then have been responsible for his deeds and that morality would have had no value. "But, you say, God ought to have made us at first so that we should not have thought at all of such things. You who say this do not know what is free-will (τὸ αὐτεξούσιον), and how it is possible to be really good; that he who is good by his own choice is really good; but he who is made good by another under necessity is not really good, because he is not what he is by his own choice (ἰδίᾳ προαιρέσει). Since therefore every one's freedom (ἑκάστου ἐλεύθερον) constitutes the true good, and shows the true evil, God has contrived that friendship or hostility should be in each man by occasions" (*Hom.* XI,8,1-3).[93] In *Rec.* IX,4 the idea is expressed that the evil ruler of this world has been created in order that men would not do the good necessarily, but out of their own free choice.

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[93] Cf. the Jewish conception of the good and evil *yeṣẹr*. In *Rec.* IX,4 the idea is expressed that the evil ruler of this world has been created in order that men would not do necessarily the good, but out of their own free choice.

After relating the peculiar doctrine of the two kingdoms, the present evil kingdom under the evil king, and the future kingdom of heaven under the good king, both kings being appointed by God, the text continues with the remark that man is free to choose between the two kingdoms, "Man, therefore, he (God) created with free will, and possessing the capability of inclining to whatever actions he wishes" (*Hom.* XX,2.3). "The power of choice (*arbitrii potestas*) is the sense of the soul, possessing a quality by which it can be inclined towards what acts it wills" (*Rec.* III,23,1). "But there are other things, in which there is a power of will (*potestas voluntatis*), and which have free choice (*liberum arbitrium*) doing what they will" (*Rec.* III,24,5). First it is stated that God has subjected all things to good, but in such a way, that evil cooperates with good. God has also given evil a place in his system, but with a good intention. Man now has the opportunity of choice between good and evil, "and what is the account of his soul, and how the freedom of the will (*libertas arbitrii*) is in it" (*Rec.* III, 75,10). How each one wishes to work in the mission among the Jews and the pagans is his own responsibility, "But the method of works is put into the power and will (*potestati et arbitrio*) of every one, and this is their own; but to have an affection towards a teacher of truth, this is a gift of the heavenly Father" (*Rec.* IV,5,3). This means that conversion and belief ultimately are gifts of God's grace.[94] "Since man has been made possessed of free will (*liberi arbitrii*), whether he shall hear us to life, or the demons to destruction" (*Rec.* IV,19,3). "But now, since it is free for the mind to turn its judgment to which side it pleases, and to choose the way which it approves, it is clearly manifest that there is in man a liberty of choice" (*Rec.* V,6,4). The frequency of this theme as illustrated by the quotations may demonstrate that the idea of free choice was important in Jewish Christianity.

In *Sirach* too man's free will is insisted upon in order that God may not be held responsible for evil. "Say not: 'For God is my transgression', for that which he hateth made he not ... God created man from the beginning and placed him in the hand of his inclination."[95]

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[94] On "gifts", see *Sil* 88,29.30; 89,7-10; 104,19.

> 104,31-105,1. It is a great and good thing not to love fornication (πορνεία) and not even to think of the wretched matter at all, for to think of it is death.
>
> 105,8-17. Protect yourself lest you are burned by the fires of fornication. For many who are submerged in fire are its servants whom you do not know as your enemies. O my son, strip off the old garment of fornication and put on the garment which is clean and shining that you may be beautiful in it.

The warning against fornication receives particular emphasis. This might suggest some degree of Encratite influence on *Sil.* Some branches of the Jewish Christians, such as the Ebionites, display an Encratite tendency. This could go so far as to assert that normal matrimony was fornication and that the solitary state was the ideal.[96] The *Gospel of Thomas*, for example, propagates celibacy. In *Sil*, however, there is no statement which exalts celibacy above the married state, and marriage as such is not rejected. Fornication is understood literally and does not refer to the normal married state. It occurs in the context of *Sil's* usual line of argument that man should not be guided by passions and live as an irrational animal.

In the *Pseudo-Clementines* fornication belongs to a catalogue of vices, so that it has no Essene or Encratite overtones "... there is evil instruction ... Thereby is error, then fearlessness, unbelief, fornication (πορνεία), covetousness", etc. (*Hom* I,18,3). We might also compare the theme of the "fires" of fornication: "And desiring to increase this estimation of him (Ham, the first magician), he attempted these things again and again, until he was set on fire and consumed by the demon himself, whom he accosted with too great importunity" (*Rec* IV,27,5). "Hence also, by the friendship of demons, men are brought to disgraceful and base deeds; hence, men proceed even to the destruction of life, either through the fire of lust ("*per flammam libidinis*"), or through the madness of anger through excess of grief" (*Rec.* V,33,4).

In the *Acts of Thomas* sexual intercourse as such is fornication and it is preferable that even married persons keep their virginity. In one case fornication is part of a catalogue of vices, so that matrimony is not rejected as fornication, "abstain from fornication and covetousness and the service of the belly: for under these three heads all iniquity cometh about" (*Acts of Thom.* II, c. 28; it is possible that here also abstention from sexuality, property and food is meant). In another case a youth says that he wished a woman whom he loved to become his consort, but in chastity. The woman refused and he killed her. Thomas refers to normal matrimony when he says: "O insane union ... O unrestrained lust", etc. (*Acts of Thom.* VI, c. 52). In the *Testaments of the XII Patriarchs* also "fornication" belongs to a catalogue of vices and does not refer to an Encratite rejection of matrimony. "First the spirit of fornication, ... the spirit of fighting, ... the spirit of pride", etc. (*Test. Reuben* 3,3-5). As *Sil* deals with other vices as well "fornication" has no Encratite flavour, and is not singled out for particular emphasis.

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[95] διαβούλιον = *yeṣęr*, here almost equivalent to free-will according to the editors G. H. Box and W. O. E. Oesterley in Charles, *Apocrypha OT I*, 371; *Sirach* 15,11.14.

[96] G. Quispel, in *VC* 19, 1965, 69.71.

> 106,9-14. You were a temple, (but) you have made yourself a tomb. Cease being a tomb, and become (again) a temple, so that uprightness and divinity may remain in you.
>
> 109,11-21. Let Christ alone enter your world, and let him bring to naught all powers which have come upon you. Let him enter the temple which is within you so that he may cast out all the merchants. Let him dwell in the temple which is within you, and may you become for him a priest and a Levite, entering in purity.

For the biblical background, see *Mt.* 23,27; 1 *Cor.* 3,16; 6,19; *Jn* 2,13-25. According to *Sil* ignorance, irrationality and the supremacy of animalistic passions mean the death of the proper human personality, so that man is a tomb. This can also be expressed by saying that man is the victim of the powers of the Adversary. The opposite of this is rational behaviour and acknowledgement of Christ as Lord. The mention of the priest and the Levite is a metaphor which could be comprehensible to Jewish Christians. According to Philo the human soul can be a shrine in which man serves as a priest, "the rational soul whose priest is the real man" (*Som.* I,215).

In the *Acts of Thomas* the metaphor of man being a temple of God or Christ is connected with the idea of purity through abstention from sexual intercourse, so that the divine indwelling is unimpeded.

"And know that as soon as you preserve yourselves from this filthy intercourse, you become pure temples, and are saved from afflictions".[97] We cannot, however, say that *Sil* in this passage shows any Essene or Encratite influence. The passage refers rather to the admission of the powers of the Adversary (= irrational passions, etc.) into the soul. In his words to Mygdonia, the wife of Charisius, Thomas betrays an Encratite morality. "Abstain from adultery ... from theft ... covetousness ... vainglory" (*Acts of Thom.* IX, c. 84). This means to all intents and purposes abstention from matrimony, from luxury, from property, etc. Mygdonia, the wife of a nobleman, who visits Thomas, should put off her precious garments, "For this attire that is put on shall not profit thee" (*Acts of Thom.* IX, c. 88). He also rejects "the polluted intercouse" with her husband. "Jesus only abideth ever". "Holiness is the temple of Christ, and he that dwelleth in her getteth her for an habitation" (*Acts of Thom.* IX, c. 86). Mygdonia says to Thomas: "Pray for me ... that ... I may become his (God's) dwelling place ... and also may receive the seal (baptism) and become a holy temple and he may dwell in me" (*Acts of Thom.* IX, c. 87). In this case also being the temple for the indwelling God means absolute purity and abstention from the things of sensual life. This standpoint is much more radical than *Sil's*, although the idea of purity in connection with the imagery of the soul as a temple for Christ is present in both.

106,21.22. For the Tree of Life is Christ.

This identification of Christ and the Tree of Life (*Gn.* 2,9) would make good sense in Jewish Christianity. The cross of Christ as ξύλον τῆς ζωῆς occurs in second century Christian tomb paintings as a symbol of the triumph over death.[98] The cross being a wood of martyrdom and death, by the saving death of Christ, has been changed into the opposite, the tree of life. The Tree of Life was compared with the cross by the Apologists.[99] In Jewish Christianity the cross was identified with Christ himself.[100] A link between Christ and the Tree of Life occurs in the *Pseudo-Clementines* in an explanation of the name "Christ", "Messiah", "the Anointed One". "He was the Son of God, and the beginning of all things, he became man. Him first God anointed with oil which was taken from the wood of the Tree of Life. From that anointing therefore he is called Christ" (*Rec.* I,45,4.5).

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[97] *Acts of Thom* I c. 12; A.F.J. Klijn, *The Acts of Thomas*, 193, "in these Acts virginity is a condition to be saved".

[98] G. Kittel, *TWNT* V,40,41-46.

[99] Justin Martyr, *dial.* 86,1.

> 106,23. He (Christ) is Wisdom (σοφία). For he is Wisdom; he is also the Word.
>
> 107,9-12. The Wisdom of God became a type of fool for you so that it might take you up, O foolish one, and make you a wise man.
>
> 112,33-35. O Merciful God. (It is) he (Christ) who has come from thy mouth and from thy heart, the Firstborn, the Wisdom.
>
> 113,13-15. For he (Christ) is an incomprehensible Word, and he is Wisdom and Life.
>
> 118,2.3. Accept the wisdom of Christ.

For "wisdom" in Jewish writings, see Kittel, *TWNT* VII,497ff., in the NT, *op. cit.* 514ff., and especially *Mt.* 11,16-19 (*op. cit.* 516); 1 *Cor* 1,18-31 (*op. cit.* 519f.). It goes without saying that in *Sil*, which was written in the form of Jewish wisdom literature, Wisdom-Christology plays an important part. For Jewish Christians the concept of Wisdom, as a hypostasis of the godhead and a revelatory aspect of God, could appropriately be applied to Christ, the Logos, as the decisive manifestation of the Father.[101] Christ is the personified Wisdom, the incarnate call of God.[102] In the *Odes of Solomon* Christ (masculine) is interchangeable with Wisdom (feminine) (*Od. Sol.* XXXIII,4-6). Before descending to the earth through the heavens Christ puts on the Wisdom of God as a robe, "It came to pass when I was about to come hither from the Father of all things, and passed through the heavens, then did I put on the wisdom of the Father, and I put on the power[103] of his might... I passed by the archangels and the angels... the princedoms and the powers. I passed through them because I possessed the wisdom of him that had sent me ... And so wrought I the likeness by my wisdom; for I became all things in all" (*Ep.Ap.* 13(24)).[104] "Thou (Christ) art the power, and the wisdom, and the knowledge" (*Acts of Thom.* I, c. 10).[105] The enumeration of aspects of Christ is very similar to *Sil* 106,23-26: "For he is Wisdom; he is also the Word. He is Life, the Power and the Door." They represent the outward activity of God to save men. Summing up we may say that the idea of Christ-Wisdom is characteristic of Jewish Christianity.

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[100] Daniélou 294.

[101] G. Quispel, in *VC* 19 (1965) 78.

[102] A. F. J. Klijn, *Edessa*, 53, 57.

[103] Coptic Version δύναμις, cf. *Sil* 106,25 on Christ as δύναμις.

106,25. "the Power" (as a name of Christ).

The combination "the power of God and the wisdom of God" as a designation of Christ occurs in 1 *Cor* 1,24. On the theme of the power and the strength of God in the OT and Jewish tradition, see Kittel, *TWNT* II,292ff.. They represent characteristics of the will of the personal God, not neutral powers of nature. They demonstrate the way in which God guides personal life and history. Their whole thrust is directed towards the salvation of God's people. Therefore the idea of Christ as the power of God was suited to express God's saving work in Christ. On this one might compare the texts already quoted in relation to "wisdom". "I put on the power (Coptic version δύναμις) of his might" (*Ep.Ap.* 13(24)). "Thou art the power, and the wisdom, and the knowledge" (*Acts of Thom.*, Syriac version, I, c. 10).

106,26. "the Door" (as a name of Christ).

With this one might compare *Jn* 10,7-10; *Apoc.* 3,7f.. "And nothing appeared closed to me, because I was the door (opening) of everything" (*Od. Sol.* XVII,11). The meaning in the context is that Christ saves the one who has been baptized from the Devil.[106]

106,27. "the Angel" (as a name of Christ).

Angel-Christology is characteristic of Jewish Christianity. Up to the fourth century the name "angel" was given to Christ. The origin of this belief is to be found in the figure of the *mal'ak* Jahveh of the OT.[107] As a representative of Jahveh he sometimes acts as if he were Jahveh himself. Therefore the name of this figure is appropriate in Jewish Christianity as a designation for Christ who is a manifestation of God in this world. The idea of the Son of Man as an angel occurs in late Jewish literature. M. Werner points to I *Enoch* 46,1f.,[108] "And there I saw One who had a head of days... And with him was another being whose countenance had the appearance of a man, and his face was full of graciousness, like one of the holy angels." G. Quispel has on several occasions pointed out the importance of the Jewish Christian conception of Christ as an angel, particularly in *Sil.*[109] The Logos as the Son of God and the Holy Ghost as his wisdom are personified as angels by Irenaeus, "Therefore this God is glorified by his Word, who is his Son for ever, and by the Holy Ghost, who is the Wisdom of the Father of everything; and their powers — namely of his Word and of his Wisdom — which are called Cherubin and Seraphin — glorify God through songs which do not end for evermore".[110] Here we see that an angel-Christology occurs early in Christian tradition. According to Origen it appears to be a Jewish conception, "A Hebrew scholar said that it was necessary to conceive as the unique Son and the Spirit the two Seraphin which Isaiah describes, having six wings, and calling to one another: 'Holy, holy, holy is the Lord Sebaoth'".[111] Origen deals with the same passage in his *Hom in Ies*, I,2 (*PG* XIII,222), and he adds, "And the lintel was elevated by the voice with which they shouted, namely the voice of Jesus Christ and the voice of the Holy Ghost. When someone among us hears the voice of those who shout, Jesus Christ and the Holy Ghost, the lintel is elevated, and becomes higher than at the time at which it was elevated." The same tradition is alluded to in the *Ascensio Iesaiae*,[112] "And I saw the Lord and the second angel, and they were standing, the other, however, whom I had seen, was at the left of my Lord. And I asked: 'Who is this one?', and he said to me: 'Adore him, for this one is the angel of the Holy Ghost, who speaks through thee and the other righteous ones'" (*Asc. Ies.* IX,35.36).[113] The Lord Jesus, it may be concluded, was the second angel besides the angel of the Holy Ghost.[114] The Jewish Christian origin is confirmed by Hippolytus, dealing with Elkasaitism, a sort of Jewish Christian Gnosticism: "There is an angel tall of stature, the Son of God, and besides him the Holy Ghost as a woman" (*Ref.* IX,13; a characteristic Jewish Christian conception).[115] Epiphanius deals with the strange doctrine of the Ebionites, who assert that God has instituted two kingdoms, one for the present under the supervision of the Devil, and one for the future under a good king, Christ. Christ descended upon Jesus as a dove, and so he became Son of God by election.[116] "They, however, deny that he has been brought forth by God the Father, but (they say) that he was created as one of the archangels (ὡς ἕνα τῶν ἀρχαγγέλων), but greater than they, and that he is Lord over the angels and also over everything the Almighty has created. He has come into this world and has taught, as it has been written in their Gospel: 'I have come into the world in order to abolish the offerings'" (Epiph. *Pan.* 30,16,3).[117] This reflects the vegetarian standpoint of the Essenes. The Ebionites represent a heretic and sectarian branch of Judaism with a subordinationist Christology, which meant that they could conceive of Christ as an angel. This does not mean that each group within Jewish Christianity shared this particular conception of Christ as an angel. Tertullian also refers to the subordinationist Christology of the Ebionites, "So then, even as he is made less than the angels while clothed with manhood, even so he is not less when clothed with an angel. This opinion could be very suitable for Ebion who asserted that Jesus is mere man and only of the seed of David, that means not also the Son of God; although he is obvious more glorious than the prophets — so as to say that an angel is in him ("*in illo angelum fuisse*") in the same way as in Zachariah" (Tertullian, *De carne Christi* 14).[118]

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[104] This refers to the fact that Christ assumes the figures of the angels in order to pass by them, cf. *Sil* 106,29.30 "this one who became all for your sake".

[105] *Acts of Thomas*, Syriac Version, A. F. J. Klijn, *The Acts of Thomas*, 70.

[106] Daniélou, 269,270.

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[107] Daniélou, 167; see also J. Barbel, *Christos Angelos* (Theophaneia 3), Bonn 1941; see further the bibliography in G. Kittel, *TWNT* X,2,952-954.

[108] M. Werner, *Die Entstehung des christlichen Dogmas*, Bern Leipzig 1941, 313; 302ff. the author deals with angel-christology.

[109] G. Quispel, *L'évangile de Jean*, in *Recherches Bibliques* 1958, 197-208, the sect of the Magharia's knows an "angel of Jahveh" who has the properties of the Messiah, 203; *VC* 33, 1979, 85.

[110] Ir., *Dem. Apost.*, L.M. Froidevaux, *SC* 62, Paris 1959, 46.

[111] Origen, *De Princ.* I 3,4 (GCS 52,17-53,5); M. Werner, *Die Entstehung des christlichen Dogmas*, Bern Leipzig 1941, 327.

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[112] M. Werner, *op. cit.*, 328.

[113] See for other instances in *Asc. Ies.* Daniélou, 230.231. According to Daniélou, 233, it is a gnostic conception that Christ equates himself with the celestial powers.

[114] Daniélou, 177.

[115] Klijn-Reinink, 115.

[116] M. Werner, *op. cit.*, p. 304, sees this conception in I *Enoch* 61,10.

[117] *Neutest Apokr I*, P. Vielhauer, 104; Klijn-Reinink, 183; M. Werner, *op. cit.*, 331.

The *Pseudo-Clementines* allude to the OT idea that the *mal'ak* Jahveh is sometimes virtually identical with Jahveh himself, a conception which could make it easy for Jewish Christians to consider Christ to be an angel, "For we ourselves also knew that angels are called gods (ἀγγέλους θεοὺς) by the scriptures — as, for instance, he who spoke at the bush, and wrestled with Jacob, — and the name is likewise applied to him who is born Emmanuel, and who is called the mighty God" (*Isa.* 9,6; *Hom.* XVI,14,1). "He (God) set, therefore, an angel as a chief over the angels, ... a fish over the fishes, a man over men, who is Christ Jesus" (*Rec.* I,45,2).

In the *Epistula Apostolorum* Christ, descending from heaven to the earth, assumes the figure of angels in order to pass by the angels who live in the heavenly spheres, so that he remains incognito, and in the guise of the archangel Gabriel he enters the virgin.[119] "I was in heaven, and I passed by the archangels and the angels in their likeness, as if I were one of them" (*Ep. Ap.* 13(24)). "I took the form of the angel Gabriel, I appeared unto Mary and spoke with her. Her heart accepted me, and she believed, and I formed myself and entered into her body. I became flesh, for I alone was a minister unto myself in that which concerned Mary in the appearance of the shape of an angel" (*Ep. Ap.* 14(25)).[120] Predicting the miraculous liberation of Peter from prison Jesus says that he will come in the figure of Gabriel to set him free.[121] "And I will send my power in the form of mine angel Gabriel, and the doors of the prison shall open" (*Ep. Ap.* 15(26)). We should not forget that the *Ep. Ap.* represents a heterodox branch of Jewish Christianity displaying an Essene and syncretistic stamp.[122] In the last quotation the relation between Christ and his angelic apparition recalls the relation between Jahveh and his *mal'ak.*

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[118] Klijn-Reinink, 109.

[119] *Neutest Apokr I*, 126, H. Duensing. Daniélou, 228,229.

[120] M. Werner, *op. cit.*, 333.

[121] Literally Christ speaks of his "power" in the form of Gabriel, so that there is a slight distinction from Jesus himself; compare *Acts* 12,1-19.

[122] M. Hornschuh, *PTS* 5,67-80.

M. Werner[123] says that in post-apostolic times the appearances of angels in the OT were explained as appearances of Christ. He also points to angel-Christology in popular edifying Christian literature such as the apocryphal Gospels.[124]

Finally one should not overlook the *Testaments of the XII Patriarchs.* A definite angel is spoken of in several cases. "The angel of the Lord told me ... and taught me" (*Test. Reuben* 5,3). "But his God and the God of his fathers sent his angel, and delivered him (Joseph) out of my hands" (*Test. Simeon* 2,8). "Draw near unto God and unto the angel that intercedeth for you, for he is a mediator between God and man; and for the peace of Israel he shall stand up against the kingdom of the enemy" (*Test. Dan* 6,2). "The God of my father hath revealed unto me by his angel thy wickedness" (*Test. Joseph* 6,6). All these instances of one particular angel who is sometimes a mediator would be applicable to Christ.

A clear example of Christ as an angel in Jewish Christianity occurs in the *Gospel of Thomas*, "Simon Peter said to him, 'You are like a righteous angel'" (*Gospel of Thom.*, Log. 13; 34,33.34).

Since the epithet "angel" used of Christ is not found in the NT, the occurrence in *Sil* is clear evidence of Jewish Christian tradition. This tradition was an influential one since the title "angel" applied to Christ also occurs in the literature of the early church.[125] Thus there is the σεμνότατος ἄγγελος of *Hermas, Vis.* V,2.

> 107,13-17. And the Life died for you when he (Christ) was powerless, so that through his death he might give life to you who have died.

"You who have died" refers to the state of ignorance in which the person addressed is. With this one might compare the following passage from the *Epistula Apostolorum*, "Lo, I (Christ) have put on your flesh, wherein I was born and crucified, and am risen again through my Father which is in heaven, that the prophecy of David the prophet might be fulfilled" (there follows a quotation of *Ps* 3,1-8;

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[123] M. Werner, *op. cit.*, 329.

[124] M. Werner, *op. cit.*, 334, with many references.

[125] M. Werner, *op. cit.*, 334ff.

Ep. Ap. 19(30)). However, there is a striking difference between the treatment of the death of Christ in *Sil* and in the *Ep. Ap.* In *Sil* this death is directed purely and simply towards the salvation of man, whereas in the *Ep. Ap.* the death of Christ is described as a personal martyrdom from which he was saved by God like David when he was in distress. In Jewish Christianity Christ was an example of one who acted scrupulously in accordance with the Law of God. The redemptive effect of his death had less attention. In this respect *Sil* is more in line with the official doctrine of the church than a writing like the *Ep. Ap.*, which, moreover, is influenced by Jewish heterodoxy.

> 107,17-25. Entrust yourself to reason and remove yourself from animalism. For the animal which has no reason (λόγος) is made manifest. For many think that they have reason, but if you look at them attentively, their speech is animalistic.

This theme occurs several times in *Sil.* Besides the admonition to be obedient to the commands of Christ we also find this moral teaching in *Sil* which is very similar to the Stoic point of view insofar as rational behaviour is opposed to the irrational conduct of animals which are only inspired by passions and desires. This standpoint is not characteristic of Jewish Christianity, but sometimes it occurs in Jewish Christian sources because these are also influenced by contemporary popular philosophy." But we live in the desert, being like the irrational beasts (ζῴοις ἀλόγοις) in our conversation" (*Acts of Thom.* IX, c. 87).

> 107,26-30. Give yourself gladness from the true vine of Christ. Satisfy yourself with the true wine in which there is no drunkenness nor error.

This is a good example of *sobria ebrietas.*[126] The idea is widespread in eastern mysticism and refers to being full of the Spirit. It occurs in the *Odes of Solomon.*[127] "And so I drank and became intoxicated from the living water that does not die. And my intoxication did not cause ignorance, but I abandoned vanity" (*Od. Sol.* XI,7.8). Real intoxication causes ignorance (*Sil* 94,20-22; *Od. Sol.* XXXVIII,12-15). In Gnosticism μέθη is a designation of ἀγνωσία (Kittel, *TWNT* IV,

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[126] H. Lewy, *Sobria Ebrietas* (Beihefte *ZNW* 9), 1929, 55, 56.

[127] A.F.J. Klijn, *Edessa*, 47.

555,11). Philo speaks of the "divine intoxication", which is independent of wine (Kittel, *TWNT*, IV,552,15), and he mentions τὴν νήφουσαν μέθην in *Leg. All.* I,84. Jesus says to his disciples in the *Gospel of Thomas*, "Because you have drunk, you have become intoxicated from the bubbling spring which I have measured out" (Log, 13; 35, 5-7). As in the quotation from the *Odes of Solomon* this sober intocication is caused by the well of the water of life, not by Christ, the true vine, as in *Sil* (cf. *Jn* 15,1).

> 109,4-9. The soul which is a member of God's household is one which is kept pure, and the soul which has put on Christ is one which is pure. It is impossible for it to sin.

This recalls 1 *Jn* 3,6.9. Sinlessness is also dealt with in the *Wisdom of Solomon*, "For even if we sin, we are thine ... but we shall not sin" (*Wisd. of Sol.* 15,2). In *Eph.* 2,19 the "members of God's household" are supposed to be a holy people.

> 110,18.19. This one (Christ), being God, became man for your sake.
> 101,35 - 102,1. And even if [he has been begotten] he is unbegotten.
> 111,5. And yet, the divine Word is God.

These quotations attest the equation of Christ with God. As already indicated, we should distinguish several branches of Jewish Christianity. The Ebionite *Pseudo-Clementines*, which call Christ "the true Prophet" are definitly subordinationistic. Christ is a "teacher of truth" distinguished from "the heavenly Father" (*Rec.* IV,5,3). But there were other branches for which Christ was the revelation of the God of the OT and virtually identical with him. The *Epistula Apostolorum* is ambivalent. On the one hand the Logos is not eternal, but brought forth and has come into being, on the other hand he is truly God. Notwithstanding his origin he is called ἀγέννητος. He is even identical with the Father (cf. *Sil* 101,35 - 102,1).[128] We might compare the unity of Father and Son among the Apologists. "Our Lord and Redeemer Jesus Christ is God, the Son of God, who was sent of God the Lord of the whole world, the maker and creator of it, who is named by all names and high above all powers, Lord of lords, King of kings, Ruler of rulers..." (*Ep.Ap.* 3(14)). These are titles which belong to God in the OT: Lord of lords (*Deut.* 10,17; *Ps* 136,3); King of kings (cf. "the great king", *Ps.* 48,3). "I am wholly in the Father and my Father is in me" (words of Christ, *Ep.Ap.* 17(28); cf. *Jn* 10,38, etc.). In the *Acts of Thomas* too the identity of God and Christ is encountered. "Thou only art the God of truth, and none other, and thou art he that knoweth all things that are unknown to the majority" (*Acts of Thom.* II, c. 25). "For this is the Lord and God of all, even Jesus Christ whom I preach, and he is the father of truth, in whom I have taught you to believe" (*Acts of Thom.* II, c. 26). "Glory be to the only-begotten of the Father! Glory be to the first-born of many brethren ... O God, Jesus Christ, Son of the living God, redeemer and helper..." (*Acts of Thom.* VI, c. 60). Here we see again that, on the one hand, there is a distinction between Jesus as the only-begotten and the Father, and that, on the other hand, Christ is God. Jewish Christians who were strictly monotheistic, could not consider Christ as a second God besides God. Therefore it would be consistent with their view to give the name "God" to Christ. Cf. *Jn* 20,28.

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[128] M. Hornschuh, *PTS 5*, 31, 32.

> 110,22-24. It is this one who attacked and cast down every haughty tyrant.
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> 110,29-32. It is he who humbled the haughty powers; he who put to shame haughtiness through humility.
>
> 110,35-111,8. He who in his contempt scorned that which is considered an honour so that humility for God's sake might be highly exalted; (and) he who has put on humanity. And yet, the divine Word is God, who bears patiently with man always. He wished to produce humility in the exalted.
>
> 91,22-25. Do not be haughty in opposition to every good opinion but take for yourself the side of the divinity of reason.
>
> 104,18-24. Now the basic choice, which is humility of heart, is the gift of Christ. A contrite heart is the acceptable sacrifice (cf. *Ps* 51,19). If you humble yourself, you will be greatly exalted. And if you exalt yourself, you will be exceedingly humbled.

In Jewish wisdom literature the wise man is contrasted with the fool. The former is the עָנָו, ταπεινός (LXX), the latter the haughty and arrogant man (Kittel, *TWNT* VIII,6,5ff.). God exalts the humble and he humbles the proud, as is evident from God's guidance in history (Kittel, *op. cit.* 8,8ff.). These ideas continue in late Judaism. The members of the Qumran community are אביונים and ענוים (*op. cit.*

12,16ff.). Humility is also a virtue in rabbinic literature (*op. cit.* 13, 40ff.). In the NT ταπεινός is a virtue. As in the OT, the proud are humbled and the humble are exalted by God (*op. cit.* 16,11ff.). Christ himself was also exalted by God because he chose the way of humility (*op. cit.* 18,15; *Phil.* 2,6-11). Humility, which plays such an important part in *Sil*, is one of the most outstanding characteristics of monastic life. Perhaps there is some connection between this and the fact that the Nag Hammadi codices were found not far from the place where Pachomius founded his first monasteries. *Sil* concurs with the double aspect of humility in the NT as on the one hand a virtue of the pious, on the other hand a property of Christ whereby he accepted the way of the cross.

In the *Testaments of the XII Patriarchs* humility is also highly regarded (Kittel, *TWNT* VIII,13,1 ff.). "Righteousness casteth out hatred, humility destroyeth envy. For he that is just and humble (ταπεινός) is ashamed to do what is unjust" (*Test. Gad.* 5,3). The powers of the Adversary are "haughty" or "arrogant" according to *Sil.* This vice occurs in the *Testaments of the XII Patriarchs* in a catalogue of vices: "fornication, insatiableness, fighting, obsequiousness, pride (that one may be boastful and arrogant), lying (in perdition and jealousy to practise deceits), injustice (thefts and rapacity)" (*Test. Reuben* 3,3-6). In this series, haughtiness or arrogance is the fifth vice. This is one example of the catalogues of vices[129] customary in Jewish Christian circles. Christ's humility during the time of his incarnation is a subject in the *Odes of Solomon.* "He has, without envy, shown himself to me in his simplicity (humility), because his kindness has diminished his dreadfulness" (*Od. Sol.* VII,3). This is in harmony with the quotations from *Sil* in which it is said that Christ vanquished the haughtiness of the powers of the Devil through humility. Thus it is clear that *Sil's* ideas in this regard are rooted in Jewish Christian tradition.

> 111,8-13. He (Christ) who has exalted man became like God, not in order that he might bring God down to man, but that man might become like God.

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[129] Such catalogues of vices also occur in Stoic moral teaching.

In this statement we meet what in Platonism is called the ὁμοίωσις θεῷ.[130] In Jewish Christian documents also the idea occurs that Christ became man in order that man could reach the divine level of Christ. "He became like me, that I might receive him. In form he was considered like me, that I might put him on" (*Od. Sol.* VII,4). Christ adapted himself to man, in order that man could find the way to God.[131] "Jesus said, 'He who will drink from my mouth will become like me. I myself shall become he, and the things that are hidden will be revealed to him'" (*Gospel of Thom.*, Log. 108; 50,28-30). Through Christ's humiliation man can be initiated into the divine mysteries. Irenaeus combats the view of the Ebionites who distinguish between Christ and Jesus. God must have become man in Jesus Christ in order that man could become God. "You again who distinguish between Jesus and Christ and say that Christ cannot have suffered but that actually only Jesus suffered" (Ir., *adv. haer.* III,11,7). "He will also judge the Ebionites: how can they be saved unless it was God who wrought out their salvation upon earth? Or how shall a man pass into God, unless God has passed into man?" (Ir., *adv haer* IV,33,4). It is evident that in this respect the Ebionites were nearer to Gnosticism than to the doctrine of the church, and thus represented a heretical sectarian standpoint and not the main tendency of Jewish Christianity.

> 111,15-20. O Christ, King, who has revealed to men the Great Divinity, King of every virtue and King of life, King of ages and Great One of the heavens, hear my words and forgive me.
>
> 96,30. This is your king and your father.

In the OT God is conceived of as a king (Kittel, *TWNT* I, 563,33ff.). The title "king" is also given to the Messiah (*op. cit.* 565,10ff.). As Messiah Christ is given the name "king" in the NT (*op. cit.* 577,33ff.).

Elxai (and those who followed him) recognized Christ as a king, "But next he also confesses Christ in name, saying that Christ is the great king" (Epiphanius, *Pan.* 19,3,4).[132] According to the *Pseudo-*

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[130] *Theaet.* 176ab; see J. Zandee, "*The Teachings of Silvanus" and Clement of Alexandria*, Leiden 1977, 104-111.

[131] A.F.J. Klijn, *Edessa*, 60.

[132] Klijn-Reinink, 155.

Clementines God has appointed Christ as the king of the world to come, whereas the Devil is the king of the present world, "In short, therefore, to those who are thought worthy of eternal life, God appoints one universal king in the world that shall then be, that by means of a monarchy there may be unfailing peace" (*Hom.* III,62,3). Christ is "the king of righteousness" and "the king of things future", the Devil is "king of things present" (*Hom.* VIII,21,1.2). "God appointed two kingdoms, and established two ages, determining that the present world should be given to the evil one, because it is small, and passes quickly away; but he promised for the good one the age to come as it will be great and eternal" (*Hom.* XX,2,2; see also XX, 4-6). This strange doctrine of the two kingdoms,[133] according to which the kingdom of the evil one is also under God's administration, could perhaps be traced back to the OT idea that God created both happiness and disaster.[134] See *Isa.* 45, 7; *Deut.* 32, 39; *Amos* 3, 6 (disaster caused by Jahveh); *Job* 23,16; 1 *Sam.* 26,19; 2 *Sam.* 24,1 (God incites to sin). In *Sil* the Adversary "is a great Mind for those who wish to accept him as a king" (*Sil* 96,8-10). The doctrine of the two kings in the *Pseudo-Clementines*, however, is heterodox, and is certainly not the view of *Sil.* On the contrary, in *Sil* Christ is king of the present and not merely of the future. He has already vanquished the powers of the Adversary, and is now able to save those who wish to be his and whom he has already set free from the deceitfulness of the Adversary. The *Pseudo-Clementines* allude to Christ as king in so far he is the Anointed (Messiah), "... for as there are certain names common to kings ... so among the Jews a king is called Christ" (*Rec.* I,45,3). However, in the *Pseudo-Clementines*, too, it sometimes appears as if Christ, as a king, has some significance in the present and is similar to "the King of Life" in *Sil*, "And give thanks to the beautiful Father of all, by him whom he has constituted King of Peace, and the treasury of unspeakable honours, that even at the present time your sins may be washed away" (*Rec.* IV,32,2). Thomas opposes his king, Christ, to earthly kings," They who serve my king must be reverend and pure and free from all grief and care, of children and unprofitable riches and vain trouble" (*Acts of Thom.* X, c. 126).[135] "Thou art the son of Misdaeus the king who is king for a time, but I am the servant of Jesus Christ the eternal king" (*Acts of Thom.* XII, c. 139). Besides the idea of the messianic king the OT idea of God as a king also survived in Jewish Christianity and was transferred to Christ.

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[133] The *Pseudo-Clementines* wish to demonstrate that evil is in some way incorporated in God's good administration; "and that all things are subjected to good by the Father; and why, and how, and whence evil is, and that it cooperates with good" (*Rec.* III,75,6).

[134] The "demonic" God.

> 111,19. Great One of the heavens.

We might compare with this epithet of Christ which stresses his transcendence, "God, Son of God, who was sent of God... the heavenly one" (*Ep. Ap.* 3(14)).

> 111,32-34. Who will be able to discover the counsel of the Almighty?
>
> 116,21-23. For it is incomprehensible and unsearchable to know the counsel of God.

With this we might compare *Jer.* 23,18. The "counsel of the Lord" is a typical OT expression. Cf. *Acts* 20,27, "the counsel of God". In the OT it refers to the secret plans of God. In the *Pseudo-Clementines* Clement says to Barnabas, "Only set forth to me the words you have heard of the man who has appeared (Jesus), and I will... preach the counsel of God" (τοῦ θεοῦ τὴν βούλησιν; *Hom.* I, 14, 1). "For what man shall know the counsel of God (βουλὴν θεοῦ)? Or who shall conceive what the Lord willeth?" (*Wisd. of Sol.* 9, 13).

> 112,1-8. If we have not even been able to understand the counsels of our companions, who will be able to comprehend the Divinity or the divinities of the heavens? If we scarcely find things on earth, who will search for the things of heaven?

"And hardly do we divine the things that are on earth, and the things that are close at hand we find with labour; but the things that are in the heavens who ever yet traced out?" (*Wisd. of Sol.* 9, 16).[136] The passage from *Sil* would appear to be a free version of *Wisd. of Sol.*

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[135] This is said in allusion to Essene-Encratite ideals of abstention.

[136] See J. Zandee, in *NHS* III,145.

> 112,22.23. (And the Life of Heaven wishes to renew all ... that he may crown those wishing to contend well — Christ, being judge of the contest, he who crowned everyone, teaching everyone to contend.) This one who contended first received the crown, gained dominion (and appeared, giving light to everyone).

The imagery of the ἀγών is well known from the NT. It has no precedent in the OT since athletic contests belong to the ancient Greek world. In the NT the imagery always refers to the contest of the Christian in this world and especially to Christian martyrdom (Kittel, *TWNT* I, 138, 13ff.). *Sil* also uses the imagery of the contest for the life and death of Christ himself, contending against the powers of the Adversary and gaining the victory upon the cross as an example for every Christian martyr.

Sometimes we find the idea of Christ as participant in a contest in Jewish Christian literature. "Then I (Christ) was crowned by my God, and my crown is living. And I was justified by my Lord" (*Od. Sol.* XVII,1). "For they that strive not in the course of Christ shall not obtain holiness. And holiness (i.e. Christ) did appear from God, doing away with fornication, overthrowing the enemy, well-pleasing unto God: for she (holiness ἁγιωσύνη = Christ) is an invincible champion (athlete), having honour from God, glorified of many" (*Acts of Thom.* IX, c. 85). "O Saviour of souls ... defender and helper in the fight of thine own servants, turning away and scaring the enemy from us, that fightest in many battles for us and makest us conquerors in all; our true and undefeated champion (ὁ ἀληθὴς ἀθλητὴς ἡμῶν καὶ ἀήττητος); our holy and victorious captain: glorious, and giving unto thine own a joy that never passes away."[137]

> 112,33-35. (It is) he (Christ) who has come from thy mouth and has risen from thy heart, the Firstborn.

Firstborn = Greek πρωτόγονος is a common epithet of Christ in Patristic literature.[138] We have already seen that there is in *Sil* a certain ambiguity; Christ is God and identified with the Father (*Sil* 110,19), yet he is also "begotten by the Father's good pleasure" (*Sil* 113,12), begotten and unbegotten (*Sil* 101,35 - 102,1). In the *Epistula Aposto-*

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[137] *Acts of Thom* IV, c. 39; cf. G. Kittel, *TWNT* I,140,9-11.

[138] Just., *1 apol.* 58,3; Clem. Alex., *Strom.* 6,7.

lorum Christ as Logos is Son of God, not eternal but begotten, but also the true God and ἀγέννητος.[139] In the *Pseudo-Clementines* Peter and Simon discuss this matter, "And Peter answered: 'Our Lord neither asserted that there were gods except the Creator of all, nor did he proclaim himself to be God, but he with reason pronounced blessed him who called him the Son of that God who has arranged the universe!' And Simon answered: 'Does it not seem to you, then, that he who comes from God is God?' ... (Peter:) 'In addition to this, it is the peculiarity of the Father not to have been begotten, but to the Son to have been begotten; but what is begotten (γεννητὸν) cannot be compared with that which is unbegotten (ἀγεννήτῳ) or self-begotten (αὐτογεννήτῳ) ... nor can it be asserted of him who has been begotten that he is of the same substance (τῆς αὐτῆς οὐσίας) as he is who has begotten him'" (*Hom.* XVI, 15, 2.3; 16, 1.3). These lines mirror a major topic of discussion in the second century. The *Pseudo-Clementines* represent a subordinationist view. There were also parties according to whom the idea that Christ was born or brought forth did not diminish his divine nature. "Born" had another meaning than "created".

> 112,37-113,6. For he (Christ) is a light from the power of God and he is an effluence of the pure glory of the Almighty. He is a clear mirror of the activity of God, and he is the image of his goodness.

This is virtually a literal rendering of *Wisd. of Sol.* 7,25.26, where personified Wisdom is the subject, "For she is a breath of the power of God, and a clear effluence of the glory of the Almighty; therefore can nothing defiled find entrance into her. For she is an effluence from everlasting light, and an unspotted mirror of the activity of God, and an image of his goodness."[140] The transfer of these properties of Wisdom to Christ was not difficult for *Sil*, since it equates Christ with Wisdom several times.

The Coptic ϩⲉϯⲉ = Greek ἀπόρροια is the same expression used for the emanation of the aeons from the Pleroma in Gnosticism.[141] It is also used in the *Odes of Solomon* (VI,8-18), where a river of salvific water is mentioned, flowing over the world, "For there went forth a stream and it became a river great and broad; indeed it carried away everything, and it shattered and brought (it) to the temple ... For it spread over the surface of the earth. Then all the thirsty upon the earth drank ... and lived by the living water of eternity."

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[139] M. Hornschuh, *PTS* 5,31,32.

[140] M.L. Peel and J. Zandee, "*The Teachings of Silvanus*" *from the Library of Nag Hammadi*, in *NT* XIV, 1972, 302; R. van den Broek, in *Kerk en Theologie*, 1978, 342.

[141] ἀπόρροια, Coptic Version of Pistis Sophia, Cap. 64; *NHS* IX, 129, 20, ⲁⲡⲟϩⲣⲟⲓⲁ.

The imagery of Christ as a mirror occurs in *Odes of Solomon* XIII,1, "Behold, the Lord is our mirror. Open your eyes and see them in him, and learn the manner of your face." The meaning, however, differs from that of *Sil*, since in the former man sees himself mirrored in Christ to discover that his face is dirty and that it should be cleaned. In *Sil*, however, Christ reflects the glory of God. Also in the *Acts of John* Christ says that he is a mirror for those who are his, probably also in order that they may see themselves in him, "A lamp am I to thee that beholdest me. A mirror am I to thee that perceivest me. A way am I to thee wayfarer" (*Acts of John* 95). Clement of Alexandria also mentions the imagery of Christ as the mirror in which man sees his own image, "For this is the true following of the Saviour, when we seek after his sinlessness and perfection, adorning and regulating the soul before him as before a mirror and arranging it in every detail after his likeness" (*Quis Div. Salv.* 21,7). Only the original version of *Wisd. of Sol.* 7,25.26 uses the mirror as a metaphor for the revelation of the goodness of God towards men.

113,6.7. For he is also the light of the eternal Light.

This statement foreshadows the well-known φῶς ἐκ φωτός of the Nicaenum.

In the *Epistula Apostolorum* Christ alludes to the heavenly light which he himself is, "Ye shall behold a light, more excellent than that which shineth ... And the Son shall become perfect through the Father who is Light, for the Father is perfect which bringeth to pass death and resurrection" (*Ep. Ap.* 19(30)). The disciples will see Christ as a light ultimately emanating from the Father. One might also compare the similar expressions: "Jesus, God of God (Ἰησοῦ θεὲ ἐκ θεοῦ), Saviour that quickened the dead ... God of the Most High God..." (*Acts of Thom.* V, c. 47).

113,7-9. He is the eye which looks at the invisible Father.

Of the first appearance of Jesus it is said: "... that a certain one in Judea ... was preaching to the Jews the kingdom of the invisible God" (τοῦ ἀιδίου θεοῦ; *Pseudo-Clementines*, *Hom.* I,6,2).

113,9-11. ... always serving and forming by the Father's will.

The will of God in respect of creation is refered to by the *Pseudo-Clementines*: "After this, the place of the sea ... received that portion of the waters by order of the eternal Will" ("*iussu voluntatis aeternae*"; *Rec.* I,27,6).

113,21.22. For he is the beginning and the end of every one.

Daniélou[142] has discussed ἀρχή as a name for Jesus in Jewish Christian writings. It is a sort of personification of the Hebrew *reshith* connected with creation. Ἀρχή is not used in this way in *Sil.* There are only one or two sayings like this in which Christ is related to the "beginning". Thus he is also called "the First Light" (*Sil* 112, 36.37); "the First-Born" (*Sil* 112,35).

113,25-27. On the one hand, he mourns for those who have been appointed to the place of punishment (κόλασις).

With this we might compare: "He (Christ) mourned (*lugebat*) over those who lived in riches and luxury" (*Pseudo-Clementines*, *Rec.* II, 29,2).

On "punishment", compare: "What, then, is the reason why men sin?" Peter answers: "It is because they are ignorant that they will without doubt be punished (κολασθῆναι) for their evil deeds when judgement takes place" (*Hom.* 4,1.2). "But if any persist in impiety till the end of life, then as soon as the soul, which is immortal, departs, it shall pay the penalty (*luit poenas*) of its persistence in impiety ... they endure without end the torments of eternal fire" (*Rec.* V,28,1).

113,33-35. Do not give sleep to your eyes nor slumber to your eyelids ...

Compare: *Prov.* 6,4; *Ps.* 132,4.

113,35-114,1. ... that you may be saved like a gazelle from snares and like a bird from a trap.

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[142] Daniélou, 219.

Compare: *Prov.* 6,5 (LXX).

> 114,18.19. Raise yourself up when you have left your old man behind you like an eagle.

Compare: *Isa.* 40,31, although it is not a matter of a literal quotation.

> 114,19-22. Fear God in all your acts and glorify him through good work.
> 88,9-11. My son, do not fear anyone except God alone.
> 108,18-21. The rational man is he who fears God. He who fears God does nothing insolent.

The fear of the Lord is a common theme in the Book of Proverbs. That it occurs here may be due to the fact that "Sil" has chosen Jewish wisdom literature as the model for his literary form. The stress on "acts" and "good works" could to a certain extent be inspired by the Jewish Christian tendency to emphasize obedience to the OT law.

In the *Pseudo-Clementines* "the fear of the Lord" is mentioned several times. Clement says to Bernice of Tyre, when she has given her visitors a warm welcome: "You do well, indeed, to busy yourself in fulfilling the part of love (τῆς ἀγάπης); but the fear of our God must take the precedence over this" (*Hom.* IV,1,4). "On every account it is advantageous to fear him (the Lord God) alone, not as an unjust, but as a righteous God ... You can therefore, by fear towards him (τῷ πρὸς αὐτὸν φόβῳ), be freed from many hurtful fears" (*Hom.* X,5,2). "But the way to get it (philanthropy) ... is but one which is the fear of God (φόβος θεοῦ) ... But by the fear of God he is able to do the things of those who love; and thus, while he does the deeds of love, the bride Love is, as it were, brought to the bridegroom Fear" (*Hom.* XII,33,4). In more than one case the relation between fear and love is the subject of discussion. In the OT fear of God is a motive for action as love is in the NT. Among Jewish Christians it may have been a question of how to combine these.[143] Thus in another passage, fear of God and love to God are again the subject. Some people say that we should only love God and not fear him. Peter maintains that we ought also to fear him. "Now well-doing proceeds from fearing ... (Fear) does not strike death, but awakens the soul, and converts it" (*Hom.* XVII,11,3). Against this background one should not be surprised that, in contrast to the NT, the fear of God plays a rather important part in *Sil.*

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[143] 1 *Jn* 4,18.

> 114,26-30. O the patience of God, which bears with (ἀνέχειν) every one, which desires that every one who has become subject to sin be saved.

The Coptic word for "patience" is ⲙⲛ̄ⲧϩⲁⲣϣ̄ϩⲏⲧ, which has as its Greek equivalent μακροθυμία. Already in the OT that God is long-suffering towards men is an important theme.[144] In the parable in *Mt.* 18,23-35 God's patience with men is the main subject.[145] In the *Pseudo-Clementines* this property of God also occurs. "For he (God) is long-suffering (μακροθυμεῖ) to all who are in impiety, as a merciful and philanthropic father, knowing that impious men become pious" (*Hom.* XI,7,2). "We first have seen the boundless long-suffering of God in bearing with such great impiety" (*Hom.* XVI,20,2). The meaning of God's long-suffering is that he bears with the godlessness of men with great patience. "For with all who are placed in ignorance he excercises patience, because he is merciful and gracious; and he foresees that many of the ungodly become godly ... and forsaking their sins and doing good works, attain to salvation" (*Rec.* V,25,2). God is not narrow-minded in respect of the possibility of salvation. God, says *Sil*, wishes every one to be saved, which recalls 2 *Pet.* 3,9. God aims at "the salvation of those who wish to be saved" (*Hom.* VII,2,1). "At the beginning of his preaching, as wishing to invite and lead all to salvation and induce them to bear patiently labours and trials, he (Jesus) blessed the poor" (*Rec.* II,28,3). Finally, one might compare *Sil* 112,14.15, "that every one may shine forth in heavenly garments"; *Sil* 117,11.12: "having become all for every one because he wishes to have mercy on every one".

> 114,33-36. To be sure, it is he who touches the earth, causing it to tremble and also causing the mountains to smoke.

With this we might compare *Ps.* 104 (LXX 103), 32. However, *Sil*'s rendering follows neither the Masoretic text nor the LXX literally.

> 114,36-115,2. (It is) he who has gathered together such a great sea in a leather bag (ἀσκός) and has weighed all the water with his hand.

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[144] G. Kittel, *TWNT IV*, 378,3 ff.

[145] *Op. cit.*, 382,3ff.

The second half of this passage is a quotation from *Isa.* 40,2, while the first part is a quotation from *Ps.* 32,7 (LXX), and not from *Ps.* 33,7 (Masoretic text): συνάγων ὡς ἀσκὸν ὕδατα θαλάσσης.

> 115,3-8. Only the hand of the Lord has created all these things. For this hand of the Father is Christ, and it forms all. Through it, all has come into being since it became the mother of all.

The OT on several occasions mentions creation through the hands of God. The plural form occurs in *Pss.* 95,5; 119,23; 138,8; *Isa.* 31,7; 45,12,[146] while God's creative hand in the singular occurs in *Job* 26,13; *Isa.* 48,13; 66,2.[147] Most of the NT instances are quotations from the OT or influenced by the OT. "Has not my hand created all this?" (*Acts* 7,50, cf. *Isa.* 66,1.2).

The creating hand of God occurs in Jewish Christian literature. "O the great hand of the wise God, which makes all in all" (*Pseudo-Clementines*, *Hom.* III,34,1). Closest to our passage is a pericope from the *Pseudo-Clementines*, in which personified Wisdom shares in God's work of creation and is called "his hand". Since personified Wisdom is identified with Christ in *Sil*, this is very similar to *Sil* 115,3-8. The passage deals with the plural in *Gn.* 1,26, "let us make men", adduced by Simon as a proof of polytheism in the scriptures. Peter answers: "One is he who said to his Wisdom, 'Let us make men'. But his Wisdom was that with which he himself always rejoiced (*Prov.* 8,30) as with his own spirit. It is united as soul to God, but it is extended by him, as hand, fashioning the universe" (ἐκτείνεται δὲ ἀπ᾿ αὐτοῦ ὡς χείρ, δημιουργοῦσα τὸ πᾶν; *Hom.* XVI,12,1). It is as if Wisdom were the second person of a trinity and takes the place of the Son alongside the Spirit. From this quotation it is also clear that the imagery of the "hand" designates God's outward activity.

Another person of the Trinity, namely the Spirit, can also function as the hand of God in creation: "'Darkness was over the deep; and the Spirit of God was upon the waters' (a quotation of *Gn.* 1,1.2), which Spirit, like the Creator's hand ("*quasi ipsa conditoris manus*"), by command of God separated light from darkness" (*Rec.* VI,7,2.3).

The *Wisdom of Solomon* contains three different conceptions concerning the creator, 1.[148] God as creator, 9,1.9; 2. God as creator while Wisdom is present, 8,4; 9,9; 3. Wisdom as creator, 7,22; 8,5,6. It is the view of Alexandrian philosophical theology, that the transcendent God cannot be directly involved in creation, so that one of his personified properties, Wisdom, acts as a mediator in creation. Wisdom borrows many of the qualities of God. She is "beneficent, loving toward man, all-powerful, all-surveying" (*Wisdom of Sol.* 7,23). God's Word and his Wisdom are mediators of creation: "O God of the fathers, and Lord who keepest thy mercy, who madest all things by thy word, and by thy wisdom formedst man."[149] "Formation" is creation by means of the hands. Creation by the hand of God is also mentioned and the hand has the same attributes as Wisdom: "For thine all-powerful hand, that created the world out of formless matter..." (*Wisd of Sol.* 11,17). Both Wisdom and Hand are all-powerful and involved in the *formatio*. One has the impression that Logos, Wisdom and Hand are interchangeable as mediators of creation.

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[146] See also G. Kittel, *TWNT IX*, 416,11 ff.

[147] On the hand(s) of God in the NT, see G. Kittel, *TWNT IX*, 420,7-10.

Creation by the hand of God is refered to in the *Odes of Solomon*, "For I was established and lived and was redeemed. And my foundations were laid on account of the Lord's hand; because he has planted me" (*Od. Sol.* XXXVIII,17). The hand of the Lord represents his outward activity towards man, which effects man's creation as well as his redemption. God's hand is the hypostasis through which he saves and protects, "Let thy right hand[150] set our salvation to victory, and let it receive from every region, and preserve it on the side of everyone who is besieged by misfortunes" (*Od. Sol.* XVIII,7). "Thou art the right hand of salvation and my helper".[151] "For the right hand of the Lord is with you, and he will be your helper" (*Od. Sol.* VIII,6). Jesus identifies himself with the hand of God: "And I am wholly the right hand of the Father, I am even in him that maketh perfect" (*Ep. Ap.* 19(30)). As we speak of a so called "Logos-Christology" or "Wisdom-Christology", we could also speak of a "Hand-Christology". This would appear to be derived from certain passages from the OT in which the "Hand of the Lord" functions as a hypostasis of God and has a definite "personality" of its own,[152] e.g. *Ps.* 118,15-17: "With his right hand the Lord does mighty deeds, the right hand of the Lord raises up. I shall not die but live". The idea of Jesus as the right hand of God which vanquishes the evil one also occurs in the *Acts of Thomas*: "Jesus most high, voice arising from perfect mercy, Saviour of all, the right hand of the light (ἡ δεξία τοῦ φωτὸς), overthrowing the evil one in his own nature into one place" (*Acts of Thom.* V, c. 48). The Syriac version reads, "Jesus right hand of the Father,[153] who has hurled down the evil one to the lowest limit".[154] A. F. J. Klijn remarks that the conception of Jesus as the right hand of the Father "is not available in the NT" and refers to *Ep. Ap.* 19 and *Od. Sol.* XXV,2.[155] We may conclude that we here encounter a characteristic Jewish Christian conception.

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[148] S. Holmes, in R. H. Charles, *Apocrypha OT* I,528.

[149] *Wisd. of Sol.* 9,1,2; cf. *Sil* 115,17-19, "the things which have come into being through the Word, which is the Son as the image of the Father".

[150] Feminine, as in our passage from *Sil.*

[151] Cf. *Sil.* 97,1, Christ as βοηθός; *Od. Sol.* XXV,2.

G. Quispel[156] has pointed to the close relations between the *Pseudo-Clementines*, according to him the most important source for Jewish Christianity, and historical Judaism. These works over against a Greek abstract idea of God, assert that God has a form. This is the case in the particular conception of the Messiah and the Devil as the right and the left hand of God respectivily. We again encounter here the doctrine of the two kingdoms, both instituted by God, namely the evil kingdom of the present aeon under the supervision of the Devil, and the good kingdom of the aeon to come under the guidance of the Messiah. The intention of this doctrine was to include both good and evil within the administration of the good God, so that evil would be seen as ultimately serving God's plan with regard to his creation. Thus it was also a theodicy. This is congruous with *Sirach*: "Good and evil, life and death, poverty and wealth come from Jahveh" (*Sirach* 11,14). The *Pseudo-Clementines* say concerning the kings of the two ages: "Moreover, these two leaders are the swift hands of God (ταχεῖαι χεῖρες θεοῦ), eager to anticipate him so as to accomplish his will.[157] But that this is so, has been said even by the Law in the person of God : 'I will kill, and I will make alive; I will strike and I will heal' (*Deut.* 32,39). He kills through the left hand (διὰ τῆς ἀριστερᾶς), that is through the evil one ... And he saves and benefits through the right hand (διὰ τῆς δεξιᾶς), that is through the good one. Now these have not their substances (τὰς οὐσίας) outside God (ἔξωθεν τοῦ θεοῦ), for there is no other primal source (ἀρχή)" (*Hom.* XX,3,4-7). Ultimately even the Devil can achieve a favourable destiny: "The wicked one, then having served God blamelessly to the end of the present world, can become good (ἀγαθός) by a change in his composition ... For not even more does he evil, although he is evil, since he has received power to afflict lawfully (νομίμως)" (*Hom.* XX,3,9). Here we encounter Origen's monistic system *ante litteram*, the notorious ἀποκατάστασις of the Devil included. The doctrine of the two kingdoms, instituted by God, is in harmony with what Epiphanius writes about the Ebionites (*Pan.* 30,16,2.3). Although Christ is called "the right hand of God" in the passage from the *Pseudo-Clementines*, this is a different conception from the one we find in *Sil* about Christ as God's hand in creation, and therefore not relevant here. Other quotations from Jewish Christian sources, however, have demonstrated that the imagery of the hand of God as a designation of his external activity, whether through the mediation of the Logos, Wisdom or the Spirit, and especially in connection with creation, was not uncommon in these documents, so that *Sil* could have derived its idea from this tradition, which is all the more probable since the idea does not occur in the NT.[158]

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[152] Especially "the right hand".

[153] The same expression as in *Sil* 115,5.

[154] A. F. J. Klijn, *The Acts of Thomas*, 90.

[155] *Op. cit.*, 241.

[156] In his discussion of Jewish Christianity, in *VC* 22, 1968, 83.

> 115,16-19. For all dwells in God (that is,) the things which have come into being through the Word (λόγος), which is the Son as the image of the Father.

The idea of the creation through the Word of God is well known in Jewish and Jewish Christian tradition. "By the Word of God his works were formed" (*Sirach* 42,15). "O God ... who madest all things by thy Word ... and by thy Wisdom formedst man, the things which have come into being through the Word" (*Wisd of Sol.* 9,1.2). "Our Lord and Redeemer Jesus Christ..., the heavenly one, that sitteth at the right hand of the throne of the Father; who by his Word made the heavens, and formed the earth and that which is in it" (*Ep. Ap.* 3 (14)).

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[157] θέλημα; there is one divine will directing both Christ and the Devil.

[158] G. Quispel also considers the idea of Christ as "the hand of God" to be of Jewish Christian origin, in *VC* 33, 1979, 85.

> 115,20.21. For God is near by, he is not far off.

G. Quispel has made a very significant comment about this passage.[159] According to him this is a quotation from *Jer.* 23,23 (LXX). "The Hebrew text says exactly the opposite: "'Am I a God at hand', says the Lord, 'and not a God far off?'"[160] Quispel points to the fact that the LXX says: "'I am a God that draws near', says the Lord, 'and not a God far off'". He assumes that this happened under the influence of the Porch. He quotes Dio Chrysostom, *Olympic Discourse* XII, 28, who remarks that primitive men did not live *far from* or outside God.[161] Clement of Alexandria (*Strom.* II,2,5,4) also quotes *Jer* 23,23 according to the LXX and says that when a man is acting in a rational way, God is near to him. Quispel says that Clement and *Sil* only have in common the fact that they quote the same text, but nothing else in addition to that. In general Quispel is right, but his remark demands some further explication. *Sil* undoubtedly betrays the influence of the Porch, but only in the sphere of his moral teaching, as is also the case with Clement. Thus both of them display a very strong emphasis on the transcendence of God, while the Stoic conception of God is pantheistic and immanentistic. According to the Porch God is the σπερματικὸς λόγος working as ordering principle within the phenomenal world. *Sil* says in a Platonic pericope (*Sil* 99,31 - 100,4): "For do not think in your heart that God exists [in a] place. If you localize the [Lord of] all in a place, then it is fitting for you to say that the place is more exalted than he who dwells in it. For that which contains is more exalted than that which is contained." The Stoic pantheistic god is contained within the visible world. When *Sil* speaks of mind and reason as divine principles in man he derives this from the idea of creation in the image of God. As transcendent, God is incomprehensible (*Sil* 100,13-18). God is only in a place according to his δύναμις, but not according to his divinity (*Sil* 100,34-101,3). "In the exaltation of his divinity nothing contains him" (*Sil* 101,6-8). On the other hand it is true: "Everything is in God, but God is not in anything" (*Sil* 101,9.10). This is what we call pan-en-theism, not pantheism. This clarifies what Dio Chrysostom says: "far from God" = "outside God". That God is near means that we are in God, not that God is in us. When we do compare *Sil* with Jewish Christian tradition, we find he shares the strongly transcendent idea of God which is characteristic of the Jews. Philo too, although deeply influenced by the Stoa, did not deviate from the Jewish idea of the transcendent God. *Sil* and Clement also agree in this respect, that they were influenced by the Porch as regards their moral doctrine, not their idea of God.[162] The statement in *Sil* that "God is near by" should therefore not be explained in the sense of Stoic pantheism, nor can that be the intention of the LXX as a Jewish product. The coping-stone of this demonstration is a passage from the *Pseudo-Clementines*, according to Quispel the principal document of Jewish Christianity,[163] and, as a Jewish writing, not denying the idea of a transcendent God, the touchstone of every genuine variety of Judaism. In this writing we read, "For thus he (God) is comprehensible and incomprehensible, near and far (ἐγγὺς καὶ μακράν) being here and there, as being the only existent one" (*Hom.* XVII,10,3).[164] The incomprehensibility of God refers, as in *Sil*, to his transcendence, which is not diminished by the fact that his power works in his creation and that his Spirit (*ruach*) can enter the heart of man. As always our "text" also ought not to be isolated from the context, which runs, "For all dwells in God, (that is) the things which have come into being through his Word, which is the Son as the image of the Father.

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[159] G. Quispel, in *VC* 33, 1979, 85.

[160] The problems raised by the use of the OT in Coptic Texts can not be entered into here. The Hebrew text was not accessible for Egyptian natives of course and in addition the Jews in Northern Egypt were so influenced by Greek culture that they only used the LXX. The relations of the LXX with the Hebrew OT are another question.

[161] See G. Mussies' remark on Minucius Felix, *Oct., XXXII, God "nobis proximus"*, in *NT* XXI, 1979, 187.

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[162] See J. Zandee, "*The Teachings of Silvanus*" *and Clement of Alexandria*, Leiden 1977, 1, notes 8 and 9; H. Chadwick, *Early Christian Thought and the Classical Tradition*, Oxford 1971, 39,41.

[163] G. Quispel, in *VC* 22, 1968, 82.

[164] Cf. *Sil* 101,24, God "the Existent One".

For God is near by, he is not far off" (*Sil* 101,16-21). God is near by, not because he is the pantheistic σπερματικὸς λόγος of the Porch, which permeates nature, but because nothing is outside the care of the transcendent God of the OT who has spoken: "Heaven is my throne and earth my footstool" (*Isa.* 66,1).

> 115,30-35. This is what God has given to the human race so that for this reason every man might be chosen before all the angels and archangels.
> 91,27-30. You will reign over every place on earth and will be honored by the angels and archangels.

On man's position in relation to the angels we might compare 1 *Cor* 6,3, "Are you not aware that we are to judge angels?" According to the *Ascensio Iesaiae* Isaiah will be elevated to the seventh heaven, above the angels: "The angel who conducted me ... said to me: Do not worship either angel nor throne, that belong to the six heavens, on account of which I have been sent, in order to conduct you, until I shall say it to you in the seventh heaven. For above all heavens and their angels your throne has been erected, and also your garments and your crown (have been placed) there, which you still see" (*Asc. Ies.* VII,21). "Verily I (Christ) say unto you, such and so great joy hath my Father prepared for you that the angels and the powers desired and do desire to see it and look upon it; but it is not given to them to behold the glory of my Father" (*Ep. Ap.* 19 (30)).[165] The ultimate position of man will be higher than the angels. The OT idea of election is also encountered in the *Odes of Solomon*, "Grace is for the elect ones, and who shall receive it but they who trusted in it from the beginning? Love is for the elect ones..." (*Od. Sol.* XXIII,2).

> 115,36-116,5. For God does not need to put any man to the test. He knows all things before they happen, and he knows the hidden things of the heart. They are all revealed and found wanting in his presence.

Although the central part of this pericope deals with God's foreknowledge, the main theme is that God examines the human heart and knows in particular what is wrong with it.

In *Wisd of Sol.* 8,8 the foreknowledge of Sophia is prophetic. In

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[165] Cf. 1 *Pet* 1,12.

Judith 11,19 too a prophetic foreknowledge is concerned. In *Judith* 9,6 God's knowledge is his pre-determination. In *Rom.* 8,29; 11,2 God's foreknowledge refers to those who are his and whom he has elected beforehand.[166] In our pericope also God's foreknowledge is of the same character as that in the prophets, referring to knowledge of things before they happen. According to Clement of Alexandria also God knows things before they happen.[167] In general however, one must admit that God's foreknowledge is not a conception unique to Jewish Christianity but is encountered everywhere in the Hellenistic world and is also a theme in contemporary philosophy.

In Jewish Christian writings, God's foreknowledge, as in our passage, mainly refers to God's knowledge of man's inner life. This is the case in the *Pseudo-Clementines*: "Whence it must before all things be known, that nowhere can truth be found unless from a prophet of truth. But he (Christ) is the true prophet, who always knows all things, and even the thoughts of all men, who is without sin, as being convinced respecting the judgment of God. Wherefore we ought not simply to consider respecting his foreknowledge, but whether his foreknowledge can stand, apart from other cause" (*Hom.* III,11,1). That God's knowledge primarily has the inner life of man as its object is clear in the *Acts of Thomas*: "No man cometh unto him that is unclean and vile: for he knoweth our inmost hearts and the depths of our thought, and it is not possible for any to escape him" (*Acts of Thom.* XI, c. 136). This is a theme well known from the OT, e.g. *Ps.* 139,1.23, "O Lord thou hast searched[168] me out, and known me: thou knowest my down-sitting, and mine up-rising ... Try me, O God, and seek the ground of my heart: prove me, and examine my thoughts". See also *Jer.* 17,10. *Sirach* 42,18: "He searcheth out the deep and (man's) heart ... For Jahveh possesses all knowledge ... declareth past and future."

In some cases real foreknowledge of things which are going to happen is spoken of. "And he who created me when yet I was not knew what I would do when I came into being" (*Od. Sol.* VII,9). "Thou

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[166] See G. Kittel, *TWNT I* 716.

[167] See on "foreknowledge of God" in Clement, J. Zandee, "*The Teachings of Silvanus" and Clement of Alexandria*, Leiden 1977, 125.126.

[168] LXX *Ps* 138,1: δοκιμάζειν, as in *Sil* 115,37.

(Christ) knowest what things are going to happen" (*Acts of Thom.* I, c. 10). God's omniscience occurs in the *Gospel of Thomas*: "Do not tell lies, and do not do what you hate, for all things are plain in the sight of Heaven. For nothing hidden will not become manifest, and nothing covered will remain without being uncovered" (Log. 6; 33,18-22; cf. *Mt.* 10,26). Here also God's knowledge has the hidden sins of the human heart as its object, as in our passage and this aspect is more reminiscent of the OT than the rather abstract idea of a general foreknowledge on the part of God.

> 116,5-9. Let no one ever say that God is ignorant. For it is not right to place the creator (δημιουργός) of every creature in ignorance.

This passage seems to be directed against the Gnostics who asserted that the demiurge, the god of the OT, who was lower than the heavenly Father, was responsible for this deficient world, because he was brought forth from the ignorance of the fallen Sophia. In the *Pseudo-Clementines* a passage occurs where similar problems are discussed. Peter is here opposing Simon Magus. In a discussion with Clement he also rejects a writing which asserts that God is ignorant. Peter mentions "the only good God, the Maker also of the world" (*Hom.* II,40,3), who consequently has no demiurge as a lower god under him. "However, listen, how God is ignorant of nothing, but even foreknows" (προγινώσκει;[169] *Hom.* II,49,1). "How, then, should he, who gave to man the gift of foreknowledge, being God, himself be ignorant?" (*Hom.* II, 50,2). The connection between knowledge and foreknowledge on the part of God, as in our passage, is worth noting. "It being acknowledged by us that God foreknows all things, there is every necessity that the scriptures are false which say that he is ignorant" (*Hom.* II,50,3). It is fairly probable that Peter also, like *Sil*, is alluding to Gnostic writings.

> 117,3-9. If you do not know [yourself], you will not be able to know all of these (God, Christ, etc.). Open the door for yourself that you may know the Existent One. Knock on yourself that the λόγος may open for you.
>
> 92,10-12. But before everything, know your birth. Know yourself, that is, from what substance you are.

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[169] προγινώσκει, cf. *Sil* 116,1.2.

This is a statement about the close relationship between self-knowledge and knowledge of God. Already Socrates had interpreted the Delphic γνῶθι σεαυτόν in the sense of: know the δαιμόνιον within you. Gnosticism laid claim to self-knowledge as knowledge of one's descent from the divine Pleroma and the way of return to it. In *Sil* too self-knowledge is knowledge of one's creation according to the image of God, which means that a man has mind and reason, the "divine" within him. Clement of Alexandria asserted: "If one knows himself, he will know God" (*Paed.* III,1,1,1).[170] These ideas seem more inspired by current (popular) philosophy than by specifically Jewish thought. This, however, is not to say that they do not also occur in Jewish Christian literature. In the *Acts of Thomas* the apostle has brought a man to conversion who was going to marry and who now through better insight rejects matrimony in Essene fashion. The converted person says: "O Lord that has been proclaimed by the stranger ... who hast shown me thyself and revealed unto me all my state wherein I am ... (who) hast shown me how to seek myself and know who I was, and who and in what manner I now am, that I may again become that which I was: whom I knew not, but thyself didst seek me out: of whom I was not aware, but thyself hast taken me to thee" (*Acts of Thom.* I, c. 15). Christ has made this man aware of his situation and of his proper destiny. Self-knowledge and knowledge of Christ go hand in hand. In the *Gospel of Thomas*, too, self-knowledge is repeatedly dealt with. "Rather, the Kingdom is inside of you, and it is outside of you. When you come to know yourselves, then you will become known, and you will realize that it is you who are the sons of the living Father. But if you will not know yourselves, you dwell in poverty and it is you who are in the poverty" (Log. 3; 32,25 - 33,5). Self-knowledge is knowing one's true self, namely, one's proper essence as child of God and member of his Kingdom. "He who knows all except himself is in want of everything" (Log. 67; 45,19.20).

Thus our passage from *Sil* is not a characteristic specimen of Jewish Christianity.

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[170] See J. Zandee, *"The Teachings of Silvanus" and Clement of Alexandria*, 129, 130. G. Quispel, in *VC* 33, 1979, 85.

117,21.22. That which you will knock upon for yourself, you will knock upon, benefitting (ὠφελεῖν) yourself.
118,6.7. Knowing that God's way is always profitable.

It is characteristic of OT wisdom literature to say that it is "useful" to keep to God's ways. In the book of *Proverbs* it is often said that obedience to God results in happiness. "My son, keep watch over your ability and prudence, do not let them slip from sight ... Then you will go your way without care, and your feet will not stumble" (*Prov.* 3,21-23). On the other hand the conduct of the foolish man is not profitable, "Ill-gotten wealth brings no profit" (LXX οὐκ ὠφελήσουσιν; *Prov.* 10,2). This is the same kind of pious utilitarianism as is encountered in *Sil.* We might also compare: "You, then, be on your guard against the world ... lest the robbers find a way to come to you, because they will find the profit which you expect" (*Gospel of Thom.*, Log. 21; 37,10-15). One who is on his guard against the world will find "profit" in it. We may assume that this expectation of happiness in the case of a life which is agreeable to God, as found in Jewish wisdom literature, was not unknown to Jewish Christians. Compare further the use of ὠφελεῖν in the NT (*Mt.* 16,26; *Mk.* 8,38; 1 *Tim.* 4,6, etc.).

117,25-28. My son, first purify yourself towards the outward life (πολιτεία) in order that you may be able to purify the inward.

This seems to be an odd inversion of *Mt.* 23,25.26. In *Sil*'s case, this saying may perhaps be clarified by *Sil* 108,1.2, "But first, nurture your reasoning powers (λογισμός) before you drink of it" (Christ, the true vine). It is *Sil*'s method first to encourage one to a rational way of life, keeping to mind and reason as guide and teacher, vanquishing the animalistic irrational passions, in order to prepare the way for belief in Christ. This could mean first purifying the outward aspect of human behaviour, in order to come to inward conversion. You have to drive out the enemies (passions) from the camp of your soul in order that God and his Spirit may enter (*Sil* 86,16-19). In this case, too, the improvement of outer life precedes the renewal of inner life.

In the *Gospel of Thomas* (Log. 89; 48,13-16) we read, "Why do you wash the outside of the cup? Do you not realize that he who made the inside is the same one who made the outside?" The saying is enigmatic, but in the second half there seems to be some stress on the "outside", more than on the "inside". Perhaps a pericope from the *Pseudo-Clementines* can throw some light on the passage quoted from *Sil.* The passage is preceded by an exposition on baptism (to some degree a purification of the outside). "Moreover, it is good, and tends to purity, also to wash the body with water. I call it good, not as if it were that prime good of purifying the mind, but because this of the washing of the body is the sequel of that good..." (quotation of *Mt.* 23,25.26; *Rec.* VI,11,1). "For truly, if the mind be purified by the light of knowledge, when once it is clean and clear, then it necessarily takes care of that which is without a man, that is, his flesh, that it also may be purified. But when that which is without ("*ista quae deforis est*"), the cleansing of the flesh ("*purificatio carnis*"), is neglected, it is certain that there is no care taken of the purity of the mind and the cleanness of the heart. Thus therefore it comes to pass, that he who is clean inwardly is without doubt cleansed outwardly also, but not always that he who is clean outwardly is also cleansed inwardly — to wit, when he does these things that he may please men" (*Rec.* VI,11,4-6). Although the "inside", the pure mind, is more important than the "outside", the purification of the flesh, the way of perceptible behaviour, the latter is not without significance and can also influence the state of the mind. Perhaps among Jewish Christians there was still some degree of adherence to Jewish ritualism, over such matters as purification rites and the prescriptions of the Law, which were esteemed necessary for being a good Christian. For *Sil* this could involve the kind of life described in wisdom literature, which concurs with what *Sil* conceives as walking in the way of mind and reason.

117,28-30. And be not as the merchants of the Word of God.

Although this statement is difficult to explain on account of its brevity, one could compare it with some lines from the *Gospel of Thomas*, which run, "Businessmen and merchants will not enter the places of my Father" (Log. 64; 44,34.35). G. Quispel,[171] in his commentary on this logion, points to *Zephaniah* 1,11 and *Zechariah* 14,21 for a biblical depreciation of merchants, and he thinks that the passage from logion 64 has something to do with Christian ascetism, which had a Jewish Christian background. *Sil* advises, "Do not become desirous of gold and silver which are profitless" (*Sil* 89, 17-19), and the story of the purification of the temple (*Jn* 2,13-25) is explained symbolically in this way: "Let him (Christ) enter the temple which is within you so that he may cast out all the merchants" (*Sil* 109,15-17). "The merchants" are the powers of the Adversary or the irrational inclinations, which one should abandon in order to live a rational life, and pave the way for Christ. It may be that *Sil* 117,28-30 is also echoing Jewish ascetism which was more strictly practised by the Essenes and Encratites.

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[171] G. Quispel, in *VC* 19, 1965, 67. See also A.F.J. Klijn, *Edessa* 80.81.

In conclusion let us sum up the results of this investigation. The question was whether it could be demonstrated that there were some connections between *Sil* and Jewish Christianity. The answer was considerably hampered by the poor state of the sources. It appeared that we scarcely possess clearcut documents of Jewish Christianity. The *Pseudo-Clementines*, which have some reputation as Jewish Christian documents, call Christ "the true Prophet" and therefore represent a subordinationistic Christology. Moreover they show similarities with Ebionitism and Essenism. Therefore they belong to a heretical branch of Jewish Christianity. The *Acts of Thomas* preach abstention as the way of salvation and recall the moral attitude of Essenism. The *Gospel of Thomas* is Encratite, but some sayings resemble Gnostic conceptions. The *Gospel of the Hebrews* might possibly have been one of the best sources, but all that is extant consists of a number of chance quotations in Patristic literature. Further, there is no doubt that all these sources betray the influence of Hellenism, for instance when the *Acts of Thomas* accentuate the antithesis corruptibility-incorruptibility which cannot be traced back to the OT. What has been quoted from these sources in order to throw light on *Sil* could therefore in part be simply the common currency of Hellenized second century Christianity.

Jewish Christian traces which could be ascertained with some degree of certainty are, for example: Christ as personified Wisdom (*Sil* 89, 5-8; 106,23; 107,9-12; 112,33-35; 113,13-15); the fear of God (*Sil* 114,19-22); Christ as the Hand of God (*Sil* 115,3-8); self-knowledge (*Sil* 117,3-9); acting to one's profit (*Sil* 117,21.22); depreciation of merchants (*Sil* 117,28); the commandments of Christ and Jewish legalism (*Sil* 91,25.26); Christ as an angel (*Sil* 106,27); Christ or God as a friend (*Sil* 90,31 - 91,1; 98,8-10; 110,14.15); the female element in God (*Sil* 91,14-17). These and some less important instances might well be considered as an echo of Jewish Christian tradition.

Finally one most important conclusion should be mentioned. In *Sil* Christ is not only the Word or the Son of God, but he is also equated with God himself. Christ is God (*Sil* 103,34; 110,17.18; 111,5). Christ has the same epithets as the God of the OT. God is Father (*Sil* 91, 7-9; 14-17) and Christ is called Father (*Sil* 96,30); God is man's friend (*Sil* 98,8-10) and Christ is man's friend (*Sil* 90,31-91;1; 110,14.15); Christ is a helper (*Sil* 97,1-3; 114,14-16), an epithet commonly applied to God in the OT, but rarely to Christ in the NT; Christ is a King (*Sil* 96,30; 111,15-20), again a well known epithet of God in the OT, which can also be said of the epithet "guide" (*Sil* 103,30-32). Both God and Christ are comprehensible and incomprehensible at the same time: in their divine essence, which is absolutely transcendent, man cannot understand them, but in Christ's incarnation or in the working of God's power on earth both of them are comprehensible to a certain extent (*Sil* 102,1-4; 113,13; 116,12-25). Christ is both begotten and unbegotten (*Sil* 101,35 - 102,1), the second attribute (Greek ἀγέννητος) belonging primarily to God. Christ is called "Angel" (*Sil* 106,27), which never occurs in the NT, but is encountered in Jewish Christian sources, and can be derived from the OT, where in a number of cases the *mal'ak* Jahveh is practically equivalent to Jahveh himself.

The designation of Christ as "God" is comprehensible from the standpoint of Jewish Christians. The Jewish faith was strictly monotheistic. "You shall have no gods to set against me". Christ could not be a second God besides the unique God, so that he only could be God himself. That some Jewish Christian writings show a subordinationistic Christology does not contradict this: they mostly belong to heretical side branches like the *Pseudo-Clementines*.

Like *Sil*, the *Epistula Apostolorum* also accentuates the unity of the Father and the Son.[172] For the Jews this conception was not a difficulty, but it was, however, for the Greeks, for whom Christ was a "folly", so that they were unable to combine God and man in one person. Thus they were driven to the complicated formulas of the Nicaenum (ὁμοούσιος) and the Chalcedonense (ἀσυγχύτως, ἀτρέπτως, ἀδιαιρέτως, ἀχωρίστως). But the churches of Syria, Palestine and Egypt opted for monophysitism and up to this day they worship Mary as the θεοτόκος. It cannot be fortuitous that monophysitism is confessed precisely in those areas where the Jewish Christians were predominant till late in the second century. And so we would summarize our exposition by saying that monophysitism is a legacy of Jewish Christianity.[173]

Colophon: The author is greatly indebted to the Rev. A.H.B. Logan, Exeter University, for checking the English of this article.

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[172] *Neutest Apokr I*, H. Duensing (introduction), 126; M. Hornschuh, *PTS 5*, 31, although Christ was brought forth, he is nevertheless ἀγέννητος like the Father.

[173] See, with respect to the influence of Jewish Christianity in Egypt, C. H. Roberts, *Manuscript, Society and Belief in Early Christian Egypt (The Schweich Lectures 1977)*, London 1979, e.g. p. 45, "Jerusalem would have been the natural *fons et origo* of Egyptian Christianity"; p. 71, "The original Christian mission to Egypt, addressed to the Jews and particularly to the Jews of Alexandria, came from the Church in Jerusalem." The explanations of A. Böhlig concerning the influence of Judaism and Jewish Christianity on Gnosticism too make it probable that the position of Jewish Christianity in Alexandria at an early date was rather influential. The importance of the apostle James in the *First* and *Second Apocalypse of James*, NHC V,1 and 2, and in the *Gospel of Thomas*, NHC II,2, is such an evidence of Jewish Christianity as a possible background of some Coptic Gnostic writings. A. Böhlig, *Der jüdische und judenchristliche Hintergrund in Gnostischen Texten von Nag Hammadi*, in *Origini* (SHR XII), 109-140.

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